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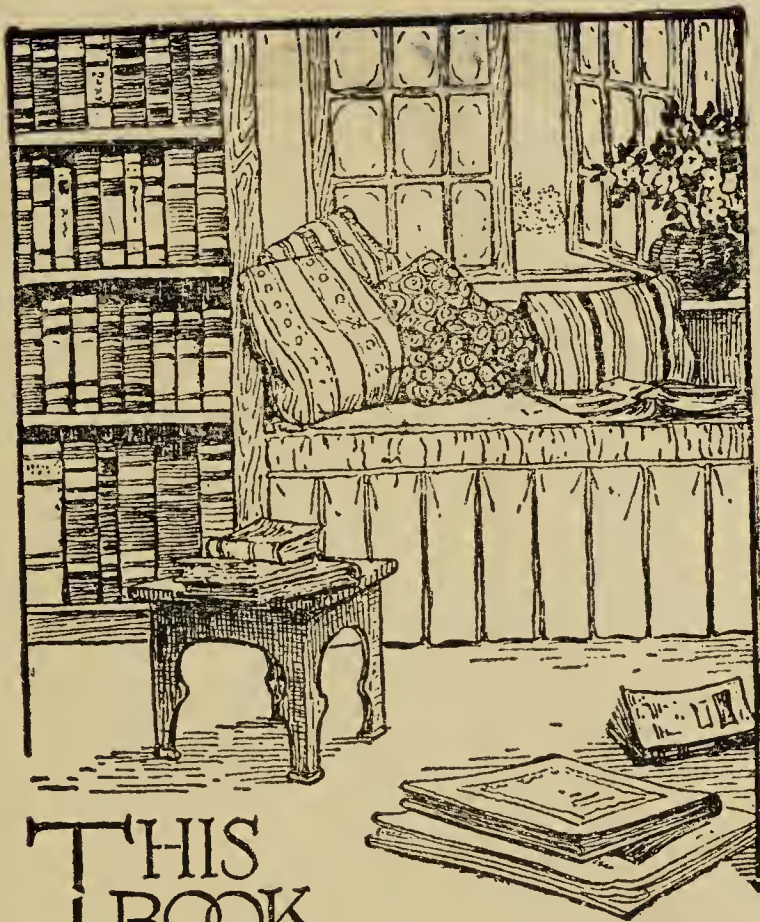
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History of Nantucket



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THE TOWN OF SHERBURNE ON THE ISLAND OF NANTUCKET

Reproduced From the "Portfolio," Jan. 1811

Sketched by Joseph Sansom 1810

Engraved by B. Tanner

The Town as viewed from "The Creeks." At the right of the mills, is the bell tower of the Congregational Vestry, the present church building not being built then. The next tower to the right represents the Unitarian meeting-house.

THE HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

COUNTY, ISLAND AND TOWN

INCLUDING GENEALOGIES OF FIRST SETTLERS

BY

ALEXANDER STARBUCK

Author of the History of the American Whale Fishery, etc.



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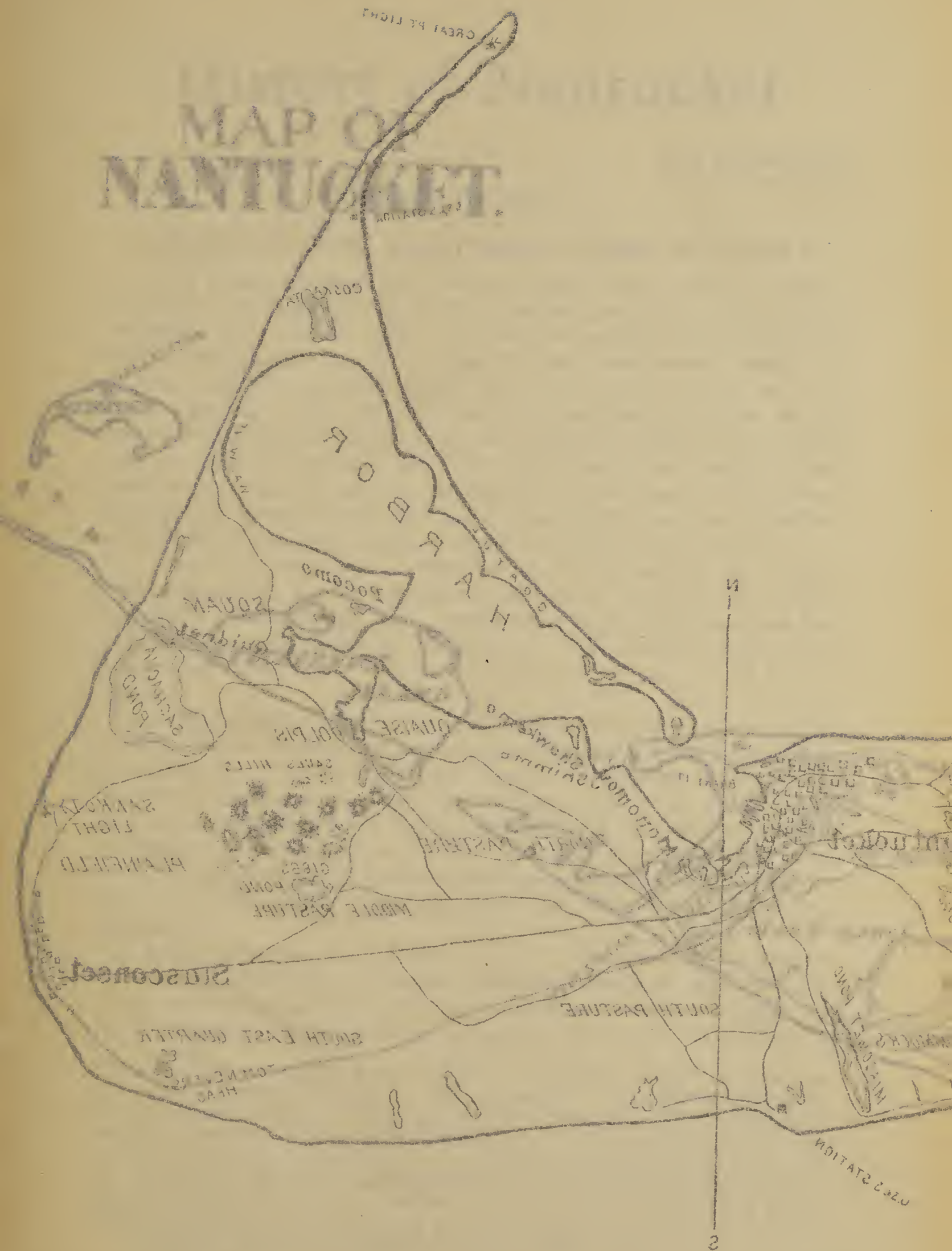
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To attempt to acknowledge my indebtedness for information and courtesies in the compiling and writing of this volume to each who has so kindly assisted me would be as desirable as it is deserving, but my friends have been so many and so kind, that, for fear I may omit some one of them, quite as deserving as the others, I must make my acknowledgments general and say to them all I thank you most sincerely.

ALEXANDER STARBUCK.

CREAT BY LIGHT

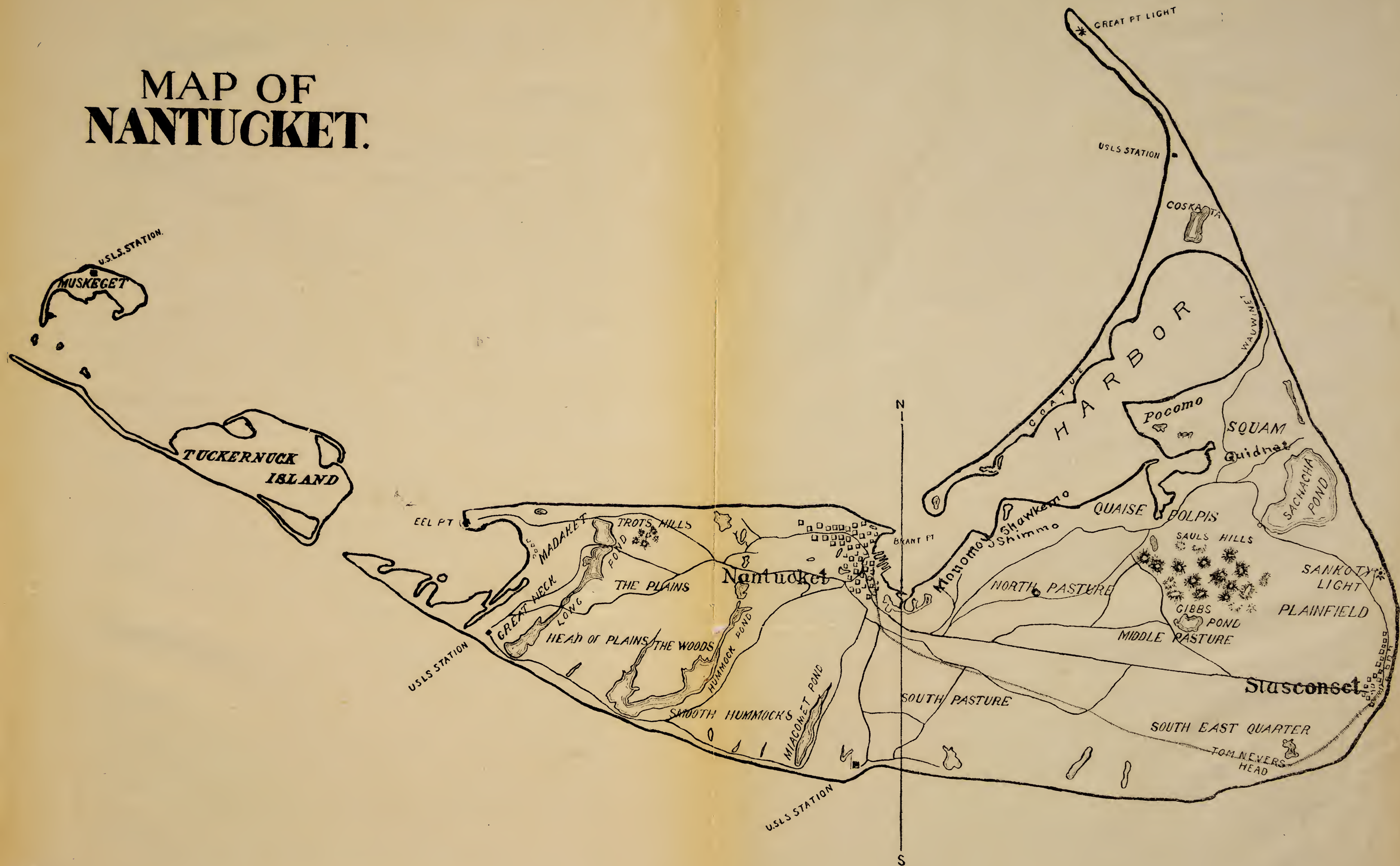


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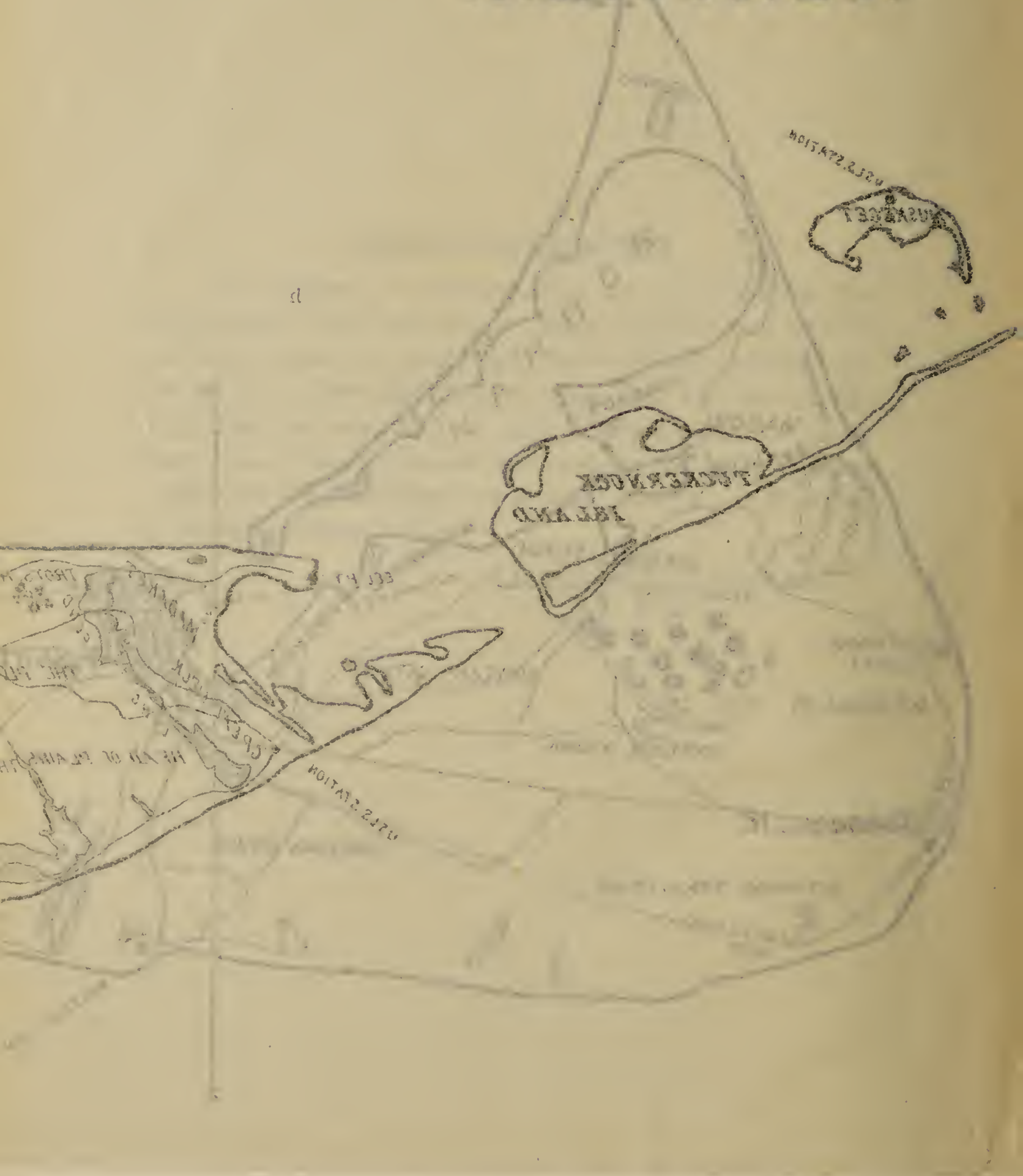
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ALEXANDER STARBUCK.

MAP OF NANTUCKET.



MAP OF NAVY TUCKET.



History of Nantucket

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CHAPTER I

GEOLOGY—THE NORTHMEN—FIRST SETTLERS

The Island of Nantucket lies southward from Cape Cod about 30 miles. Geographically it is in latitude 41° , $15'$, $22''$, north; longitude 70° , $7'$, $56''$ west. It contains nearly 30,000 acres of land. Its principal harbor, indeed its only land-locked harbor, is at the head of a comparatively large bay formed by Brant and Coatue points. Great Point on the north and Smith's Point on the west extend their protecting arms as additional shelter to the inner harbor. Nearly two miles from the inner harbor is a sand bar extending from a small island (Muskeget) to about half way between Coatue and Great Points, which for many years was not passable, even at high tide, for vessels drawing over nine feet of water.

There are many and dangerous shoals surrounding the Island and constituting a very serious menace to an unskilled navigator, and many a mariner has been entangled in their intricacies and lost his vessel on the shores of Nantucket.* The Sound, between the Island and Cape Cod, is safe for vessels drawing not over 16 feet of water.

North of Smith's Point, and protected by it from the sea, is the small island of Tuckanuck containing about 1,000 acres and sparsely inhabited. "This island," says Macy,† "was once covered with wood, but is now bare, except about 100 acres, from which sheep and cattle have, for a few years been excluded, and which are now occupied by thriving forest trees. There are two other islands a little to the north and west of Tuckanuck, one called Muskeget, the other Gravelly Island; both are small and sandy, and without inhabitants."‡

Prof. Nathaniel S. Shaler, under the direction of the United States Geological Survey, made a geological study of the Island in 1888, which was the subject of an interesting bulletin published by the Department of the Interior as Bulletin No. 53. In it he says**

"The Island of Nantucket occupies a position which makes its structure of great interest to the geologist. It lies near the extreme southeastern point of a great salient of lands and shoals forming the southern front of New England. This district, unlike the

*Arthur H. Gardner, Esq. has published a pamphlet giving a list of all the wrecks that have occurred on or about the Island from the earliest of which we have any account, a French ship, of which only a tradition survives.

†History of Nantucket, page 9, Ed. of 1835.

‡Gunnery have established shooting stations there.

**Page 600.

main-land of New England, exposes none of the older rocks; it is composed of sands, gravels, and clays which were brought into their present position during or immediately before the last Glacial Period. It should be noted that the Island of Nantucket is but a small fragment of a vast sheet of this glacially transported matter. The greater part of Plymouth County, Mass., the whole of Cape Cod, the larger portion of Martha's Vineyard, and the whole of Long Island, with all the many islands and islets at its eastern extremity, are the dissevered remains of a great shelf formed of the debris brought to the present position by the glacial ice and by the streams of water which flowed beneath it.

"Owing to its extreme southeastern position the Island of Nantucket affords evidence concerning the history of the ice sheet which cannot be obtained at any other point on the coast; it has, therefore, seemed worthy of the detailed studies which will be presented in this report."

"As will be seen from the map * * * the form of the Island of Nantucket is rudely crescentic; its shape may be compared to that of the implement known as a bill-hook. Its extreme length in an east and west line is about eleven miles. The westernmost mile of this length is formed by a sandspit which is constantly varying in its extension. At present this sandspit has only about one-third of the length indicated on the map, so that the permanent part of the Island may be estimated at ten miles in length. The north and south width of the Island does not at any point exceed seven miles, but the northern, three miles of this width included in the spit of Great Head* are made up of blown sands and detritus carried to its position by the currents of the sea; so that the part of the area which was formed during the glacial period does not exceed four miles in width. This measurement is also variable, for Great Head has lost 1,400 feet in length since 1784."

"The surface of the Island, though varied, has a narrow range of height, the loftiest point being about 90 feet above the level of the sea. Through its central part there extends a series of low but extremely numerous and irregularly shaped hills of glacial drift. On the western part of the Island this hill belt comes to the shore which forms a boundary of the Island; on the eastern part the hills are cut transversely by the coast, forming the bluffs which face the sea from Siasconset to Squam Head. On the southern half of the

*Great Point.

There can be little or no doubt about the Indian origin of the name Nantucket. There is, however, a marked difference of opinion as to its significance, and that difference is not any more reconcilable because of the varied spelling of the name. According to Mr. Worth (Land and Land Owners p 45) the name first appeared in its present form in 1641 in the deed from Forrett to Mayhew. On the De Laet map of 1630 it is spelled "Natocks." On a French map of 1650 it is printed "Isle de Nantockyte." Janssen's map (Amsterdam 1644) follows the spelling of De Laet. Lamb Fengr (1665) gives it "Nantock." Maps of 1689 give it "Neutocket" Violante ou Natocke et Nantiket or Neutocket—Violante ou Natocke. In the New York State documents (1660 to 1700) it is variously spelled Nantuckett, Mantukes, Mantuckett, Nantukes, Nantucquet, Nantuckett. Mr. Worth translates Nantucket to mean "The far away land" or "the land far away at sea." The United States Geological Survey in its "Origin of Certain Place Names," says "This name appeared upon the maps in 1630 as **Natocko**, and some authorities state that it is derived from an Indian word meaning "far away"; others say that its present form is a direct derivation of the Indian **Nantuck**, which means that the sandy, sterile soil tempted no one." Prof. J. Hammond Trumbull who was one of America's best Indian scholar said of it that he had no opportunity to give it especial attention but so far as he had considered it he thought it synonymous with Natick and meaning "the place of the hills." Prof. Trumbull's version seems the most plausible.

The Island has a most wonderful variety of wild owers, Mrs. Maria L. Owen cataloguing some 247. The Nantucket Marie Mitchell Association has published a book of over 400 pages, by Miss Albertson, devoted exclusively to this subject.

Island this line of low drift hills declines into a plain of sand, which extends with a gentle slope from the base of the hills to the sea, terminating in a series of low bluffs rarely exceeding twenty feet in height."

"The coast line of the Island is cast in a set of very gentle curves united by lines of straight shore. On the southern and eastern faces the shores are either straight or very gently convex; on the northern coast the sea line exhibits no convex curves. This conforms to the general rule that long gravelly shores which face the open sea have, prevailing, a straight or slightly convex form."

"The details of the shore line of this Island present many interesting features, most of which can be noted in connection with the geological structure of the Island, but some of them may best be considered in this general sketch of its topography. The most remarkable of these topographic peculiarities is that which is commonly known as Coatue, including the harbor and the beach of that name, and the promontory of Great Head."

"This remarkable district exhibits a number of very singular features. The most notable of these are Coatue Bay and the sand beach which separates it from the sound on the north. Coatue Bay has the most puzzling configuration of bottom and of shores of any inlet on the North American coast. The bottom is divided into two great basins and a third one of lesser extent. In these basins the sea floor slopes gently from the shores to considerable depths, the two greater easternmost basins having about twenty feet of water at low tide, while the barrier between them has only about three feet of water upon it."

"The configuration of the shores is even more peculiar than that of the bottom. On the south the boundary of the bay is quite irregular, being decidedly more indented than the general face of the Island, for the evident reason that it has been protected by Coatue Beach from the action of strong waves. On the north shore of Coatue Bay the low dune-covered Coatue peninsular has six small crescent-shaped bays, of which five are very distinct in their outlines and of about the same size. Three bays are each a little less than a mile wide, and the base of their curves is about two hundred yards from the line which connects their promontories. From each promontory there extends for a distance of two hundred yards or more out into the bay a sandspit which is not delineated on the general map, but which, if presented, would add much to the peculiarity of their aspect. * * * The cause of these peculiar projections is not plain. They are possibly due in some way to the action of the tidal currents, which sweep up the bay with much speed and move the finely grained sand with considerable ease. From a superficial inspection it appears that the tidal waters are thrown into a series of whirlpools, which excavate the shore between these salients and accumulate the sand on the spits."

"It is evident on inspection that the process which brought about the construction of these bays is still in operation.* On each of the headlands separating the basins there are traces of very recent, if not still active, building out of the point toward deeper water. On three of the points there are small salt-water ponds.

*In 1896 a break occurred during an unusually severe storm at the "Haulover" near Wauwinet and fishing craft went in and out to and from the sea through the opening. The opening closed gradually and in 1908 was closed completely. The U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey in December 1923 stated "We have no survey of the harbor, except of very small portions, subsequent to the opening, so no statement can be ventured as to the effect, if any, the opening had on the harbor." A horse and carriage was driven to Town from Coskata station November 10, 1908, for the first time in 12 years. Prof. Shaler's maps are not reproduced as the general map of the Island sufficiently shows the conditions alluded to.

* * *. These pools are inclosed behind a low beach wall, formed during some great storm by the waves of the bay in which they lie. The lagoons are not clearly traceable on the other points, but they all have the general form and structure shown * * *."

"Coatue Beach, on the southern boundary of which lie the above described bays, is in itself a remarkable bit of shore topography; it clearly belongs to the class of barrier beaches such as are originated along coasts by the breaking of the waves in shallow water. It is evident that this has grown slowly and by successive and variable accretions; even in its narrow width we can trace a number of low walls which mark the line of the sea at various stages in the progress of its growth. The whole of these sands have been thrown up from the bottom of Nantucket Bay. When we come to consider the successive changes of level of this Island we shall find that this beach affords us evidence of some value as to the nature of these movements."

"The long sand strip known as Great Head is the third element in this peculiar topography. This promontory is essentially like many others on the sandy shores of our coast. It will be observed that while the elevated and older portion of this spit trends in a northwest and southeast direction, the submerged and more recently formed portion, which is covered even at low water, has an axis nearly at right angles to this trend, and also that this under-sea part is much more irregular than the emerged portion. This sudden change in the direction of the spit may very properly lead us to the conclusion that there has been considerable change in the course of the currents which have swept these shores in recent times, a change dependent on the alteration in the shape of the lands, which has in turn affected the action of the sea. * * *"

"In connection with the shore line of Nantucket, we should notice the fresh-water system of the Island. This is extremely peculiar. There is not a single well-defined stream on Nantucket. The only approach to brooks are a few obscure channels between ponds where the water has, except in times of flood, a feeble current. This absence of streams is due to the great porosity of the sand and gravel deposits. The fresh and brackish water ponds are quite numerous. They are divisible into two tolerably distinct classes, viz., the subcircular ponds, which are scattered irregularly through the sand hills, and which range in size from a few score feet to a half a mile in diameter, and the elongate ponds, which lie in long shallow troughs leading from the south slope of the range of sandhills down to the Atlantic shore. With the single exception of Croskaty Pond, which lies on the northern part of the Island, these elongated ponds are limited to the southern shore. With trifling exceptions, these elongated ponds have axes which trend in the direction of about N. 30° E. They are larger in the western than in the eastern half of the Island. These singularities of position depend upon their relation to the remarkable shallow valleys in which they lie. * * * Their peculiar form and arrangement have been given them by the conditions of the Glacial Period."

"* * * While the northern shore of Nantucket extending west from the harbor of that name to Matacut* Harbor, presents a remarkably straight and unbroken face to the sea, the southern border of Coatue Bay or Sound is very deeply indented. The straight shore is the normal form of the coast line, where the materials exposed to erosion are of a very uniform nature, which is assaulted by waves of considerable power, such as break upon this coast in times of storm. The indented shore has the form which a coast composed of such materials assumes when it is not exposed to the action of strong current and powerful waves, as the inner shore of Coatue Bay must have been exposed before the present beach was constructed."

*Maddeket

Prof. Shaler in describing the general geological structure of the Island says that "the lowest deposit exposed on the Island consists of a bed of clay, generally blue and compact, scantily intermingled with pebbles and sand, the whole forming a deposit which is probably to be classed as till of boulder clay."* Usually this is below the sea level. The highest point at which it appears is in a clay pit in the western section of the Town. Here it is about 30 feet above sea level. The surface of this clay deposit seems to be cast into at least three very broad and low arch-like elevations with lesser hummocks upon them. Next above this undulating surface of the lower clay is a mass of stratified sand. Boulders were at one time much more numerous than now for lack of structural stone or good brick clay has made it necessary to use them in foundation or retaining work.

Prof. Shaler describes quite at length the characteristics of the hills and valleys and the formation of lagoons and ponds. Referring to split pebbles quite frequently found, he says:

"At first sight a large number of these faceted pebbles look like imperfect stone implements; to my eye they closely resemble the interesting implement-like stones from the gravels near Trenton, N. J. It is often, indeed, difficult to resist the conviction that some selected specimens are the result of human labor. A careful inquiry, however, has led me to the conviction that they are all natural products. * * * Specimens weighing 20 or 30 pounds were not infrequently observed; these were evidently too large to have been used as implements; others were found not exceeding an inch in length, which were clearly too small specimens, on the average not over one or two were chipped in a way which it would be reasonable to suppose a savage would have chosen to adopt in order to bring the stones into a shape suitable for any of his limited needs."

He also describes quite minutely the fossiliferous deposits which "are confined to two small groups of strata; one of these consists of fresh water peats, the other of areas of stratified sands containing a variety of marine species." The fresh water peats lie below the level of low tide and show in sections from Tom Never's Head to Squam Head and also near Capaum Pond. The fossiliferous beds of Sankaty Head are seen in the cliff and are described minutely.†

Prof. Shaler states as his opinion that the clay deposit underlying the Island and occasionally showing above the sea level, came first in the Glacial Period. Following this the ice sheet retreated from the district and marine life returned to the shore. After the fossiliferous beds were formed at Sankaty Head, the level of the shore of which must have been at least fifty feet below the present high water mark, the ice again advanced. "During this readvance, or perhaps, in several successive readvances, were accumulated the existing heaps of stratified and amorphous sand, gravel, and boulders,

†See also "The Pleistocene Deposits of Sankoty Head," Cushman Published by Nantucket Maria Mitchell Association.

*Page 613-16.

as well as the southern sand plains which constitute the principal feature of the Island.”*

Since the last retreat of the ice it would appear that there was an uplift of the territory of not less than 300 feet and possibly much more, followed by a slight downward movement, the latter carrying the fresh water peat beds below the sea level.

Referring to recent changes, Prof. Shaler says that “while the larger part of the coast of Martha’s Vineyard is now (1889) wearing away with considerable speed, rather more than half of the periphery of Nantucket is at present not only exempt from wear, but exhibits a gradual accretion.”† This is most conspicuous in the section of shore between Tom Never’s Head and Siasconset and a portion of Great Point. Some portions, however, are still wearing.

It is also possible, says the Professor, that when the Island was first settled a considerable portion of it may have been covered by a forest growth.‡

It seems clear that the Professor lacks faith in the tradition in its entirety, and the numerous votes passed by the Town in its earliest days to conserve the trees, naturally raise a suspicion that, while heavy growths may have existed in some sections, the Island, as a whole, was not extensively wooded, within the knowledge of whites.

Rev. Dr. Ferdinand C. Ewer, who made a prolonged and careful survey of the Island, the result of which appears in his map, in a communication to the Nantucket Inquirer & Mirror of December 24, 1881, took the position that the time was, during the Glacial Period, when Nantucket was not an island, and Saul’s and Trott’s Hills were some 700 feet in height, and the breakers rolled on a beach fully sixty or seventy miles to the south. The whole region of Southern New England, he theorizes, was elevated at least six hundred feet above its present height, and Nantucket was one of a series of hills, rather than an island, surrounded by the lower lands of what are now the bottoms of the sounds at the north and St. Georges Banks at the east and south. Subsequently the continent sank and the sea gradually advanced, until it beat upon the beaches of Surfside and ’Sconset, poured around over the lower lands forming the sounds, leaving Nantucket, Martha’s Vineyard, Block, Long and Staten Islands in their insular state.

During the Glacial Period the ice was enormously thick and its tendency was to move south. In its movement rocks were torn away from hills and mountains, and moved miles, away from their original locations. The lower rim of the enormous ice cap lay along where Nantucket, Martha’s Vineyard and Long Island now stand,

*Page 641.

†Page 647. It is within the memory of many when the beach at Siasconset was not over half its present width.

‡Page 650.

and as the ice melted the material carried by the ice was deposited, and the islands were formed.

In Nantucket's early life, he says, Great, Brant and Smith's Points did not exist and there stood above the level of the sea three, if not four, islands—Coskata, the body of Nantucket, Tuckernuck, and possibly Gravel Island. Dr. Ewer thinks the South east quarter, South Pasture, Smooth Hummocks, the Plains and Great Neck were the natural product of the melting of the ice and the washing down of its burden of "till," and that Altar Rock, Table Rock, Split Rock and the rock north of the 'Sconset road were left unmoved. The melting was copious and as the somewhat parallel streams coursed to the South they formed the valleys and the basins for the ponds, the outlets to the ponds being eventually closed as the bars of beach sand formed. Subsequently the Island sank and the sea surrounded it and the battering of the waves tore away portions of the shores and formed the points.

THE DISCOVERY BY THE NORTHMEN

There can be little doubt but that the Norsemen of the tenth century in their researches along the eastern coast of North America, on more than one occasion sighted the Island of Nantucket. Indeed evidence is said to exist that they landed upon its shores, and there found upon the moistened grass, a dew of, to them, an unusually sweet taste.* After sketching the course of the settlement of Iceland, and, from thence, that of Greenland, by Biarni,† (whose father, during the son's absence from Iceland was among those who sailed to Greenland,) in quest of his relatives, the Icelandic narrative describes the voyage of Leif in quest of this terra incognita, upon the shores of which Biarni had been driven, and, after narrating his arrival at what is now Nova Scotia, proceeds. "They came again in sight of land" (two days from Nova Scotia) "approaching which, they landed upon an island lying opposite to the northeasterly part of the main land. Here they landed, and found the air remarkably pleasant. They observed the grass covered with much dew. When they touched this accidentally, and raised the hand to the mouth, they perceived a sweetness which they had not before no-

*Northmen in New England, Smith, Page 98.

†Thorwald, a nobleman of southwestern Norway having, with his son, Erick (or Eric) the Red, killed a person in some feud, was obliged to remove with his family. They went to Iceland, which was at that time "thoroughly colonized." Thorwald died soon after arriving there, and Erick, having the same restless spirit as his father, soon became involved in another feud, and being unjustly treated by some of his neighbors, committed another murder. Being tried and condemned he determined to remove from Iceland and seek the land once seen by one Guniburn, who was driven by a storm away to the westward. Steering boldly to the west he came at length to what he called Greenland. After a lapse of two years he returned to Iceland, and soon set sail again for his western home accompanied by "twenty-five ships," with passengers, crews and stores. This was in A. D. 985. One of the chief of these colonists was Heriulf, the father of Biarni. Biarni in a subsequent search for the colony was driven by a succession of gales as far to the south and west as Nova Scotia, but succeeded in returning and reaching Greenland, where the story of his voyage excited much interest.

ticed." This land was, probably, Nantucket. The whole subsequent account seems to point conclusively to this fact. The description of the shores and currents, the time occupied in the daily passages, all seem to fix this beyond a doubt. After Leif came Thorwald, and after him—in 1006—came Thorfinn, who describes quite minutely the coast of Cape Cod, which the Northmen called Furdustrandir, i. e., shores of great length, or wonderful shores, because they were so long sailing by its monotonous coast.*

The Island appears to have remained, as it were, in its chrysalis state, from early in the eleventh century until the year 1602, when it again emerged from its obscurity, this time to the eyes of Englishmen. On the 26th of March, 1602, Bartholemew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, England, for North Virginia. Keeping as far to the north as the winds would permit, the first land he made was Cape Cod. In a journal of the voyage by Gabriel Archer, published in 1625, the following mention is made of Nantucket. "The sixteenth" (May) "we trended the Coast southerly, which was all champaine and full of grasse, but the Iland somewhat woodie. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point, with some breach a good distance off, and keeping our loffe to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach wee called Tucker's Terror upon his expressed feare. The Point we named Point Care, having passed it wee bore up againe with the Land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fathom, the ground good." Coasting along the southern shore of the island they stood into the opening between Muskeget and Chappaquidick, but finding at a distance of a league three fathoms of water, stood off again, and sailed to No Man's Land, or as they termed it Marthas Vineyard.†

In 1606, Pourtrincourt and his companions saw an island at a distance of six or seven leagues from their harbor, which Mr. Freeman‡ thinks was a chatham, which they were unable to approach on account of the unfavorable wind. This they called "Douteuse" or Doubtful. This was probably Nantucket.

*" Le Vinland etait situe a une distance de deux jours de navigation (environ 54 a 60 milles), au sudouest de Markland. La distance du cap Sable au cap Cod est indiquee dans les ouvrages nautiques comme etant (W by S) de 70 leagues (52 milles) environ. La description de ces cotes s'accorde avec celle de Biarne, et dans l'ile situee a l'est, dans cette ile qui formait avec la peninsule etendue a l'est et au nord le passage entre lequel Leif navigua, nous reconnaissons Nantucket. Les Scandinaves trouverent la beaucoup de bas-fonds (grunnsoefui mikit). Les navigateurs de nos jours ont fait la meme remarque; ils font mention de nombreux bancs de sable (rifs) et d'autres bas-fonds (shoals) qui s'y trouvent, et disent presente l'aspect d'une terre submergee (drowned land). From "Decouverte de l'Amerique au 10 e Siecle" par M. C. C. Rafn; published in Memoires de la Societe Royale des Antiquaries du Nord 1836-1839. Copenhagen, p. 41.

†At what date the name of Martha's (or Martin's, as it was generally appears in the old records) Vineyard was transferred to the island now known as such does not appear. Neither is it evident which is the proper name, nor whence either was derived, unless this account of Gosnold may be considered as determining the matter. (See History of Martha's Vineyard, Banks, Chap. IV, Vol. 1).

‡History of Cape Cod. Rev. Frederick Freeman. Vol. 1 p. 430.

From this time to the year 1621 there is little to record. In that year "King James 1, in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, created the "Council for the affaires of New England," known as the Plymouth Company,* and this Council at the Request of Charles 1, in 1635, conveyed unto William Earl of Sterling, Secretary of the Kingdom of Scotland, Pemaquid and its Dependencies on the Coast of Maine, together with Long Island, and the adjacent Islands, with Power of judicature, saving to the Council the Oyer and Terminer of Appeals, and yielding a fifth Part of gold and silver Ores."

"In April, 1637, the Earl of Stirling appointed James Forrett his Agent or Deputy for settling the Islands between Cape Cod and the Hudson River, and in 1641 the latter sold for £40 to Thomas Mayhew, a merchant of Watertown, in Massachusetts, and Thomas Mayhew, his Son the Island of Nantucket, with several small Islands adjacent." * * The Mayhews, having doubts concerning the capacity of Nantucket to answer the purpose designed, purchased shortly afterwards of Forrett, Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Isles. As these islands were also all claimed to be under the authority of Sir Fernando Gorges, Lord Proprietor of Maine, Mr. Mayhew Sen. obtained of his Agent, Richard Vines, a grant of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket upon terms to be subsequently fixed. Before the title from Lord Stirling could be arranged Mr. Forrett was suddenly called to England, and his place was "supplied by Andries Forrester, a Scotchman, who visited the Islands, and made very fair Promises of a Settlement of Title; but going to Manhattan, he was thrown into Prison by the Dutch, and soon afterwards sent to Holland, from whence he never returned."†

The causes leading to the settlement of Nantucket have, in

*Hough—"Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket," Intro. p. ix.

†Mr. Mayhew was born early in 1592; was a merchant in Southampton, England, and probably removed to America in 1633 or early in 1634 (possibly in 1631-2 Banks fixes the latter date. Vol 1 p. 117) was admitted a freeman May 14, 1634; was resident of Medford 1635; settled in Watertown in the same year, where he owned mills purchased of Mr. Craddock, and a farm; was a Selectman or Watertown from 1637 to 1643 and deputy to the General Court 1636 to 1644, performing as deputy varied and important services. "Few other persons," says Bond (Hist. Watertown p. 857) "so often received important appointments from the General Court." In 1642 he purchased Martha's Vineyard and sent there his son Thomas and several other persons, who settled at what is now Edgartown. He probably removed there himself in 1645. His children were (1) Thomas; (2) Hannah, born June 15, 1635; (3) Bertha, born Dec. 6, 1636; (4) Mary, born Jan. 14, 1639-40. He died April 13, 1682 lacking but six days of being 90.

The Forrett deed reads as follows—"These Presents doe witnesse that I, Jomes Fforrett, Gent, who was sent over into these parts of America, by the Hon'ble Lord Sterling with a Commission for the ordering and disposing of all the Islands that lyeth between Cape Codd and Hudson River, and have hitherto continued Agent without and Contradiction, doe hereby graunt unto Thomas Mayhew at Watertown, Merchant, and to Thomas Mayhew his Sonne, free Liberty and full Power to them their Heyres and Assignes forever. Provided, That Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Sonne, or either of them or their Assigns doe render and pay yearly unto the Hon'ble the Lord Sterling, his Heyres and Assignes, such an Acknowledgement as shall bee thought fitt by John Winthrop, Esq'r the Elder, or any two Magistrates in the Massachusetts Bay, being chosen for that End and Purpose by the Hon. the Lord Sterling or his Deputy; and by the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Sonne, or their Assignes.

It's agreed, That the Government that the said Thomas Mayhew his Sonne and their Assignes shall sett up, shall bee such as is now established in the Massachusetts aforesaid, and that the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Sonne and their Assignes shall have

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(See next page)

their general bearing, been considered a repetition of those which led to the early settlement of New England. This view, however, is not consistent with admitted facts. Of the first twenty proprietors of Nantasket, or more properly of the ten who came to the Island, three of them, Thomas Macy, Richard Swayne and Edward Starbuck had been the subjects of religious prosecutions, and of the proprietors who were non-resident, Christopher Hussey (whose son Stephen took his place in Island affairs) and Robert Pike suffered from similar proceedings.*

Early in the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, less than twenty years from the advent of the Pilgrims in New England, religious persecution began, and a series of acts was perpetrated in the name of the law, that in our present age seems incredible. Against the sect called Quakers these vials of wrath were opened most relentlessly.† Men and women were scourged from one town to another, imprisoned, banished from the Colony, hung, mutilated in their persons, and covered with that opprobrium which attends a persecuted minority. This spirit of intolerance had in 1658 and

as much Priviledge touching their Planting, Inhabitting, and Enjoying, of all and every Part of the Premises as by the Patent to the Patentees of the Massachusetts aforesaid, and the Associates. In Witnesse hereof I the said James Forrett have hereunto sett my Hand and Seale this 13 Day of October, 1641

Witnesses

ROBERT CORANE
NICHOLAS DAVIDSON
RICH'D STILLMAN

JAMES FFORRETT (Seal)
PHILIP WATSON Clerke

(Hough pp. 1, 2.

The claim of Gorges was based on the following clause in his grant —“Charles by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Ffrance & Ireland defend'r of the faith & c. To all to whome these presents shall come Greeting; whereas Sr. fferdinando Gorges Knt, hath beene an humble suitor unto us to grant & confirme unto him & his heires, a part & portion of the country of America now commonly called or known by the name of new England in America * * * * we do giue graunt & confirme unto the said sr. fferdinando Gorges his heires & Assignes, All that part purport & portion of the maine land of new England afforesaid beginning at the entrance of Pescataway Harbour, & so to pass up the same into the river of newichewanacke, and through the same unto the furthest head thereof & from thence northwestwards, till one hundred & twenty miles be finished. And from Pescataway harbor mouth aforesaid northeastwards along the sea coasts to sagadahocke & up the riuer thereto to Knyngbequy Riuer & through the same unto the head thereof And into the land northwestwards vntill one hundred & twenty miles be ended, being accompted from the mouth of sagadahocke & from the period of one hundred & twenty miles and formerly Reckoned up into the land from Pescataway harbour through new-icketoanocke River and also the north halfe of the Isles of Shoals, together with the Isles of Capawocke & nautican nere Cape Cod, & also all the Islands & Isletts lying within fiue Leagues of the mayne all along the afforesaid coastes between the afforesaid Rivers of Pescataway & Sagadahocke” etc. etc. (Mass Archives. Miscellaneous, vol. 1 p. 1301.

*Pike's offence was in accusing those who made the law against preaching without a license as Peasley had done, of violating their oaths (Pike himself was a deputy). For this he was disfranchised. Several friends having petitioned the Court for a remission of the punishment were summonsed before that body to defend themselves and show cause if any there was, why such unwarrantable presumption should not be punished. Among this number was Christopher Hussey. As a matter of fact Capt. Pike had far more reason to complain of persecution than any who removed to Nantucket.

†Before the first Quaker arrived in Massachusetts the General Court had appointed a Fast Day “to seek the face of God in behalf of our native country, in reference to the abounding of errors, especially those of Ranters and Quakers.”

1659 reached an extreme point. Quakers were banished from the Colony under pain of death if they returned, or, if found within its jurisdiction after a limited time, the penalty was the same as for a return after banishment. Citizens were prohibited harboring them, mingling with them or advocating or encouraging their religion.* Says the Rev. Frederick Freeman writing of this period.

"There was now," (1655) we are sorry to confess, already begun an unhappy course of intolerance against the people called Quakers. The colonists were willing that a spirit of which they once complained, whether justly or unjustly, should be construed into a right of conscience, and its exercise by themselves regarded as a sacred duty. Not the least deviation must be allowed from the course they themselves were pleased to adjudge to be orthodox. * * * The prosecution of this people originated in, and was chiefly confined, for a time to the Massachusetts Colony, and there, in fact, was ever the scene of its chiefest intensity."†

In 1655, a law was passed than "no Quaker be entertained by any person or persons within this goverment, under penalty of £5 for every such default, or to be whipped." This was amended in

*The following law was enacted by the General Court in 1656: "Att a second Session of the General Court, held att Boston, the 14th of October, 1656

WHEREAS there is a cursed sect of hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are comonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be imediatlie sent of God, & infallibly assisted by the Spiritt of God to speake & write blasphemous opinions, despising government & the order of God in the churches & comonwealth, speaking evill of dignities, reproaching & revileing magistrates & ministers, seeking to turne the people from the fayth, & gayne proselites to their pnitious wayes—

This Court, taking into serious consideration the pmises, & to pvent the like mischeifes as by their means is wrought in or native land, doth hereby order, & by the authoritie of this Court be it ordered & enacted, that what master or commander of any shipp, barke, pinnace, catch, or any other vessell that shall henceforth bringe into any harbour, creeke, or cove, within this jurisdiction, any known Quaker or Quakers, or any other blasphemous haeretickes as affores'd shall pay or cause to be payd the fine of one hundred pounds to the Traeasurer of the country, except it appeare that he wanted true knowledge or information of their being such; & in that case he hath liberty to cleare himselfe by his oath, when suffycient prooffe to the contrary is wantinge, and for default of payment or good securities for it, shalbe committed to prison, & there to remayne till the sd sune be satisfied to the Treasurer as aforesaid."

The masters also were to give good security to return the Quakers whence they came. Any Quaker arriving in the Colony, though he committed no illegal act, was to be "forthwith committed to the house of correction and at their entrance to be severely whipt, & by the masters thereof to be kept constantly to work, & none suffered to converse or speake with them dureing the time of their imprisonment which shall be no longer than necessity requireth." Importing or ownership of Quaker books or manuscript or the holding of Quaker opinions was cause for fine, imprisonment or banishment. So strenuous did the laws eventually become that the home government was compelled to interfere and demand their repeal.

Unfortunately the Quakers suffered from an excess of misguided zeal on the part of a few of their numbers, who committed acts that would not be tolerated even today and doubtless that over-zeal was responsible for much of the prejudice against them.

†History of Cape Cod, Freeman, vol. 1, page 211. Among the rigorous laws enacted was one forbidding the Indians to worship in their own manner on English ground, punishing blasphemy with death, etc. Open renunciation of the church or its order was punishable by a fine of 40 s per month for each month of heresy. Disobedience of parents or denying the Scriptures to be the word of God was punishable with death. A man must be orthodox to hold office or to vote. Complaint to the home government brought local whipping and banishment. Of these persecutions Cotton Mather said "If any will appear in vindication of it, let him do as he pleases, for my part I will not."

October, 1657, making the fine 40 shillings per hour for each offense. Under the provisions of that law several Quakers were arrested and imprisoned. On the 18th of October, 1659, the "Court vnderstanding that seuerall inhabitants of this jurisdiction have lodged the Quakers now in prison, doe order that the secretary issue out a warrant to the seuerall persons, & send the same by a messenger of purpose to bring them w'th speede to this Court, to ans'r for theire offence therein." Those persons were James Rawlins, Anthony Emery, Thomas Spencer, Richard Nason, Richard Swayne, Zaccheus Gould and Thomas Macy.

The summons to Court was received by Mr. Macy in October, 1659, and a few days after he sent to the Court the following letter:—

"This is to entreat the honoured Court not to be offended because of my non-appearance. It is not from my slighting the authority of the honoured Court, nor fear to answer the case; but have been some weeks past very ill, and am so at present; and notwithstanding my illness, yet I, desirous to appear, have done my utmost endeavour to hire a horse, but cannot procure one at present. I, being at present destitute, have endeavoured to purchase one, but at present cannot attain it—but I shall relate the truth of the case, as my answer would be to the honoured Court—and more cannot be proved, nor so much. On a rainy morning, there came to my house, Edward Wharton and three men more; the said Wharton spoke to me, saying that they were travelling eastward, and desired me to direct them in the way to Hampton; and never saw any of the men afore except Wharton, neither did I enquire their names or what they were; but by their carriage I thought they might be Quakers, and said I so; and therefore desired them to pass on in their way—saying to them I might possibly give offence in entertaining them, and soon as the violence of the rain ceased, (for it rained hard,) they went away and I never saw them since. The time that they staid in the house was about three quarters of an hour; they spoke not many words in the time neither was I at leisure to talk with them; for I came home wet to the skin and I found my wife sick in bed. If this satisfy not the honoured Court, I shall submit to their sentence. I have not willingly offended—I am ready to serve and obey you in the Lord.*

27 of 8 mo. '59.

Tho. Macy

Two of the Quakers, William Robinson, a merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stephenson, of Yorkshire, England, were hanged in Boston on the 27th of December of the same year for their heretical opinions. The Record of the General Court on the case against Thomas Macy and others is—

"Nov. 12, 1659, The Court, hauing considered of the seueral of-

*The original letter was presented to the Trustees of the Nantucket Athenaeum and a copy retained for the files at the State House. The original was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1846, when the Athenaeum and its valuable museum were burned.

fences of those persons yt entertayned the Quakers, with the answers given in by them respectiuey, doe ordr, that James Rawlings, being more innocent & ingenious* than the rest, be only admonished by the honnored Gouverno'r wch was donne.

2. That Anthony Emery pay a fine to ye county tenn pounds and tenn shillings for making a lye in ye face of the Court, & be disfranchised.

3. That Thomas Spencer pay as a fine to ye county for his entertayning the Quakers the some of fve pounds & be disfranchised.

4. That Richard Nason, for the like offence, pay fve pounds, also, & be disfranchised.

5. That Richard Swayne, for his entertayning the Quakers, shall pay as a fine the some of three pounds, & be disfranchised.

6. That Zackeus Gold pay as a fine for his entertaining the Quakers the some of three pounds.

7. That Thomas Macy pay as a fine the sume of thiry shillings, and be admonished by the Gouverno'r.

That Edward Wharton, who accompanied the Quakers, & pilatted them from one place to another, for his bold attempts, shall haue corporall punishment, i. e. whipt with twenty stripes, & comitted to prison, there to remajne till he bring suertyes for his good behaviour.

And that attachment issue out agt John Heard for his contempt, & yt he appeare before ye next Generall Court, & yt Nicho Hodgsden be sent for to appeare at the same time."†

During the summer of 1659, Tristram Coffin, having in view a change of residence for himself and family, determined to visit the islands lying off the south-east coast of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Accordingly, accompanied by Edward Starbuck and Isaac Coleman (the latter a mere youth of 12 years of age), he visited Martha's Vineyard. Learning there that the title to Nantucket was vested in Thomas Mayhew, and that he was willing to dispose of the larger part of his interest there, they sailed to that island to make a survey of it, and to ascertain its adaptability to their purpose, taking with them Peter Folger for an interpreter. Coffin hoped to vrovide there a place where his children could be located around him.†

*Ingenuous (?)

†State Archives Vol. 4 pp. 430-31.

It is a common error to consider that Mr. Macy was a Quaker. He not only was not a Quaker himself, but unless we accept the traditions that Jane Stokes exhorted here in 1664, and of those forbidden by John Gardner to speak in 1680, it is doubtful if he ever saw one of the sect on Nantucket. He was a Baptist, and there is no evidence to show that he had any sympathy for Quakerism. He sheltered them on that particular occasion on purely humanitarian grounds. In Oct., 1640, the General Court set off from Pentucket (or Haverhill) the new town of Salisbury. Some of the inhabitants, probably for greater convenience, had taken for their preacher one Joseph Peasley, who had not been licensed to preach as required by law. Apparently Mr. Macy was a leader in the movement for Peasley, and he was summonsed to appear before the General Court on the 26th of October, to answer to a charge of "disorderly practices." It was in connection with this affair that Robert Pike was involved in trouble with the Court and disfranchised.

‡It will be noted that this was prior to Mr. Macy's trouble. It is more than likely that his migration to Nantucket was the result of Mr. Coffin's voyage of inquiry. Edward Starbuck who accompanied Mr. Coffin at that time became Mr. Macy's partner when the compact was finally made, as is shown by the records.

He desired also to find out if the Indians were willing to sell their lands and on what terms, etc.

Mr. Coffin, finding the Island suited to his plans, and the sachems willing to make satisfactory terms, made report unto his friends, the result of which was the following agreement, as copied from the Town Records:

"These people after mentioned did buy all right and Interest of the Island of Nantucket that Did belong to Sir Ferdinando George and Mr. James Forrett Steward to Lord Sterling, which was by them sold unto Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard these after-mentioned Did purchas of Mr. Thomas Mayhew these Rights; namely the pattent Right belonging to the Gentlemen aforesaid & also the piece of Land which Mr. Mayhew did purchass of the Indians at the west End of the Island of Nantucket as by their grant or bill of Sale will largely appear with all the privileges and appurtenances thereof—the aforesmentioned Purchasers are Tristram Coffin Senr. Thomas Macy, Richard Swain, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swain, William Pile, the said Mr. Thomas Mayhew himself also becom a Twentyeth part purchaser so that they Vizt. Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Tristram Coffin snr., Thomas Macy, Richard Swain, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swain, William Pile, had the whole and Sole Interest Disposal power, and privilege of said Island and appurtenances thereof."

Of the same date as the Agreement is the following Deed from Mr. Mayhew to the ten proprietors.*

"Be it known unto all men by these Presents that I Thomas Mayhew of Martin's vineyard, Merchant do hereby acknowledge that I have sold unto Tristram Coffin Thomas Macy Christopher Hussey Richard Swain Thomas Barnard Peter Coffin Stephen Greenleaf John Swain & William Pile all that Right and Interest that I have in the Island of Nantucket by pattent the which Right I bought of James Forret Gentleman, Steward unto the Lord Sterling and of Richard Vines sometime of Sacho, Gent, Steward General unto Sr. Ferdinando Georges Knight as by Conveyance under their hands and seals appeareth for them the aforesaid to Injoy their heirs and assigns for Ever with all the priviledges thereunto belonging for and in Consideration of the sum of Thirty pounds of Currant pay unto whomsoever I the sd Thomas Mayhew mine heirs or assigns shall appoint and also two bever hats one for my self and one for my wife and further this is to Declare that I the sd Thomas Mayhew have Reserved to myself that Neck upon Nantucket Called Masquetuck or that Neck of land called Nashayte the neck but one northerly of Masquetauck the afores'd sale in any wise notwithstanding and further I the sd Thomas Mayhew am to bear my part of the Charge of the sd purchase aboue named and to hold one Twentyeth part of all land purchased already or shall be hereafter purchased upon the sd Island by the purchasers aforesd or their heirs and assigns for Ever briefly it is thus that I Really sold all my pattent to the aforsd nine men & they are to pay me or whom I shall appoint the sum of thirty pounds in good merchantable pay in the Massachusetts under which Government they now Inhabit and two bever hats and I am to bear a twentyeth part of all lands and priviledges and to have which

*From a copy made and certified to by Eleazer Folger, and to which is appended the following note—"A true Coppy of the Record so much as is legible but Time has Defaced some part thereof."

of the Necks aboue sd that I will myself pay for it; only the purchasers are to pay what the Sachem is to have for Masquetuck though I take the other Neck and in witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this second day of July 1659

per me

THOMAS MAYHEW.

witnesses

John Smith

Edward Scale.

On the 10th of October of the same year Mr. Mayhew deeded unto Tristram Coffin Senr. Peter Coffin, Tristram Coffin, Junr., and James Coffin all right and interest in the Island of Tuckernuck* for the sum of £5.

In February 1659‡ at Salisbury,† “At a Meeting of the purchasers, or the major part of them, approved of and allowed by the rest, together wth some others that was owned for Associates, as will hereafter appear; it was agreed and Determined and approved as follows, vizt that the ten owners will admitt of Ten more partners who shall have Liberty to take a partener whom he pleases not being justly Excepted against by the rest. At that Meeting Robert Pike was owned partner with Christopher Hussey, Robert Barnard was owned partner with Thomas Barnard, Edwd Starbuck was owned to be Thomas Macys partner and Tristram Coffin Jnr partner with Stephen Greenleaf, James Coffin with Peter Coffin. At the same Meeting it was mutually and Unanimously agreed upon determined and Concluded that no man whatsoever shall purchase any Land of any of the Indians upon the said Iland for his own private or particular use, but whatsoever purchas shall be made shall be for the general account of the Twenty owners or purchasers and whatsoever person shall purchase any Land upon any other account it shall be utterly void and null except what is don by Leve from the said owners or purchasers. at the same Meeting it was ordered and Determined that there shall be ten other Inhabitant admitted into the Plantation who shall have such Accommodation as the owners or purchasers shall judge meet—as namely necessary tradesmen, and seamen.”

Besides those named in the above record John Smith was chosen partner with Thomas Mayhew; Nathaniel Starbuck with Tristram Coffin Sr.; Thomas Look with Richard Swain; Thomas Coleman with John Swain; and Thomas Mayhew Jr. with his father Thomas Mayhew Senr.

At another meeting of the proprietors held in Salisbury, the decision of the previous meeting in regard to the purchase of land was reaffirmed and ordered to stand “Inviolable unalterable,” “as that which is likely necessary to the Continuance of the well being of the place and the Contrary that which tends to the Confusion and Ruine of the whole and the Subverting of the rules and orders already agreed upon and the depriving of the said owners

*The Head Chief of Nantucket, Wamackmamach sold to the above granters Feb 20, 1661 half of this Island for £10. one half paid down and the rest when Thomas Mayhew should decide who was the right owner. Hough p. 10.

†This meeting took place at the house of Benjamin Campbell. It is not very clear what interest Campbell had that the meeting should have been held at his house.

‡This is old style. Uu to 1752 so far as the Nantucket was concerned. The year began March 1.

of their just rights and Interests." At the same meeting it was ordered that all the arable land convenient for house lots should be measured that it might "be divided by equal proportions, that is to say Four Fifths parts to the owners or purchasers and the other Fifth unto the Ten other Inhabitants, whereof John Bishop shall have two parts or Shares, that is to say of that Fifth part belonging to the Ten Inhabitant. Also at the same meeting it was ordered that Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Barnard, Peter Folger of Martha's Vineyard, shall have power to Measure and lay out said Land according to the above said order and whatsoever shall be done and concluded in the said case by or any three of them, Peter Folger being one, shall be accounted Legall and valid."

Having acquired by purchase the English right to Nantucket, it was not only in accordance with many precedents in the Massachusetts Bay that the proprietors should reimburse the Indians for their rights,* but also in accordance with their sense of honor and justice. Wanackmamack and Nickanoose being the principal Sachems it was necessary to treat with them. In fact, as Mr. Macy says, the men belonging or intending to belong to the association were not disposed to engage in the enterprise until an agreement was made with the Indians, consequently a verbal arrangement was made with the Sachems, and several families removed to the Island. In May 1660, however, a formal deed was given reading as follows:

"These presents witness, May the tenth sixteen hundred and sixty, that we Wanackmamack and Nickanoose, head Sachems of Nantucket island, do give, grant, bargain and sell, unto Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Martin's Vineyard, Tristram Coffin, senior, Thomas Macy, Christopher Hussey, Richard Swain, Peter Coffin, Stephen Greenleaf, Thomas Barnard, John Swain, and William Pile, all the Land, Meadow, Marshes, Timber and Wood, and all appurtenances thereunto belonging, and being and lying from the west end of the island of Nantucket, unto the Pond, called by the Indians, Waqutuquab, and from the head of that Pond, upon a straight line, unto the Pond situated by Monomoy Harbor or Creek, now called Wheeler's Creek, and so from the northeast corner of the said Pond to the Sea, that is to say, all the right that we, the aforesaid Sachems, have in the said tract of Land, provided that none of the Indian Inhabitants, in or about the wood land or whatsoever Indians, within the last purchase of land, from the head of the Pond to Monomoy Harbor, shall be removed without full satisfaction. And we, the aforesaid Sachems, do give, grant, bargain and sell, the one half of the remainder of the Meadows and Marshes upon all other, parts of the Island.. And also, that the English people shall have what grass they shall need for to mow, out of the remainder of the Meadows and Marshes on the Island, so long as the English remain upon the Island, and also free liberty for Timber and Wood, upon any part of the Island within the jurisdiction. And also, we, the aforesaid Sachems, do fully grant free liberty to the English for the feeding all sorts of

*Many accounts are on record of purchases of land from the Indians, and also of punishments meted the white man who had wronged them in any way, and although there may have been and doubtless were, many unscrupulous men in the Massachusetts Bay Colony who imposed upon and ill treated the aborigines, the majority of the people doubtless inclined to render them as strict justice as they meted to each other.

of Cattle on any part of the island, after Indian harvest is ended until planting time, or until the first of May, from year to year forever, for and in consideration of twelve pounds already paid, and fourteen pounds to be paid within three months after the date hereof.

To have and to hold the aforesaid purchase of land, and other appurtenances, as aforementioned, to them, Mr. Thomas Macy, Tristram Coffin, Thomas Mayhew and the rest, aforementioned and their heirs and assigns, for ever.

In witness whereof, we, the said Sachems, have hereunto set our hands and seals, the day and year above written.

The sign of Wanamamack, (Seal)

The sign of Nickanoose (Seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered, in the presenece of us,

Peter Folger,

Felix Kuttashamaquat,

Edward Starbuck.

I do Witness this Deed to be a true Deed, according to the Intepretation of Felix the interpreter; also, I heard Wanackmamack, but two weeks ago say that the sale of Nick and he do say that he will do so whatever coms of it. Witness my hand this 17th 1 mo. 1664.

Peter Folger.

Witness: Mary Starbuck
John Coffin.

Wanackmamack and Nickanoose acknowledged the above written to be their act and deed, in the presence of the General Court, this 12th of June, 1677, as attest

Matthew Mayhew,

Secretary to the General Court.

On the 20th of February, 1661, Wanackmamack gave a separate deed which as it not only includes the foregoing but covers the claim to the whole Island it is thought advisable to insert.

These Pr'sents Wittness, y't I, Wanackmamack, Head Sachem of ye Island of Nantuckett, have Bargained and Sold and doe by these Presents Bargaine, and Sell unto Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Rich'd Swayne, Thomas Bernard, John Swayne, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Edward Starbuck, Peter Coffin, James Coffin, Stephen Greenleafe, Tristram Coffin Jun'r, Thomas Coleman, Robert Bernard, Christopher Hussey, Robert Pyke, John Smyth, and John Bishop, these Islands of Nantuckett, namely all ye West end of ye afores'd Island unto ye Pond comonly called Waquittaquay, and from

*Mr. Hough says (Papers Relating to Nantucket) that there are about fifteen Indian Deeds on record at the New York State House. "The earliest of these, certified in 1665 to have been executed in 1653 (Deeds iii p. 66 Secy's Office) conveyed to Thomas Mayhew the Younger, an undefined Tract on Nantucket for £15, reserving half of the drift Whales." On the 7th of July, 1664, Pakapenessa, Jonas Harry and Jonas Kimmo deeded to the proprietors, for £25, all the "old field" on Nanahumma's Neck, the Indians agreeing to remove. Aug. 11, 1664, Tristram Coffin and John Bishop bought for the company "all that Broken up Land being from Wannacommet to Weptuquage, and from thence to Monomoy." Jan. 5, 1660, Nicanoso, out of "free Voluntary Love" to Edward Starbuck, gave him the land known as Coatue. This Mr. Starbuck assigned to the whole company. June 22, 1662, Wamackmamack sold to Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy the "Nack of Land called by the Indians Pacummohquoh" for £5 (Pocoma—this seems to be in addition to his previous deed assigning the same point. It was several years from the date of the first settlement by the whites before the numerous petty chiefs had all assigned their claims to the proprietors.)

ye Head of that Pond to ye North Side of ye Island Manamoy; Bounded by a Path from ye Head of ye Pond aforesaid to Manamoy; as also a Neck at ye East End of ye Island called Poquomock,* w'th the Property thereof, and all ye Royalties, Priviledges, and Immunityes thereto belonging, or whatsoever Right I ye afores'd Wanackmak have, or have had in ye Same: That is, all ye Lands aforementioned and likewise ye Winter ffeed of ye whole Island from ye End of Indyan Harvest until Planting Time, or ye first day of May, from Yeare to Yeare for ever: as likewise Liberty to make Use of Wood and Timber on all Parts of ye Island: and likewise Halfe of the Meadows and Marishes on all Parts of ye Island, w'thout or beside ye afores'd Tracts of Land purchased: And likewise ye use of ye other Halfe of ye Meadows and Marishes, as long as ye aforesaid English, their Heyers or Assignes live on ye Island: And likewise I the aforesaid Wanackmamack doe sell unto ye English aforemenconed ye propriety of ye rest of ye Island belonging unto mee, for and in consideracon of ffourty Pounds already received by me or other by my Consent or Ord'r, To Have and to Hold, ye afores'd Tracts of Land w'th ye P'priety, Royalties, Immunityes, Priviledges, and all Appurtenances thereunto belonging to them ye afores'd Purchas'rs their Heyres and Assigns forever.

In Witness Whereof, I the afores'd Wanackmamack have hereunto sett my Hand and Seale ye Day and Yeare above written.

Signed Sealed and Delivered in ye p'r'sence of

Peter Foulger

Eleazar Foulger

Dorcas Starbuck.

(The Sign of) Wanackmamack

In the early stages of the Island's history the records were kept at Salisbury, by Robert Pike, and at Nantucket, by Thomas Macy, and on the 10th of May, 1661, we find recorded a meeting at Salisbury wherein it is ordered that "Tristram Coffin, Sen., Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Peter Folger shall also measure and lay out all the rest of the Land both Meadows, Woods and Upland that is covenant to be appropriated within the bounds of the first Plantation—," and they with Mr. Mayhew, Richard Swain, John Bishop or either of the owners could determine what should be divided and what should be common, "and also to Lay out the bounds of the Town—and Record it—provided always that the Land being measured they shall first lay out a covenant quantity for the public use of the Town," Thomas Macy, Tristram Coffin, Senior, Edward Starbuck and Richard Swain having at the date of this meeting taken their lots were to retain them, the others were to draw lots for the choice.

"July 15th, 1661. At a Meeting on Nantucket of the owners or purchasers and Inhabiting, Mr. Thomas Mayhew being present and Peter Folger, it was agreed and concluded that each man of the owners or purchasers shall have Liberty to Chuse his House Lot on any place within the Limits not formerly Taken up and that Each House Lot shall contain Sixty Rods square to a whole accommodation or share or the value or it."

On the 20th of July, 1662, the Town made the following contract, "These presents do witness that wee whose names are underwritten do give and grant unto William Worth sailer half a

*There are several different ways of spelling this name as is the case with other Indian names. They did not seem to sound phonetically the same to different individuals, nor indeed at different times.

share of Land and meadow wood and Timber and all manner of privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging upon the Island of Nantucket both house Lot and other Division of land, meadow, wood, Timber and Commonage we say half as much as any one of the Twenty first purchasers have both in plantation and patent Right to him the aforesaid William Worth, his heirs and assigns, forever upon Conditions that he pay his proportion of all charges of purchasing of the pattennt and Indian right and all other necessary concerning the English rights and also to come and Dwell on the Island and to Imploy himself or be Employed on sea affairs for himself or such person or persons as are Inhabiting on the Island or any of the purchasers at such seasons as are Convenient and for such hire as they shall agree on which shall be according to Reason and not to leave the Island for three years time after the date hereof.

I am content with this as one of the Ten agreed to take in

Thomas Mayhew	Tristram Coffin, Sr.
the mark of B Robert Barnard	for myself and five others more
Thomas Coleman	being Impowered.
the mark of B John Bishop	John Smith
John Rolf	Peter Coffin
Edward Starbuck.	Stephen Greenleaf
Tristram Coffin, Junr.	
William Pile for two shares	
Nathaniel Starbuck	
John Swain	
Tho. Macy."	

March 4, 1663. "At the Meeting of the Inhabitants it was ordered that for Laying out the Land at Monomoy the Lot leyers shall have two pounds per year for their Labor therein, the Land to be laid out is all that Land which we call the five pound purchase—the same day it was agreed that John Coleman shall have land Lay out on the North side of the lot of Robert Barnard for the use of the said John Coleman, his father Thomas Coleman having given half his accommodation on the Island half the house lot to be Layed out in the place before mentioned for John Coleman, the aforesaid Thomas Coleman doth Lay down one half of his Lot already layed out. Thomas Macy doth engage himself as one of the number of Tradesmen as namely to supply the occasions of the Island in the Trade of weaveing for the benefit of the Inhabitants as well as† of himself and hath a Tradesman's share of Accommodation granted him in Consideration thereof—Answerable to William Worth & ye rest.* At the same Meeting half Accommodation was granted to Richard Smith on Condition that he Exercise himself as a Seaman on the same tearms as William Worth hath enegaged."†

"At a meeting of the Inhabitants (October, 1664) Richard Swain and Thomas Coleman were chosen Surveiyors of the highways for the year insuing, the aforesaid Surveiyors are empowered

*Mr. Macy's grant is recorded in the New York office as dated March 1st, 1664 (Hough p. 15) and again in the Town Records under date of Mar. 1, 1664-5.

In February 1667 Joseph and Richard Gardner were granted half shares to serve as Shoemakers and Samuel Streeter half a share to serve as a tailor.

†"At a Meeting of the freeholders June 4, 1665, it was Voted that Richard Smith hath forfeited grant aforesaid by his Long Absence from the Island." Town Records.

to give Legal warning to all the Inhabitants to appear on such a day or days as they see occasion, to fine any man not appearing on the day they appoint except Lawful excuse to be made."*

"March 1st, 1664-5, Peter Folger is excepted as a Tradesman namely as a Survayer, Interpretor and Millar by his son a Shoemaker his House Lot is laid out by Tristram Coffin and Thomas Macy at a place commonly called and known by Rogers Field, Laying on the North side of the Swamp that leads from Wesco to Waquittaquage and Measuring forty five rod one way and forty the other way, himself also being present—more or less as tis Layd out—. John Bishop desenteth."

"October, 1665. At a Legal meeting on Nantucket agreed and concluded to Build a Horse Mill on the Island with all convenient speed and to that end to leive the sum of £50 out of the Estates of the purchasers and Inhabitants—to be paid in wheat or barley at the price current or neet cattle prized by indifferent men or such other pay as shall sute the occasion to be paid at or before the first of October next by an Equil rate and if any of the purchasers or owners not at present Inhabiting here shall refuse to pay their proportion according to the voat, the Inhabitant, do agree and conclude that no man Inhabiting on the Island shall from henceforth take any charge of the cattle of the person or persons so refusing under the penalty of four pound—and for Cairing on the work. John Bishop is appointed undertaker and Surveyor and overseer and to take the work of such man of the inhabitant as he shall think meet and the Inhabitant are hereby engaged to attend the work according to his appointment—John Rolfe and Thomas Macy are appointed to gether the Rate for the afore-mentioned, the proportion is Forty Shillings to a whole share."

"March 15th, 1665, at a Meeting of the freeholders and owners upon serious consideration they agree and conclude instead of a horse mill to build a Water Mill at Wesquo pond.

"At a meeting at Nantucket the Inhabitant agree to Dig a trench to drean the Long pond forthwith with regard to a ware for takeing fish and Also for makeing of Meadow—the work is to be Carri'd on thus, the one half of the work is to be done by the Indians the other half by the English Inhabitant or owners, the Indians to have half the Fish so long as they attend to the weare cearfully."

"March 15, 1665-66. At a meeting of the Inhabitants a Grant was made to Joseph Collman of halfe a Share of Accommodation out of the Grant made to the Seamen and Tradesmen, on Condition that hee shall attend the Occasions of the Island, while he liveth on the Island; And if hee shall at any Time think meet to leave the Island, deliver up all his Accommodation to the Company, if they will pay him for it as much as a Stranger.

*This is the first record of the choice of men for this designated office. During the same month an order was passed "to allow Peter Coffin Liberty to trade on the Island and to prohibit all others except Nat Davis to load one hundred bushels of corn when he coms or sends to gather his Debts." There seems from this and contemporary records to have been considerable travel to the Island at this early day as the Plymouth Colony Records say, under date of February 7, 1664-5 "Mr. Isaac Robinson was approved and allowed by the Court to keep an ordinary at Saconeset (Falmouth) for the entertainment of strangers, —in regard that it doth appear that there is a great recourse to and fro by travellers to Martha's Vineyard. Nantucket etc." Nov. 7, 1668 he was fined £50 and costs for selling liquor to the Indians, contrary to law; the following year his fine was abated one half.

And if he leave the Island and dwell elsewhere within three Yeares, his Grant is forefit.*

"March 22, 1666-67. At a Meeting of the Inhabitants a Grant was made to Richard Gardner, halfe Accommodations, according to the Grants made to Seamen and Tradesmen, upon Condition that hee exercise himself as a Sea-man, and that hee come to Inhabit here with his family before the End of May,—68. And after that his Entrance here, not to depart the Island in Point of dwelling, for the Space of three Years, upon the Forfeiture of the Grant aforesaid."†

"February, 1667. At a Meeting of the Inhabitants a grant was made to Joseph Gardner half a share of accommodation answerable to the other Tradesmen on conditions that he supply the occasions of the Island in way of a Shoemaker and likewise that he shall not leave the Island in point of Dwelling for the Space of four years or if it so fall out that he shall remove off from the Island within the aforesaid Terme, that he shall leave the said accommodation to his brother Richard—unto the said Richard the company doth the accommodation aforementioned on the terms aforesaid that he supply the occasions of the Island in way of a Shoemaker. ‡

"February 15th, 1667. At the same meeting it was considered that whereas a grant was made formerly to Nathaniel wiere and his wife‡ Ten acres of up Land for use and also privilege on the common for keeping three or four cows and likewise a small stock of goats whle he and his wife live it is at this present meeting, Voted and concluded and Liberty is granted for Wood and Timber for necessary occasions out of the Common during their Lives."

June 10th, 1667. "At a Meeting of the Inhabitants Peter Folger undertaketh to Keep the mill for the owners and Inhabitant on the terms hereafter mentioned—to have two quarts out of a Bushel for the Labor in grinding and to Keep the Running geer in Order to beat the Stones as to the Inhabitent and if any Stranger do grind that he shall have two quarts out of a Bushel."

It is hard to see the distinction between the rate to "a Stranger," and that to the freeholders. Probably the subject of grinding for those not belonging to the Island was introduced after the former vote was passed, and the decision simply tacked on to the end of that order. The clerks of the olden time not being well educated as those of the present and evidently forming their words and sentences laboriously preferred entering it as above to re-writing and remodelling the whole.

Up to the year 1667, the Vineyard people had evidently made use of the pasture on the island, for we find that in June of that year they were notified to remove all their "horses, mares and colts, within two months time upon the forfeiture of five shillings a month for every best on the Island after the aforesaid time." In July (13th) 1668 Robert Barnard having made a grant to his son John of one half of his interest and accommoda-

*Hough p. 14.

†Hough p. 15.

‡Town Records.

***Town Records. This seems to be the first intimation in the Records of any grant made to Mr. Wyer.

tion on the Island, John was admitted as a freeholder. The same year William Bunker contracted to "keep the mill."

"2d mo. 1669. At a meeting of the Inhabitants on Nantucket a general Meeting was appointed to be made on Nantucket the last Tuesday in June to Consider what orders are fit to be made on the Island and to Establish that order be judged meet, about clearing the Island of horses, mares and goats or to keep a smaller number than now are—we finding by Experience that horses are like to be the ruine of the Neat Cattle." This meeting was held on the 29th of June and the order was adopted "that all horses, mares and colts shall be taken of the Island or be destroyed before the last of November next Except one horse or mare allowed to Keep on the Common to every House-keeper half share or share of Land on the Island and whatsoever horses, mare or colt is found on the Common more than is allowed as aforementioned after the aforesaid time Shall be forfeit to the Town to the end they may be destroyed." "Also at the same meeting it was ordered and concluded that no man shall sell a Living horse, mare or colt to any Indian on the Island upon the penalty of five pound."

17th 10 mo., 1669. "At a meeting of the Inhabitants it was ordered and concluded that the Rack'd goods found on the shore or any part of the Island Shall be Carefully secured for the owners and those that according to order take panes or are at charge about the setuation thereof shall be fully paid out of the goods found—further it is ordered that the goods found shall be kept a year and a Day before they are Disposed of if the goods are such as may be kept—and if no owner do Legally appear within the time aforesaid then it shall be Equally Divided to the English Inhabitants—but if at any time after the owner do Legally appear, the Value of the goods shall be restored—and further it is agreed and concluded that the Indians and English shall have general notice to bring intelligence of any Wrack they find to some one or two men appointed of the said English Inhabitant—who shall give orders thereabouts who shall have power to act for the Town for the securing and preserving thereof, and they shall have power from time to time to Employ as many as they shall Judge meet and pay them out of the goods—and further it was concluded that if any English or Indian shall find any sich goods as before mentioned and Conseal the same if the goods be found in his hands he shall pay the double or if he hath disposed thereof without giving any acct. he shall pay fourfold." William Bunker was, at the same meeting, again appointed to keep the Mill. In the 11 th mo. (20th) of the same year the "prudential men" were empowered to lay out highways wherever needed with authority to agree with the owners of the land taken for their damages, the final decision resting with the town. "At the same meeting (20th 11 mo., 1669) "a bargain was made with Nathan'l Barnard and John Coffin to set up a pound for the use of the Town which two men aforementioned do engage to make strong and Sufficient good Strong posts and five rales ten feet Long and a Cap on the top and to be finished before the end of June next, and the Town do engage to pay them three pounds either in Corn, butter or Cheese at or before the last of September next—and this to be paid by a rate according to the proportion of every man's Estate in land and Stock—the pound to be four rod Square—the place shall be about Copamet as the Town shall appoint." At the same meeting John Rolfe and John Swain were appointed Surveyors of Fences.

On the 24th of the 6th mo. 1670, the grant made to Eleazar Folger, of half of a share of accommodation, on condition that he learn the trade of a Smith and follow that occupation on the island, was confirmed to him, he having fulfilled the conditions. The prices of grain for the year were determined to be, Wheat, 4s per bushel, Barley 3s 6d per bushel, Rye 3s per bushel and Indian Corn 2s 8d per bushel, the forfeit for under or over selling to be 12d per bushel except the sale was for money or Cotton wool. John Rolfe and John Swain were chosen Highway Surveyors for the year.

29th 9 mo., 1670. "The Town granted to Nanthaniel Holland that accommodation that was formerly reserved for a Taylor on the Island on conditions that he build and Settle among us as an Inhabitant and bring his family to the Island before the next winter."*

On the 13th of the 10th mo. 1667, the Town had passed an act granting half a share of accommodation to the man who should build a mill for the use of the town and maintain it perpetually. The miller was also to receive £40. Early in 1671-2 William Bunker engaged to build and carry on this mill, and to have it done by May 1st 1673. To this agreement Tristram Coffin dissented. On the 31st of the 11th mo. 1671, the Town bargained with Edward Starbuck, John Swain, Nathaniel Starbuck and Wililam Worth to make a pair of Mill Stones and bring them to the mill, in which work "they are to do their utmost endevs according to what skill they have fraught them." for which the town was to pay them 2s 6d per day in corn or satisfactory pay. This mill question, however, was still doomed to be a vexed one and in August (19th) 1672, Mr. Bunker's time was extended to August of 1673.† Again Mr. Coffin opposed the agreement and on the 28th of October, 1672, he agreed with the Town "to perform William Bunkers Ingagement about a Mill to all interests and purposes only the Mill is to be going by this agreement at or before the 29th Day of September 1673‡ and the Town Engageth an half share of Land in the same manner as they did unto William Bunker unto the said Tristram Coffin and to his assigns—the Town doth also freely give him the old Mill with all the appurtenances belonging to her in Lew of the forty pound that William Bunker was to have, and the said Tristram Coffin do hereby Ingage to

*Among the votes passed by the Town in 1670 were one offering a reward for killing the "Wild Dog" and another (passed 23d 6 mo.) granting to Edward Starbuck and to Thomas Macy and whoever should join them the liberty of "a Fishing weare in the long pond and in reference to their charge all the fish taken in said weare shall forever be theirs," provided the weir was built within two years. The "meadows lying between the Long Pond by the old seller built by Edward Starbuck and the way at the head of the Creek where the Cattle usually go over" were to be laid out in twenty-five shares each owner to ditch his share. Persons bringing to the Island and setting free horses were to be fined. The alteration of ear marks on stock was made a punishable offence.

†One Joshua Buffum was associated with Mr. Bunker in the agreement of Aug. 12, 1672.

‡It is stated that Mr. Coffin bought a mill on Martha's Vineyard and removed it to Nantucket.

forfit twenty pounds to the Town if there be not a sufficient Corn Mill built by him or his assigns for the Towns supply and going by the time aforesaid for the Town's Supply." So far as we know this contract was carried out and the Town and Mr. Coffin satisfied; how Mr. Bunker viewed the proceedings is not recorded.

It appears from an examination of the New York Archives that about the year 1670 there was a disputed question of jurisdiction in regard to Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and the adjacent islands, and at a Council Meeting held at Fort James in May 1670, a letter from Mr. Mayhew was read and the following points determined upon. 1st. "The Patent of the Duke includes Martha's Vineyard, and those other Isles." 2nd. That Mr. Mayhew be requested to make a journey to New York to consult upon the settlement of these islands. 3rd. "That hee" (Mr. Mayhew) "give Notice to those at Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island, or any other that have any Pretences, or lay Clayme to any of those Islands, to lett them know that within the Space of two Months, ye Governor intends to settle those Parts, soe that they may doe well to come or send some Agent to act for them, otherwise after that Time all ye Pretences will bee adjudged of noe Validity." Mr. Mayhew was also desired to bring all his Patents and papers relating to the matter. Accordingly a letter was forwarded to Mr. Mayhew from the Governor embodying the above*points and enclosing copies of the following notice which Lovelace requested might be sent "to all those about you who are concerned."

"Notice given to all Persons concerned in ye Land called Martyn's Vineyard, to appear in New York.

These are to give Notice to all Persons concerned, who lay Clayme or have any Pr'tence of Interest in Martyn's Vineyard, Nantuckett, or any of ye Elizabeth Isles neare adjacent, and w'thin his Royall Highness his Patent, that they appeare before me in Person or by their Agents to make Proove of such Clayme and Pr'tences w'thin ye space of 4 months after ye date hereof.

In default whereof all such Claymes or Pr'tences Aft'r ye Expiration of ye said Time shall be deemed and adjudged invalid to all Intents and Purposes. Given und'r my Hand and Sealed w'th ye Seale of the Province, at Fort James in New Yorke, this 16th day of May, in ye 22th Yeare of his Ma'ties Reign Annoq Domini, 1670.

Francis Lovelace."

In June, 1671, in response to the order from Gov. Lovelace, the Town chose Thomas Macy to represent their claims before him and the Council, and the family of Tristram Coffin also employed their father to accompany Mr. Macy.* They presented the following proposals in reference to the government of Nantucket.

*"At a Councell held in ye ffort ye 28th June 1671.

Present The Governor, Mr. Steenwyck, The Secretary

The Matt, under Consideracon was the Business of Nantucket; two Persons being sent from thence hither. They produce writings to make good their Clayme & Title in Obedience to an Ordr issued forth last yeare, & tender some Proposals in writing. Upon wch severall Ordrs
(See next page)

Imprimis, Wee humbly propose Liberty for ye Inhabitants to chuse annually a Man or Men to be Chiefe in ye Governm't and chosen or appointed by his Hono'r to Stand in place, constantly, invested w'th Power of Confirmacon by Oath or Engagem't or otherwise as his Hono'r shall appoint, one to be Chiefe in ye Co'rt and have Magistraticall Power at all times w'th regard to ye Peace and other necessary Consideracons.

2ly Wee take for granted yt ye Lawes of England are Standard of Governm't, soe farre as wee know them, and are suitable to our Condicon; yet wee humbly propose that ye Inhabitants may have Power to Constitute such Law or Ord'rs as are necessary and suitable to o'r Condicon not repugnant to ye Laws of England.

3ly In point of carrying on ye Governm't from Time to Time, wee are willing to joyne with our Neighbo'r Island ye Vineyard, to keep together one Co'rt every Yeare, one Yeare at o'r island ye next with them, and Power at Home to End all Cases not exceeding 20 lb.; and in all cases Liberty of Appeale to ye Gen'll Co'rt in All Actions above 40 lb., And in all Actions amounting to ye vallue of 100 lb. Liberty of Appeale to his Highnesse his Co'rt at ye City of New York: And in Capitall Cases, or such Matt'rs as concern Life, Limbe, or Banishm't. All such Cases to be tryed at New Yorke.

4 And seeing ye Indiyans are numerous among us, Wee propose that our Governm't may Extend to them, and Power to Summon them to our Co'rts w'th respect to Matt'rs of Trespass, Debt, and other Miscarriages, and to Try and Judge them according to our Lawes, when published amongst them.

And Lastly, Some Military Power comitted to us, respecting our Defence, either in respect of Indiyans or Strang'rs invadeing, & c."

were made & Establisht for their Government, which are upon Record. To refer to which search ye Booke Indyan Purchases—Page." (Council Minutes N. Y. Sec. Office iii p. 65.)

At a Council meeting the next day it was determined to commission Mr. Coffin Chief Magistrate.

†The certificates of Messrs. Macy and Coffin read as follows (Hough p. 24): "Whereas ye Honble Coll. Lovelace, Governour of New Yorke gav forth his Summons for ye Inhabitants of ye Isle of Nantuckett to make their Appearance before his Hono'r at New Yorke, either in their own Person or by their Agent, to show their Claymes in respect to their Standing or Claymes of Interest on ye aforesaid Island. Now wee whose Names are underwritten having intrusted our ffather Tristram Coffin to make Answer for us, Wee do Empower our ffather Tristram Coffin to act and doe for us w'th ye Hon'd Govern'r Lovelace, soe far as is Just and Reasonable, wth Regard to our Interest, on ye Isle of Nantuckett and Tuckannuckett.

Witness our Hands ye 2d Day of ye fourth Month, sixteen hundred and seventy one, 1671.

James Coffin
Nathaniel Starbuck
John Coffin
Stephen Coffin."

"This is to Signify that ye Inhabitants of Nantuckett have chosen Mr. Thomas Macy their Agent to Treat w'th ye Hon'ble Coll. Lovelace concerning ye Affayers of ye Island, to Act for them in their Behalfe and Stead, and in all Consideracons to doe what is necessary to be done in reference to ye Premises, as if they themselves were Personally Present.

Witness their Hands dated June 5th 1671.

Edward Starbuck
Peter Ffoulger
John Rolfe

The Town also desired Mr. Coffin to assist their Agent. Mr. Macy was voted afterwards £5 for his services and a committee chosen to make a rate to cover the expense of the voyage.

To this Memorial the Governor, with the recommendation of his Council, made the following reply.*

“At a Councell held at Forte James in New York, ye 28th day of June in ye 23d Yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne, Annoq Dom. 1671.

In Answer to ye Proposals Delivered in by Mr. Coffin and Mr. Macy, on ye behalf of themselves and ye rest of ye Inhabitants upon ye Island of Nantucket: The Governo'r and Councell doe give their Resolucons as followeth, vizt.

Imprimis, As to ye first Branch in their Proposalls, It is thought fitt yt ye Inhabitants doe annually recomend two Persons to the Govern'or, out of w'ch hee will Nominate one to be ye Chiefe Magistrate upon that Island, and ye Island of Tuckanuckett near adjacent for ye Year ensuing; who shall by Commission bee Invested with Power accordingly.

That ye Time when such a Magistrate shall Enter into his Employ'm't after ye Expiracon of this first Yeare, shall Commence upon ye 13th day of October, being his Royall Highness his Birthday, to continue for the Space of one whole Yeare, and that they Return ye Names of ye two Persons they shall recommend three months before that Time to ye Governo'r.

That Ye Inhabit't's have Power by a Major Vote annually to Elect and Chuse their inferior Officers, both Civil and Military: That is to say, ye Assistants, Constables, and other inferior Officers, for ye Civil Government, and such inferiour Officers for ye Military as shall be thought needfull.

2ly. The second Proposal is allowed of: That they shall have Liberty to make peculiar Lawes and Ord'rs at their Gen'rall Co'rt for the well Governm't of ye Inhabit'ts ye wh'ch shall bee in force amongst them for one whole Yeare; During wh'ch Time if noe Inconvenience doe appear there'n, They are to Transmitt the said Lawes or Ord'rs to ye Governo'r for his Confirmacon. Howev'r, They are (as neare as may bee) to conforme themselves to ye Lawes of England, and to be very Cautious they doe not Act in any way repugnant to them.

3ly. To ye 3d. It is Granted, That they joyne with their Neighbo'rs of Martin's Vineyard in Keeping a Gen'll Co'rt between them once a Yeare, ye s'd Co'rt to be held one Yeare in one Island, and ye next in ye other, where ye Chiefe Magistrate in each Island, where the Co'rt shall be held, is to pr'side, and to Sitt in their respective Co'rts as President, but withall That upon all occasions hee Consuel and Advize with ye Chiefe Magistrate of ye other Island.

That ye said Gen'll Co'rt shall consist of ye two Chiefe Magistrates of both Islands; and ye foure Assistants, where ye Presid't shall have a Casting Voyce; for ye Time of their Meeting, That it bee left to themselves to Agree upon ye most convenient Season of ye Yeare.

That in their Private Co'rts at Home, w'ch are to be held by ye Chiefe Magistrate and two Assist'ts where ye Chiefe Magistrate shall have but a single Voyce; They shall have Power finally to determine and decide all Cases not exceeding ye Vallue of 5 lb, w'thout Appeale, but in any Sume above that Vallue They have Liberty of Appeale to their Gen'll Co'rt who may determine absolutely any Case under 50 lb, without Appeale, but if it shall exceed that Sume, ye Party aggrieved may have Recourse by way of Appeale to ye Gen'll Co'rt of Assizes, held in New Yorke.

*Deeds iii, 60, Sec'y Office New York. (Hough p. 27.)

And as to Criminal Cases, That they have Power both at their Private Cor'ts and Home, as well as at ye Gen'll Co'rt, to inflict Punishm't on Offend'rs soe farre as Whipping, Stocks, and Pilloring, or other Public Shame. But if ye Crime happen to bee of a higher nature, where Life, Limbe, or Banishment are concerned, That such Matt'rs be Transmitted to ye Gen'll Co'rt of Assizes likewise.

4. In Answ'r to ye 4th, It is left to themselves to Ord'r those Affayres about ye Indyns, and to Act therein according to their best discretions, soe farr as Life is not concerned: Wherein they are also to have Recourse to New Yorke, but that they bee carefull to use such moderacon amongst them, That they bee not exasperated, but by Degrees may be brought to be conformable to ye Lawes: To wh'ch End, They are to nominate and appoint Constables amongst them who may have Staves w'th ye Kings Armes upon them, the better to keep their People in Awe and good Ord'r, as practized w'th good success amongst ye Indyns at ye East end of Long Island.

To ye Last, That they returne a Lyst of ye Inhabitants, as also ye Names of two Persons amongst them; out of whom ye Governor will appoint one to bee their Chiefe Military Officer, That they may bee in ye better capacity to Defend themselves against their Enemyes, whether Indyns or others."*

In conformity with this grant the following Commission was issued to Tristram Coffin.†

"Francis Louelace, Esq., &c.: Whereas upon Address made unto mee by Tristram Coffin and Mr. Thomas Macy on ye behalfe of themselves and ye rest of ye Inhabitants of Nantucket Island concerning ye Manno'r and Method of Governm't to be used amongst themselves, and having by ye Advice of my Councell pitcht upon a way for them: That is to say, That they be Governed by a Person as Chiefe Magistrate, and two Assistants, ye former to be nominated by myself, ye other to be chosen and confirmed by ye Inhabitants as in ye Instructions sent unto them is more particularly Sett forth. And having conceived a good Opinion of ye fittness and capacity of Mr. Tristram Coffin to be ye pr'sent Chiefe Magistrate to manage Affayres w'th ye Ayd and good advice of ye Assistants in ye Islands of **Nantuckett** and **Tuckannuckett**, I have thought fitt to Nominate, Constitute, and Appoint, and by these pr'sents doe hereby Nominate, Constitute, and Appoint Mr. Tristram Coffin to be Chiefe Magistrate of ye Islands of **Nantuckett** and **Tuckannuckett**, In ye Managem't of wh'ch said Employ'm't, hee is to use his best skill and Endeavour to pr'serve his Ma'ties Peace, and to keep ye Inhabitants in good Ord'r And all Persons are hereby required to give ye said Mr. Tristram Coffin such Respect and Obedience as

*At a Council at Fort James July 6, 1671, in answer to the petition of Mr. Mayhew "It's granted that the Townes Seated there" (on the Vineyard) "shall have Patents of Confirmation as other Towns and particularly as their Neighbors of **Nantucket** have." The instructions for the General Court were to be the same as those for Nantucket, but the Court "is first to bee held at **Martin's Vineyard**." Mr. Mayhew was also to preside over the Court, whether sitting on Nantucket or the Vineyard, with the privilege of a "double or casting voice." After his decease the Chief Magistrate of the island where the Court was held was to preside. The tribunal was to consist of the Chief Magistrate and his two Assistants. Shortly after this Gov. Lovelace-addressed a note to the Governor of New Plymouth recommending that government to grant Mr. Mayhew "some Enlargmt of Recompence for his Trouble and Paines amongst ye Indyns." (Hough 32-42) The inference would be that the Plymouth Colony was already paying something.

†Deeds iii. 62. Secy's Office, N. Y. (Hough p. 30.)

belongs to a Person invested by commission from Authority of his Royall Highness in ye Place and Employm't of a Chiefe Magistrate in ye Islands aforesaid. And hee is duely to observe the Orders and Instructions w'ch are already given forth for ye well governing of ye Place, or such others as from Time to Time shall hereafter bee given by mee: And for whatsoever ye said Tristram Coffin shall lawfully Act or Doe in Prosecution of ye Premises, This my Commission which is to bee of fforce until the 13th day of October, which shall bee in ye Year of our Lord, 1672, when a new Magistrate is to Enter into the Employm't shall bee his sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

Given under my Hand and Seale at fforte James in New Yorke, this 29th day of June in ye 22d Yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne Annoq, Dni. 1671.

FRAN. LOVELACE.*

On the 7th of 9th mon. 1671 The Town nominated Edward Starbuck and William Bunker for the position of Captain subject to the choice and confirmation of the governor.†

Under date of the 5th of the 4th month 1672, there occurs in the Town's Records the following agreements.

1st. "James Loper doth Ingage to Carry on a Designe of Whale Catching on the Island of Nantucket that is to say James Ingages to be a third in all Respects and some of the Town Ingages Also to carry on the other two thirds with him in like manner—the town doth also consent that first one company shall begin and afterwards the rest of the freeholders or any of them have Liberty to set up another Company provided they make a tender to those freeholders that have no share in the first Company and if any refuse the rest may go on themselves, and the town doth engage that no other company shall be allowed hereafter—Also, whoever Kill any whales, of the Company or companies aforesaid, they are to pay to the Town for every such whale five shillings and for the Incoragement of the said James Loper the Town doth grant him ten acres of Land in sume Covenant place that he may Chuse in (Wood Land Except.) and also liberty for the commonage of three cows and Twenty sheep and one horse with necessary wood and water for his use, on Conditions that he follow the trade of whalling on this Island two years in all the seasons thereof beginning the first of March next Insuing—also he is to build upon his Land and when he leaves Inhabiting upon this Island then he is first to offer his Land to the Town at a valuable price and if the Town do not buy it then he may sell it to whom he please—the commonage is granted only for the time his staying hear."‡

*On the 29th of June, 1671, Gov. Lovelace confirmed the sale of Tuckanuck by Thomas Mayhew to Tristram Coffin Sen'r, Peter Coffin, Tristram Coffin Jun'r, and James Coffin. The island was to be held under the same tenure as Nantucket.

†In the copy of Instructions forwarded to Mr. Mayhew from the Governor the reason given for Mayhew's prominence in the courts was "in regard of his great Experience and Reputation amongst them." He was "to consid'r ye Time when ye Gen'rl Cort shall be summoned, of w'ch you are to Advertize and Consult yo'r Neighbors of **Nantucket**."

‡Those who have studied the matter carefully concur in the opinion that Mr. Loper never carried out his part of the contract or became a resident of Nantucket. The contract has no signatures and in effect is nothing more than a statement of what the Town would do if Mr. Loper would do certain other things. His name is mentioned nowhere else in the Town's records. The only trace of it among the annals of Massachusetts is in Felt's History of Salem (Vol. ii, p. 223) in which it is stated that in a petition to the General Court in 1688 for a
(See next page)

"5th 4th mo., 1672. The Town hath granted unto John Savidge two Acres of land to build upon and Commonage for three Cowes, twenty sheep and one horse as also Liberty of wood for fireing and fencing stuf and any stuf for his trade—his house Lot is to be in the most convenient place that is Common, on conditions that he build and inhabit upon this Island before the first of March next, and not depart by Removing for the space of three years—and also to follow his trade of Cooper upon the Island as the Town or whale Company shall have need to employ him—the Commonage is granted for so Long a time as he stays here—Also when he removes from the Island he is to tender his Land to the Town at a Valluable price and if the Town do not buy it then he may sell it to whom he pleases."

On the 5th of August of the same year "A grant was made by the Town (the freeholders, purchasers and associates) now Inhabiting upon this Island) unto Mr. John Gardner of Salom mariner—a seaman's accomodition with all the appurtenances belonging unto it as fully as the other seamen and Tradesmen have in the former grant upon Conditions that he come to Inhabit and set up the trade of fishing with sufficient vessell fit for the taking of codfish and that of the Inhabitant shall have Liberty to Joind in such a vessel with him that is to say an Eight part or a quarter part or more or less and that the aforesaid John Gardner shall use his best Endeavours to prosecute the fishing trade to effect in the fit seasons of the year, and if he see cause to Depart from the Island within three years after the time he shall come to Inhabite, that then the Land shall Remain in the hands of the aforesaid grantees, they paying for all necessary building or fences that are upon it as it shall be judged worth. Also said John Gardner is to be here with his family at or before the last day of April 1674 or Else this Grant is void."

On the 5th of the 10th month of the same year the Town voted "that all charges about the Triall of Indians when Mr. Price's Vessell was Cast away the Town do not judge it meet for them to pay anything about it." To this Vote Mr. Coffin entered his disagreement. At the same meeting leave was given to John Gardner "to set a house upon the highway at Wesko going down to the Landing place, the highway is to be laid out so much the broder by Thomas Macy and Peter Folger—and so many poles of Land as they two shall apoint for the house to stand upon the Town doth freely give to the said John Gardner." It was also voted that each owner of a share should sow two bushels of hayseed upon half an acre of land—half shares in proportion; Mr. Coffin was to provide a town harrow and Mr. Macy and he were to see that the work was done according to the order.

January 29th, 1672-73. "Mr. Edward Starbuck, John Swain, Mr. John Gardner, Mr Coffin and William Worth are (chosen) by

patent for making oil, he asserts that he had been engaged in that pursuit 22 years. Mr. Felt says that Loper came from Cape Cod, but Mr. Freeman thinks that must be an error as the name is unknown to him. There is no record anywhere of any land set off to him nor deed from him of land. In the list forwarded to the Governor at New York in 1674 giving the name of every shareholder his name is not to be found. The evidence against his ever being a resident of Nantucket seems conclusive. There is evidence that a man of that name was a resident of the eastern end of Long Island, and he probably lived and died there.

the Town as Selectmen for the year following and the major part of those Selectmen shall act in all things that are committed to them in writing by the Town from year to year—that which is committed to them this year is first whatsoever concerns the Town as concerning hearing of cattle and horses or fetching of cattle from any place or part of the Island—and to judge of fences and the stroy of cattle and horses that may be among the Indians—Also they are to make all rats for the Town.”*

At the first General Court held at Edgartown June 18, 1672, a code of General Laws was passed. They provided—1st; that the General Court should begin on the first Tuesday in June of each year, weather permitting: 2d., the pay of the President should be six shillings and that of each Magistrate four shillings per day, and at the Quarter Court of each island the President should have three shillings and each Assistant two shillings per day and expenses; 3d, each island should keep four Courts each year,—those at the Vineyard on the last Tuesday of March, June, September and December, and those of Nantucket the last Tuesdays of February, June, September and December; 4th., cases of over £5 could be appealed to the next General Court, which, if in the same island, as the Quarter Court, the appealing party could summons six jurors from the other island, each juror to have two shillings and sixpence per day; if the aggrieved parties did not want that expense they could appeal to the next General Court at the other island, where they could have a jury trial; appeals must be entered during the sitting of the aggrieving Court and bond given to prosecute; no other evidence could be admitted on the appeal than was given on the direct trial; 5th, the right of a review could be claimed if new evidence was found, said review to be given at the next Quarter Court, unless more time was allowed; if claim for review was based on fraudulent grounds the claimant to pay damages; 6th, no person was to be arrested or imprisoned for debt if satisfaction can be gained from his estate; if imprisoned he must bear the expense; no man was to be kept in prison for debt unless there is suspicion of concealed estate,—in which case his person may be sold for satisfaction, though not out of the country, nor to any but an Englishman, nor be transported out of the country unless by his consent; 7th, any plaintiff may take out a summons against any defendant, except no attachment in a civil action shall be granted a foreigner against any settled inhabitant in a civil suit without sufficient security that he shall prosecute and to assure costs and charges if the Court so decides; 8th, in all attachments of goods and chattels, lands and hereditaments, legal notice shall be given to the party or left

*The same meeting voted “that Nathaniel Holland should Injoy the title of his Land peaceably.” During the same year the Town voted to allow no cattle to be imported until inspected; that the Clerk and Joseph Gardner should inspect all cattle exported; nominated Edward Starbuck and Richard Gardner for selection by the Governor as Magistrate (Mr. Gardner was selected); appointed Stephen Coffin Pound Keeper; appointed Thomas Coleman to keep the cattle on the Plains; and fixed a Penalty for false returns of cattle.

in writing at his house or usual place of abode, otherwise the case shall not proceed: if the party is without the jurisdiction the case shall go to trial, but judgment shall not be entered until the next Court; if the defendant does not then appear judgment shall be entered, but execution shall not be granted until plaintiff has given security to be responsible to defendant in case judgment is reversed within a year or such time as the Court shall limit; 9th. All warrants, summons, or attachments shall be served six days before the Court; 10th, all persons summonsed by sub-pœna to give testimony shall testify in writing; if evidence be in relation to a case on the island where such person dwells he shall personally attend Court to give evidence, but if he dwell on any other island in this jurisdiction he may give evidence before any one Magistrate, unless required by the person causing him to sub-pœaned to appear viva voce, in which case the person so requiring shall pay the whole charge, which shall be two shillings six pence a day to be paid by the person cast; 11th, all evidence given in Court shall be recorded—the fee to be six pence per testimony; 12th, Widows of men dying intestate shall have one-third of all land and freehold with privileges and appurtenances belonging thereto during their natural lives, to be returned at their death to the lawful heirs—also one-third movable estate forever; 13th, Open defamation of a court of justice or its sentences or proceedings, or of the Magistrate or justices was punishable, after conviction by whipping, fine, imprisonment or disfranchisement; 14th, Any person asking counsel or advice of any Magistrate in a case in which he may be plaintiff before such Magistrate shall be disabled to prosecute such action at the next Court where his cause shall come to trial—being pleaded by way of bar either by defendant or in his behalf—in which case the plaintiff shall pay full cost to the defendant; if defendant shall ask counsel he shall pay 10 shillings to the plaintiff; 15th, Any person accused by Indian or any other of having sold or furnished any Indian or Indians with liquor, beer excepted, must either purge himself before the Court or pay a fine of five shillings per pint for all liquor so disposed of; those who had conscientious scruples against “swearing according to the Usual Custome may purge himself by Subscription; 16th, A person found helplessly drunk shall pay ten shillings; 17th, No person was allowed to sell strong drink at retail (less than a gallon) nor “Beere, Syder or the like under the Barrell or Quarter Cask,” without being licensed by the Quarter Court under penalty of £5, nor to tarry in any such licensed house over half an hour at one time without satisfactory reason under penalty of five shillings: 18th, Any Quarter Court may grant such license under such restrictions as it sees fit; 19th, The Constable in each town, with one other man shall be a Grand Jury for presentments; 20th, All weights and measures to be uniform with those in Winchester, England—three feet to the yard, twelve

inches to the foot, eight gallons to the bushel and sixteen ounces to the pound, violators of the law to pay a fine of ten shillings for the use of weights and measures not duly sealed; 21st, No person whatsoever, not an inhabitant, was allowed directly or indirectly to traffic with the Indians unless granted leave by the General Court under penalty of paying from twenty shillings to £40 and the "Water Bailiffe" was authorized to hold up any vessel appearing to be violating the law; 22d, Each island was to choose a Treasurer who should be paid twelve pence on the pound collected and be exempt from town and county taxes; 23d, The Secretary's salary was fixed at £3 per annum and his fees; 24th, Each juror was allowed six pence for each action entered and each plaintiff shall pay five shillings for entering his action, the money to be paid in to the public treasury, and all "Charge of Court shall bee paid in Money, Corn or ffeathers"; 25th, Constable's fees were for serving a warrant for an attachment twelve pence, for an execution two pence, and, if it be in the liberty of constables in executions, to add all necessary charges—if any person refuses to assist a constable in the performance of his duty when commanded to do so he shall forfeit forty shillings; "noe Man by an Execution upon Judgment shall be deprived of anything which most nearly concerns his Livelyhood, as Working Cattle, Working Tools, Bedd, or Bedding, Provision, necessary Household Stuffe, and the like, when any other Satisfaction can be found:" 26th, A person striking a constable in the performance of his duty shall pay not less than £4 as a fine to the country, which shall not bar the constable from bringing personal action against the offender; 27th, All Wills shall be proved at the next Quarter Court after the Parties Decease; 28th, Profanity was punishable by a fine of ten shillings; 29th, Indians were allowed in any case to appeal from their own courts to the Quarter Court and from the Quarter Court to the General Court; 30th, All cases, civil and criminal, not covered by these special laws shall be tried and decided by the laws of England.


On the 25th of the 7th month 1673, it was "Ordered that three of the Selectmen or two of them and any other freeholder with them have power to appoint a Town Meeting."

On the 18th of April, 1673, Gov. Lovelace sent by Mr. Richard Gardner and Capt. John Gardner the following "Additional Instructions and Directions for the Government of the Island of Nantuckett."*

Imprimis, That in regard to ye Town upon ye Island of Nantuckett is not known by any peculiar or particular Name, It shall from henceforth bee called and distinguished in all Deeds, Records, and Writings by the Name of the Town of Sherborne upon the Island of Nantuckett.

That all Ancient and Obsolete Deeds, Grants, Writings or Conveyances of Lands upon the said Island, shall bee esteemed

Deeds iii, 88, Secy's Office, N. Y. (Hough 51.)



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inches to the foot, eight gallons to the bushel and sixteen ounces to the pound, violators of the law to pay a fine of ten shillings for the use of weights and measures not duly sealed; 21st, No person whatsoever, not an inhabitant, was allowed directly or indirectly to traffic with the Indians unless granted leave by the General Court under penalty of paying from twenty shillings to £40 and the "Water Bailiffe" was authorized to hold up any vessel appearing to be violating the law; 22d, Each island was to choose a Treasurer who should be paid twelve pence on the pound collected and be exempt from town and county taxes; 23d, The Secretary's salary was fixed at £3 per annum and his fees; 24th, Each juror was allowed six pence for each action entered and each plaintiff shall pay five shillings for entering his action, the money to be paid in to the public treasury, and all "Charge of Court shall bee paid in Money, Corn or ffeathers"; 25th, Constable's fees were for serving a warrant for an attachment twelve pence, for an execution two pence, and, if it be in the liberty of constables in executions, to add all necessary charges—if any person refuses to assist a constable in the performance of his duty when commanded to do so he shall forfeit forty shillings; "noe Man by an Execution upon Judgment shall be deprived of anything which most nearly concerns his Livelyhood, as Working Cattle, Working Tools, Bedd, or Bedding, Provision, necessary Household Stuffe, and the like, when any other Satisfaction can be found:" 26th, A person striking a constable in the performance of his duty shall pay not less than £4 as a fine to the country, which shall not bar the constable from bringing personal action against the offender; 27th, All Wills shall be proved at the next Quarter Court after the Parties Decease; 28th, Profanity was punishable by a fine of ten shillings; 29th, Indians were allowed in any case to appeal from their own courts to the Quarter Court and from the Quarter Court to the General Court; 30th, All cases, civil and criminal, not covered by these special laws shall be tried and decided by the laws of England.

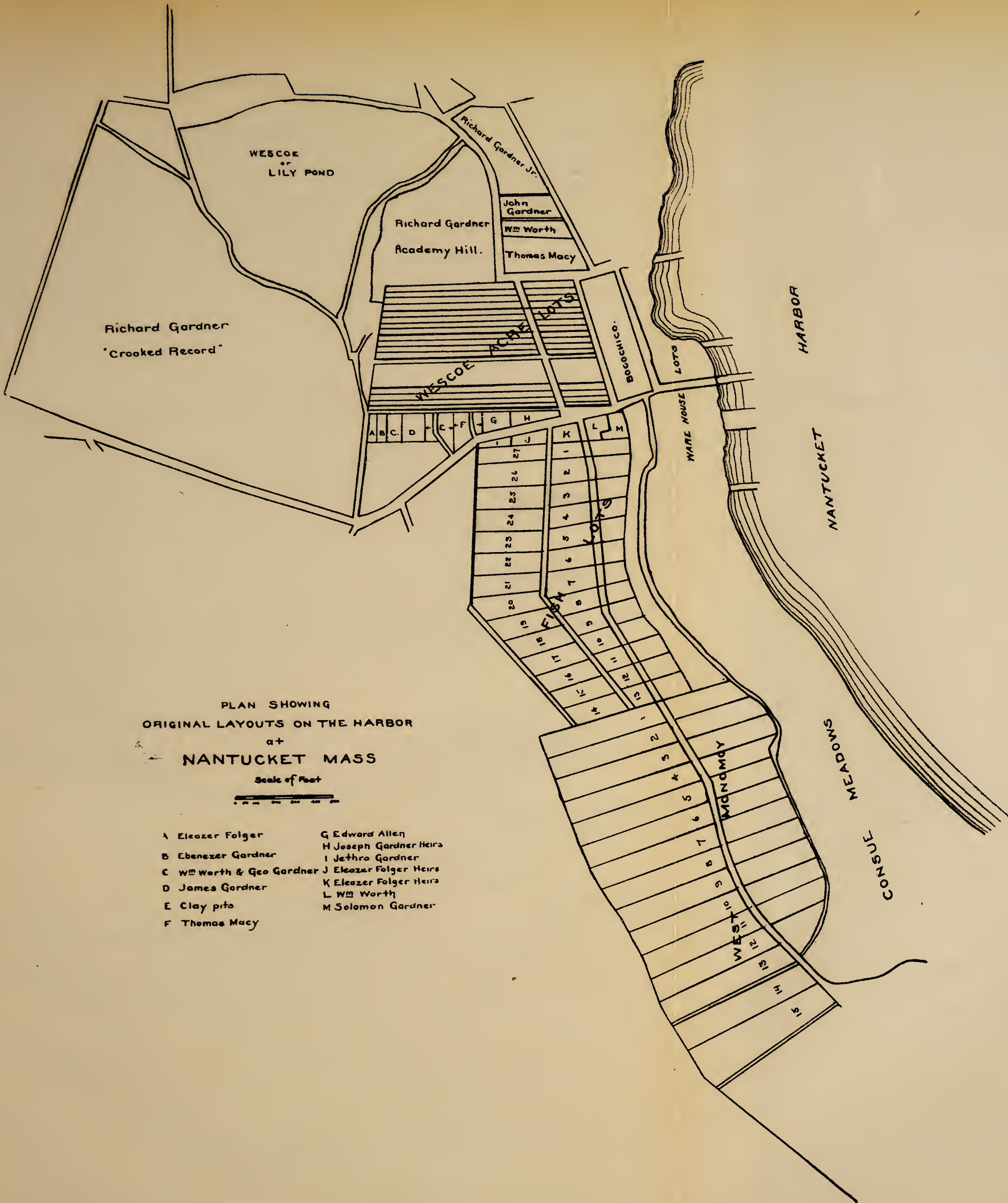
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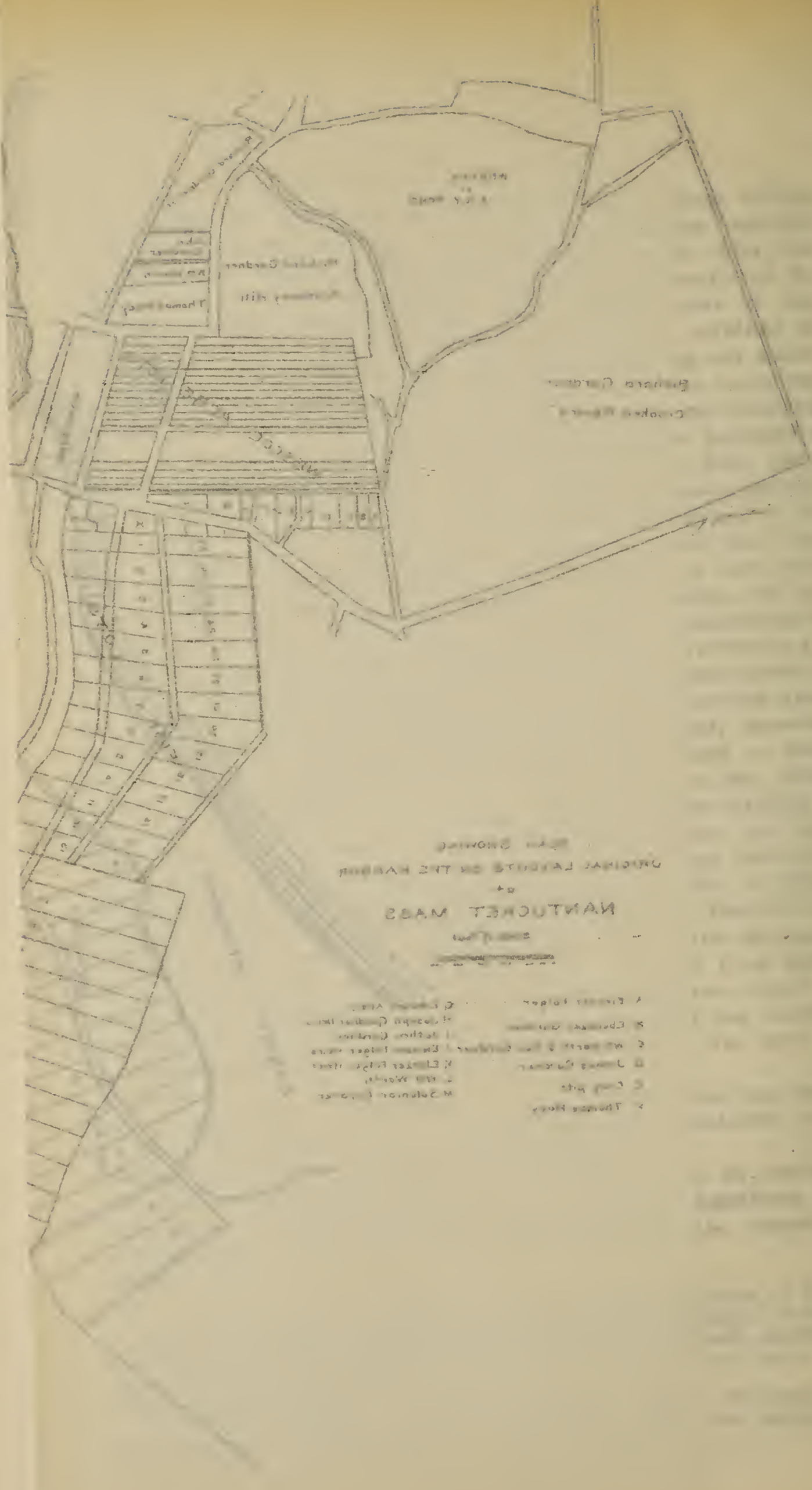


PLAN SHOWING
ORIGINAL LAYOUTS ON THE HARBOR
at
NANTUCKET MASS

Scale of Feet



- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| A Eleazer Folger | G Edward Allen |
| B Ebenezer Gardner | H Joseph Gardner Heirs |
| C Wm Worth & Geo Gardner | I Jethro Gardner |
| D James Gardner | J Eleazer Folger Heirs |
| E Clay pits | K Eleazer Folger Heirs |
| F Thomas Macy | L Wm Worth |
| | M Solomon Gardner |



ORIGINAL LAYOUTS ON THE HARBOR

NANTUCKET MASS

- 1. Thomas House
- 2. Long Wharf
- 3. James Gardner
- 4. Nantucket Light
- 5. Nantucket Harbor
- 6. Nantucket Island
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of noe fforce or Validity, but the Records of everyones Clayme or Interest shall bear Date from the first Divulging of the Patent granted to the Inhabitants by Authority of his Royall Highnesse, and soe forward, but not before the Date thereof.*

That the Time of Election, of the Chiefe Magistrate, and other Civil Officers, bee and continue according to the Directions and Instructions already given, but in regard of the Distance of the Place, and ye uncertanty of Conveyance betwixt that and this Place, ye Chiefe Magistrate and all the Civil Officers shall continue in their Employments untill the Return of the Governor's Choice and Approbacon of a new Magistrate bee sent unto them, which is to bee with the first convenient Opportunity.†

That in case of Mortality, if it shall please God, the Chiefe Magistrate shall dye before ye Expiration of his Employment, the Assistants for the Time being shall manage and carry on ye Affayres of the Public untill the Time of the new Election, and ye Governor's Returne and Approbation of a new Magistrate in his Stead

That the Chiefe Military Officer shall continue in his Employment during the Governor's Pleasure, and that he have Power to appoint such Persons for inferior Officers as he shall judge most fitt and capable.

That in Case of the Death of the Chiefe Military Officer during the Time of his Employment, that then the Inhabitants doe forthwith make Choice of two Persons, and returne their Names unto the Governor, who will appoint one of them to bee the Officer in his Stead.

That in regard to ye General Court to be held in ye Island of Nantucket or Martin's Vineyard is but once in ye Yeare, when all Causes or Actions are tryable without Apeale to ye Sume of fifty Pounds, Liberty bee granted to try all Actions of Debt or Trespass at their ordinary Courts to the value of ten Pounds without Appeale, unless upon Occasion of Error in ye Proceeding there bee Cause of Complaint from ye ordinary Court unto the General Court, or from the Gen'all Court to the Court of Assizes.

That what is granted in the General Patent to the Inhabitants, free-holders, of the Island Nantuckett is to bee understood, unto them alone who live upon the Place and make Imrovem't thereof, or such others who having Pretences of Interest shall come to Inhabitt there.

Given under my Hand at Fort James, in New York the Day and Year afore written: and in ye 25th Yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne.

FRANCIS LOVELACE.

At about this same time the Governor commissioned Mr.‡ Richard Gardner as Chief Magistrate,** and Capt. John Gardner to command the Foot Company there. He also granted these two a License to purchase land of the natives. The following letter was sent from the Governor to the people of Nantucket on the return of Mr. Richard Gardner who had probably visited New

*The Insurrection, so called, was largely based on this provision in the instructions.

†This clause was the occasion of serious trouble very soon after these instructions, were sent.

‡In old records Mr. is a title of distinction and its use in olden times was very limited.

**Commission for Mr. RIC'D GARDNER to be Chiefe Magistrate of NANTUCKETT and TUCKANNUCKETT.

Deeds iii, Secy's Office, N. Y.

FRANCIS LOVELACE, Es'q., one of the Gentlemen of his Ma'ties Hon'ble Privy Chamber, and Governo'r Gen'all under his Roy'll High-
(See next page)

York in behalf of the Town to confer with the Governor and Council on Town affairs.

New Yorke, Apr. ye 24th, 1673.

Gent.—By the Governo'r's Ord'r I am to acquaint you, That hee Received your Letter (bearing Date the 3rd Day of April) about three Weeks since, by the Hands of Mr. Richard Gardner, together with eight Barrels of ffish for two Yeares, Acknowledgement, and a Token of fifty weight of ffeathers, for which your Care of the Former, and Kindness in the Latter hee Returns you Thanks; There came to the Governo'r in the Winter a Letter from Mr. Tristram Coffin about your Election, but no other from you; in answer to which you had heard from him sooner, but the Difficulty of Conveyance hindered, You will now understand the Governors Choice, by the Bearers hereof, Mr. Richard Gardner and Capt. John Gardner; That is Mr. Richard Gardner for Chiefe Magistrate this yeare, and Capt. John Gardner for Chiefe Military Officer, for which they have Commissions. They have also with them some Additional Instructions and Directions to communicate to you; most of which were Proposed by those two ffriends you sent, who have prudent Managed the Trust you Reposed in them. They have also with them a Book of the Lawes of the Government and, three Constables Staves; As to your Non-performance of the Acknowledgement according to Strictness of Time, his Hono'r being sensible that Opportunityes doe not very frequently present between these Places, hee is very well Satisfied with your Civill Excuse. If at any Time you have other Proposals to make, for the Good

nesse James Duke of Yorke and Albany, & c.; of all his Territoryes in America; To Mr. Richard Gardner of NANTUCKETT sendeth Greeting.

Whereas according to the Directions and Instructions by mee given on the Behalfe of his Royall Highness for the Government of the Islands of **Nantuckett** and **Tuckanuckett**, the Inhabitants thereof at the Time appointed have chosen two Persons, whose Names they have returned hither, for my Choice and Approbation of one of them to bee Chiefe Magistrate of the said Islands, and having conceived a good Opinion of the Fittness and Capacity of Mr. Richard Gardner (who is one of the two returned) to Manage Affayres there with the Aid and Good Advice of the Assistants to bee chosen amongst themselves, I have thought fitt to Nominate, Constitute, and Appoint, and by these presents doe hereby Nominate, Constitute and Appoint Mr. Richard Gardner aforenamed to be Chiefe Magistrate of the said Islands of **Nantuckett** and **Tuckanuckett**; In the Management of which Employment, hee is to use his best Skill and Endeavour to Preserve his Ma'ties Peace and to keep the Inhabitants in Good Order. And all Persons are hereby required to give the said Mr. Richard Gardner such Respect and Obedience as belongs to a Person invested by Commission and Authority of his Royal Highness in the Place and Employment of a Chiefe Magistrate in the Islands aforesaid. And hee the said Mr. Richard Gardner is duly to observe the Orders and Instructions which are already given forth for the well Governing of the Place, or such others as from Time to Time shall hereafter bee given by mee, his Royall Highness Govern'r. And for whatsoever the said Mr. Richard Gardner shall Lawfully Act or doe in Prosecution of the Premises, This my Commission (which is to continue and bee in Force untill the next Election, and my Returne of Approbation of a new one in his Place) shall bee his sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

Given under my Hand, and Sealed with the Seale of the Province at Fort James in New Yorke this 15th Day of Aprill in the 25th year of his Ma'ties Reigne, Annoq. Domini 1673.

FRAN: LOVELACE

The Commission of Capt. John Gardner to be "Chief Military Officer" there was similar in character. It directed him to take charge of the foot company to be raised there and see them duly exercised in arms. All officers and members were to obey him and he was to follow such orders and instructions as should be given to him from time to time either from the Governor or by a superior officer "according to the discipline of war."

of yo'r Inhabitants, you may rest assured of his Hono'rs ready Compliance therein. This is all I have in Charge to Deliver unto you from the Governor, soe take Leave and Subscribe

Gent: Yo'r very humble Servant,

MATTHIAS NICHOLS.

Among the minor votes of the Town during the year 1673 are many grants of land to the various inhabitants; to record all grants; that Thomas Macy's petition or any similar petition for land be voted upon; that persons away from the island owning cattle here shall mow the same land as before; that three of the Selectmen or any two of them with a freeholder have power to appoint a Town Meeting; that Richard and John Gardner and Thomas Macy be appointed (Sept. 30) to "build a tide Mill upon the Creek behither Wesko somewhere near the place where the old mill now stands and the Town doth also Engage to pay to the said undertakers forty pounds in corn or cattle at price current at such time or times as the said undertakers or owners of the Mill shall col for it for the present carring on of the work of the Mill and the Town doth still further Ingage upon the performance of build of the Mill to profection and for the Constant keeping of the said Mill in repare to give unto the aforesaid owners Commonage for twenty head of neat cattle thirty sheep and one horse, together with Twenty Acres of up Land and two Acres of Meadow and Crick that is proportionable;" the field called the Round O was to remain common unless granted to Robert Barnard, Quite a large number of men, evidently sailors, were fined for attempting to rescue a prisoner. It was also (August 22d) "Voted by the Town that there should be Layed in Stock fifty pound of Powder and two hundred pounds of Lead and this is to be done by a rate according to men's Estate that is visible in their hands, all those men that do not bring in their list of their Estate to one of the Rate makers by tomorrow night those that are chosen to make rates shall rate them according to Estimation and when every man do know his proportion then they are to bring it in to Capt. Gardner who is appointed to keep the town Stock within 48 hours after upon the penalty of ten shillings a man, the rate makers are Mr. Coffin, Mr. Macy and Mr. Starbuck" Under date of April 15, 1673, Governor Lovelace issued the following order:* WHEREAS Mr. Richard and Capt John Gardner his Brother, having Declared unto mee their Intent of undertaking the Designe of a fishing Trade upon the Island of Nantuckett and Parts adjacent, if they may have License to buy and make purchase of some Land by the Sea-Side or else-where of the Indian Natives Proprietors for their Accommodation: for an Encouragement unto them the said Mr Richard and Capt. John Gardner in their undertakings of the Designe aforesaid: I have thought fitt to give and grant, and by these Presents doe hereby Give and Grant, Liberty and Lycence unto the said Mr. Richard and Capt. John Gardner and their Associates to Buy and make Purchase of some convenient Quantity or Tract of Land for the Use aforesaid, or for Improvement thereof of the said Indyan Proprietors, not yet made Purchase of by the Rest of the Inhabitants, for the which when Returne shall bee made of the Quantity thereof, together with its Buttings and Boundings, the said Mr. Richard and Capt. John Gardner, and their Associates may have a Patent of Confirmation by Authority of his Royall Highness under the Seale of the Province."

*Hough p. 53.

It is a little difficult to harmonize that grant with preceding votes by the inhabitants. The First Purchasers had already voted (in 1659) prohibiting any person purchasing any land from the Indians excepting for the use of the twenty owners: Richard Gardner was under a contract in March 1666-7, to remove to the Island and perform the functions of a seaman; and John Gardner was granted a half share in August, 1672, on "Condition that hee come in inhabit and to sett up the Trade of ffishing, with a sufficient Vessel, fitt for the taking of Codd-ffish." Also on the 5th of the 10th mo., 1672, Capt. Gardner was granted "Liberty to set a house upon the highway at Wesko going down to the Landing place." This "the Town doth freely give to the said John Gardner."

There is nothing discoverable to show that this agreement between Governor Lovelace and the Gardner brothers was ever carried out and the Town Records do not mention it, but on the face of the petition and grant it looks like a premonition of the storm of revolt which soon after broke out.

CHAPTER II

THE REVOLT OF THE HALF SHARES MEN

The period between 1672 and 1680 was an interesting one in the development of Nantucket history. For many years those interested in the Island's past have been led to believe that a sort of elysium existed, and that nothing occurred to break the resulting harmony among the people in the early years of the settlement of the Town. Indeed Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, in his "Letters of an American Farmer," published in 1793, wrote—"This happy settlement was not founded on intrusion, forcible entries, or blood, as so many others have been; it drew its origin from necessity on the one side, and from good will on the other; and ever since, all has been a scene of uninterrupted harmony. Neither political nor religious broils; neither disputes with the natives, nor any other contentions, have in the least agitated or disturbed its detached society."*

This would indeed be a charming picture if it were true, but there have been periods in the history of the Island when it was sadly at variance with facts. That the truth was not recorded was doubtless owing to the fact that for many years the writing of the history was in the hands of members of the Society of Friends, and they endeavored to cover the faults and foibles of the past with the broad mantle of charity. Nevertheless, as one studies the official records of the times, the true state of affairs impresses itself upon the attention, and, like Banquo's ghost it will not down.

Some writers have termed this period, it would seem not inaptly, "The Insurrection," and assuredly that, in effect, was just what the condition was. The admittance of half-shares men to a minor participation in the land ownership developed an entirely unexpected and troublesome state of affairs. Says Franklin B.

*Edition of 1793 p. 95. Franklin B. Hough, in "Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket" quotes from the French edition—*Je observe avec Plaisir que nulle Sedition, nulle Convulsion politique, n' a jamais terni da Gloire de cet Etablissement et n'a jamais mais agite ou retarde le Bonheur de cette Societe isolee.* ii, 192."

Mr. Macy in his "History of Nantucket" (p. 39) says—"During the first fifty years after the settlement, the people were mostly Baptists; there were some Presbyterians, and a few of the Society of Friends. The little community was kind and courteous to each other, and hospitable to strangers. The prevalence of good feeling was remarked and felt by all who came among them. The nature of their business was such as to expose them but little to the alluring customs and habits of the vicious part of mankind. They were industrious, and therefore virtuous and consequently happy."

Hough of this period.—* “A Perusal of the Memorials in the following Pages, will convince the Reader, that this Island was not altogether the Elysium that has been described by a romantic Writer,† but that this ‘Nursery for Sailors, Pilots, and Fishermen,’ was for many Years distracted by Quarrels which the New York Government was too distant and too much occupied with its domestic Affairs, to quiet. The Orders of the New York Governors appear to have been obeyed or disregarded according as they favored or opposed the Parties in Power, and this Authority seems to have lost the Respect of the Islanders by neglecting to enforce its Ordinances.”

It may not unfairly be assumed that the early proprietors intended to keep the control of the political affairs of the Island wholly within their own hands. They subsequently admitted others whom they denominated partners, and who were given equal rights with themselves in all respects. It does not appear, however, that it was the intention of the twenty to admit the so-called “half-shares” men, who were admitted as tradesmen, to an equality with themselves in the government. It is not clear where there is any justification for the claim that they should have been regarded as equal in power or authority, as society was then constituted, or why it was an indication of superior virtue for the half-shares men to avail themselves of a paralysis of the authority of the parent government and a temporary accession to their own ranks to throw off a hitherto undisputed governing power and institute a rebellion of their own.‡

The seizure and temporary occupancy of the New York government by the Dutch in the summer of 1673, during a brief absence of Governor Lovelace, gave the tradesmen an excuse to throw off their obligations to the First Purchasers and to assert equal rights with them in the carrying on of the local government. The outbreak of King Philip’s war, which occurred soon after, caused the removal of several English families to Nantucket for a temporary residence, and these joining the malcontents gave them a majority in the choice of civil officers.**

Probably the most forceful and in some respects the ablest of the Insurrectionists was John Gardner, who had come from Salem under a contract made August 5, 1672.

The language of the grants to the “half-shares” men would seem to indicate that their rights and privileges were not, and not to be considered, equal to those of the twenty original purchasers

*“Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket” pp. xvi, xvii.

†de Crevecoeur.

‡By the terms of the patent from Lord Sterling, Mayhew and his associates were free to set up a government similar to that of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. That government by its Charter allowed the owners, their associates and successors, forever, to elect annually a Governor, a Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants, and to make laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England. They were authorized to admit new partners, transport settlers, encounter and repel enemies and constitute inferior offices as they thought proper to manage their affairs. (Palfrey’s New England Vol. 1 p. 98).

**Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket. p. xvi.

At just what time John Gardner removed to Nantucket does not clearly appear. Under date of 5th, 10th mo. (O. S.), 1672, the Town Records say—"The Town hath granted to Mr. John Gardner Liberty to set a house upon the highway at Wesko going down to the Landing place," as previously noted. January 29, 1672 (O. S.), "Mr. Edward Starbuck, John Swain, Mr. John Gardner, Mr. Coffin and William Worth are (chosen) by the Town as Selectmen for the year following," so that he must have become a resident within six months, probably within four months, of the time of his original grant. That he was a man of ability and influence is evident by the prefix Mr. applied to his name.*

The first intimation of trouble in the civic affairs on the Island appears in a letter signed by Tristram Coffin and Matthew Mayhew addressed to Gov. Andros, who succeeded Col. Lovelace as governor of New York, and which was as follows:—†

"To the Honourable Major Edward‡ Andros, Governor of his Royall Highness Territories in America.

May it Pleas your Honour to understand that diverse Gentlemen having heretofor Obtained Liberty from Mr. Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Sonne, by Vertue of a Right they had of the Right Honourable William Earle of Sterling, to Plant, Settle and Inhabit upon the Isle of Nantuckett, they Prosecuted the same to a good Effect and made Lawful Purchase of the Indians then inhabiting there; under which Constitution they the said first Purchasers Continued and Admitted of divers other Inhabitants, allotting them such Lands as their Quallitie, and Way of Living might Require; to some more, to some less; with diverse Injunctions as to yo'r Honour shall Appeare; and have since Obtained a Confirmation thereof by Charter, from Collonell Lovelace, late Gouvernour under his Royall Highness, the Duke of York, which said Charter or Pattent, being composed Generall Termes; the said first Purchasers, and not without Cause, have feared a Disturbance in their Quiet and Peaceable Injoment of their said Interest; by those they had formerly admitted in among them, the Cause whereof ariseth from their Misconceiving (as the first Purchasers humbly conceive) of the Pattent or Charter; supposing the said Charter to intend to have Proportioned each Person their inhabiting, alike and equal Interest with the first Purchasers; the said Purchasers coveiving the Intent thereof only to be the Settling and Confirming of each Person in that Right and Interest he before had in his just Tenure and Occupation; of which your Petitioners humbly intreat your Honours Resolutions; as likewise whether any Person having Land there, may not Inhabit and be said so to doe, by his Substitute; your Honours Resolve hereof shall be a Guide to such as might Indeavour to abridge the just Purchasers of their Interest, to inlarge their own; we shall not further inlarge but in Behaulf as well of the said first Purchasers

*It is particularly to be noted that the half shares men forfeited their claims unless they removed to the island within a limited time. Other restrictions were placed on the grants that did not apply to the original twenty purchasers.

†(Deeds, iii, 89, Secy's Office, N. Y.) Hough 60

‡Edmund.

as others there Inhabiting, declare to your Honour the perfect State thereof and therefore conclude subscribing ourselves,

Honored Sr. Your Honours humble Servants,*

Zeiglam Coffin
Matthew Mayhew

A memorandum apparently filed at the same time, partially illegible, asks these questions: ".....whether, or..... Lands, be not in the proper Power of the Purchaser; and such others, as they have admitted as their Associates:

"Whether the Purchasers and Associates have not, by Vertue of their Pattent, Liberty, and Power, to Erect a Court or Meeting, as a Mannour Court; that such other Landes, conditionally or otherwise Granted them in a Way of Associateship, be accordingly Held, and Injoyed.†

"Whether a Man may not Inhabit, and be properly said so to doe by his Substitute." This memorandum is dated November 7th, 1674, and is signed by Mr. Coffin and Mr. Mayhew.

Apparently in response to the petition of Messrs Coffin and Mayhew, Governor Andros issued the following:‡

AN ORDER FOR THE SETTLING OF MARTIN'S VINEYARD

EDMUND ANDROS, ESQ., &C.

Having Received this Place and Governm't in the Behalfe of his Ma'ties from the Dutch;** By Vertue of his Ma'ties Letters Patents, and Authority derived unto mee, vnder his Royall Highnesse upon Appilcation made by some of the Inhabitants of ye Islands Martin's Vineyard and Nantuckett, intimating some Disorders to have hapned there, since the Arrival of the Dutch in these Parts, in July 1673; ffor the Settling of Affaires there and Preventing of future Contests that may arise amongst them, in that Part of this Government, I have (by and with the Advice of my Councell), thought fit to Order as followeth, (vizt)

1. Imprimis, That the Governm't and Magistracy of ye Islands Martin's Vineyard and Nantuckett shall bee Settled and Confirmed, in the same Manner, and in the same P'sons that were legally invested therein, at the Time of the Dutch coming into these Parts, in July 1673, or have since been legally Elected, by Vertue of his Royall Highnesse Authority.

*On the 25th 7 mo. 1673, it was "Voted by the Town that every man's grant shall be Recorded in such words as should be plane and ferm Recording to the true intent of the proposition provided neither substance nor quantity be altered. Ordered by the Town that those Gentlemen and friends of the Island that have Cattle here that have cut formerly meadow for their Cattle the Town doth hereby order that for this present season they shall mow the same meadow as they did formerly."

†Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket pp. 60-61.

‡Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, pp. 62-63-64.

**New York was surrendered by the Dutch to the English Oct, 31, 1674, under the Treaty of Westminster.

2. That by Reason of the first Right, Mr. Thomas Mayhew Senior, hath had to the Island Nantuckett as well as Martin's Vineyard, It is Ordered, during his Time, that hee shall Preside at the Gen'all Courts to bee held in either of the Islands, which are to bee held in like Manner as was Establisht by Governo'r Lovelace, the Orders whereof, as well as the Times of Election of their Magistrates and other Officers, are to be observed as then prescribed.

3. That all peculiar By Lawes, legally made at their Gen'all Court bee Returned to mee, as soone as conveniently may bee, that they may Receive a Confirmation, and in the mean Time to bee in Force.

4. That the Rights, Propertyes and Priviledges of the first Purchasers or Proprieto'rs and their Associates, bee preserved unto them; And that all Graunts, Concessions of Lands, Priviledges, or what else hath been since made by them to any others, bee likewise punctually observed and made good.*

As to that Clause in the Addiconal Instructions and Directions for the Governm't of the Island Nantuckett, sent by Mr. Richard and Capt. John Gardner, wherein it is said (vizt.) That all ancient and Obsolete Deeds, &c. shall bee esteemed of no Force or Validity, but ye Records of every one's Claime or Interest, shall bear Date from the first Divulging of the Patent, &c., It is to be understood, That all that were at that Time legally possest of any Land, Houses, &c., in that Island, were Confirmed in their said Possession by their Patent, but obliged to Record their said Titles, to avoid all future Litigious Suites upon acc't of their Uncertainty, the which (if not yet done) the Chiefe Magistrates are hereby required to enjeyne the same according to ye Custome of a Manner† as is granted them in their Patent.

Given under my Hand in New Yorke, the 7th Day of November, in ye 26th Yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne, Annoq. Dom'ni 1674.

E. ANDROS.

To the Governo'r and Associates at Martin's Vineyard and Nantuckett.

Governor Andros supplemented his order with "A Commission to call Offenders to Account in Martin's Vineyard, &c." which was as follows: "Edmund Andros, Esq'r, &c., Whereas, I have been

*The Town Records show that at a meeting held at Salisbury February 1659, "It was ordered and determined, that there should bee ten other Inhabitants admitted into the Plantation, who shall have such Accommodations as the Owners or Purchasers shall judge meet, as namely, necessary Tradesmen and Seamen."

†The President of the Court settled the procedure of the Court, carried it out, and gave the final sentence, but over the law of the Court he had no power. All that is comprised in the word "judgment" was settled by the body of tenants present at the Court. This attendance was indeed compulsory, and absence subjected to a fine any tenant owing and refusing the service known as "suit of court." It may be asked who in these courts settled questions of fact. The answer must be that disputed questions of fact could only be settled in one way, by ordeal; and that in most manorial courts the method employed was the wager of laws. The business of the Court may be divided into criminal, manorial and civil. Its powers under the first head depended on the franchises enjoyed by the lord in the particular manor; for the most part only petty offences were triable; such as small thefts, breaches of the assize of bread, and ale, assaults, and the like. * * * Under the head of manorial business the Court dealt with the choice of the manorial officers, and had some power of making regulations for the management of the manor; but its most important function was the recording of the surrenders and admittances of the villein tenants. * * * Finally the Court dealt with all suits as to land within the manor, questions of dower and inheritance, and with civil suits not connected with land." Encyclopaedia Britannica.

given to understand, that severall Disorders have hapned on the Islands of Martin's Vineyard and Nantuckett, (or one of them) since the Time of the Dutch coming into these Parts in July 1673, I have with the Advice of my Councell, thought fit to Order and Appoint, that the Governo'r or Governo'rs and Assistants of both the Islands aforementioned, bee hereby Authorized and Empowered, to call to Account and Punish according to Law, all such Persons as have been Ringleaders or Capitall Offenders and Transgresso'rs against the Establisht Government under his Royall Highnesse, the Crime not extending to Life, Limbe or Banishment: But in Cases of such High Crimes, which may Deserve those Punishments, to Secure the Offenders, and send them hither Prisoners by the first Convenience.

Given under my Hand and Seale in New Yorke, the 7th Day of November, in the 26th Yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne, Annoq. Domini, 1674.

E. ANDROS.*

An attempt has been made to surround the uprising of the "half-shares" men with a halo which does not belong to it. To attempt to place their revolt against the authority and rights of the first settlers on the pinnacle of a declaration of independence against wrongs and persecutions is absurd. They were neither wronged nor persecuted. They voluntarily assumed obligations knowing exactly the conditions under which they were expected to live. They knew that under the laws as they then existed they were not, and could not expect to be, of equal authority to the First Purchasers. The patent under which the original twenty purchased and governed conferred on them the authority they exercised, and the "half-shares" men must have well known that they occupied only secondary positions in the government. They voluntarily accepted their grants under those conditions. Apparently they made no complaint against them, at least there is no record of any such complaint, nor, so far as appearances go, did they question the authority exercised by the First Purchasers, until under peculiar and adventitious circumstances, they found themselves, temporarily, in the majority. Then they attempted to overthrow the duly constituted authority, not by and through the source under which that authority was held, but by sheer force of numbers, and in this movement Capt. John Gardner, the youngest in point of residence, and a man of undoubted force of will, who had been a resident but about two years, seems to have borne a very conspicuous part.

Under date of April 12, 1675, Thomas Mayhew wrote quite at length to Governor Andros concerning the situation of both Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.† He said—

"I have written to yo'r Hon'r by Stephen Hussey, the w'ch I hope is come to Hand synce, by Way of Boston, which I doubt

*Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket. p. 65. This would seem to be aimed at the insurrectionists.

†Matthew Mayhew and Thomas Daggett on November 14, 1675, had sent to Gov. Andros a petition setting forth the form the insurrection assumed on Martha's Vineyard. The insurgents, says the petition, refused
(See next page)

not were carefully sent, to both which I humbly desire yo'r Honour, not questioning in the least but that they shall be considered according to the Worth of the Contents: My earnest Desire now is, to haue Patience to reade and weigh, the ensuing Lines in a speciall Manner, whereby vnto your Honour I shall be much obliged.

"In 1641, I had a Graunt of Mr. James Forrett, Agent to the Lord Sterling for these Isles, and I forthwith indeavoured to obtaine the Indian Right of them; Mr. Richard Vynes, Steward Gen'rall to Sir Ferdynando Gorges, heareing of it, Enterrupted, showing me his Master's Patent and his Power insomuch that I was convinced by him and . . . * Gorges, who was then Governour of the Province of Maine, th . . . really Sir Ferdynandoe's Right, and for a Some of Money did obtaine from said Vynes a Graunt also."

"It came to pass, that Mr. Forret went suddenly to England before he had showed me his Master's Pattent whome afterwards I never saw; Some Yeares after this came over one Mr. Forrester, furnished with Power, who was here with me, and told me he would cleare up all Things, and that I should be one of his Counsel; but he from hence went to Long Island, and from thence to the Dutch, where the Gouvernor put him in Prison, and sent him a Prisoner into Holland, as I heard and I never saw him more. Soe wee remained under Gorge, had noe Newes of either Lord Proprietor till his Ma'ties Commissioners† came over, and then Mr. Archdale sent me printed Paper, whereby his Ma'tie had by his . . . Counsell in the . . . most strongly confirmed Ferdynando Gorges Esquire to be the Lord of the Prouynce of Maine, of w'ch Nantuckett and this be a P'te: withall he wrote me that Generall Nycolls did clayme these Isles, but at their first Meeting that would be taken of. So now after this Generall Nicholls wrote to me that Mr. Archdale haueing Gorges Pattent for to present, and he not haueing the le . . . the King's Commissioners refered the Decision to his Ma'tie: whereof he had not any Intelligence, but a little before he went Home for England, Generall Nycoll did acknowledge that the Power of these Islands was proper in ye Hands of Ferdinando Gorges.

"I have the Testimony of the Generall Court of Boston for it, w'ch Court sent to the Gentlemen of the Prouynce of Maine, whose Answer was, that it was in myself, &c. Now after all this, do . . . gs Collonell Louelace he sends for me in a loueing Mannèr, to come to Yorke to show by what Tytle I hold these Isllands, whereuppon I gave him to understand as is above written; and at length went to him and showed him my Graunts, w'ch he approved of, and the printed Paper from his Ma'tie at w'ch he stumbled much; also I showed him what Generall Nicolls had written me of his not being informed what his Ma'tie had donne: thereat he stumbled very much likewise: then I asked him yf he had the Lord Stirling's Pattent by him, he said noe: I answered then I was at a losse. I went to Captaine Nycolls and acquainted him with o'r Discourse, and . . . prayed him to search in Matters of Long Island, to see yf he could not find the Date of Lord Sterling's Pattent yf not I could doe nothing at Yorke, w'ch he did finde, and it was more Antient than Gorges. If not, I had nothing but about Elizabeth Isles, I questioned also in myselfe whether safe for me to medle, I say medle, touching any Thing

to obey the lawful authorities, treated them contemptuously affirming that the longest sword would bear rule, writing to the Massachusetts government at Boston that the Island was properly under its jurisdiction and endeavoring to transfer the jurisdiction of the Island to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Papers Relating to Nantucket, p. 66-7-8.

*Parts of the manuscript are illegible.

†Richard Nichols, Sir George Carterett, Sir. Robert Carr. and Samuel Maverack.

without as publique a Warrant to declare Gorges Government as I had to obey it . . . his Ma'tie . . . Except I were compelled; affter this his Honour and I did agree upon an Acknowledgement w'ch by my Graunt from Mr. Forrett I was to pay yearly to the Lord Sterling, or his Successours, a new Charter and Liberties in it made, grounded upon my first Graunt and the Resignation of L'd Sterling's Heirs to his Royall Highness, &c., thankfully by me accepted there and by all at Home, and also at Nantuckett soe farre as I know; ye Generall Court unanimously passed Lawes made according to Liberties graunted without . . . The next Yeare wee went to Nanntuckett with the . . . vs a Book of w'ch we had no Notyce of, nor any Instruction . . . they would not proceed in the Waye wee begann, nor the great b . . . after very much Debate wee came away resolving speedily for to apply ourselves to the Governo'r thereabout, but Matthew being uppon the Way, who was furnished to pay the Acknowledgement, met the News that Yorke was taken by the Dutch.* Then I hearing that Captaine Nycolls was well, &c., I certyfyed him at large of every Thing, from w'ch I had an Answer to full Satisfaction in every Particular: and lastly by our Applycation to yo'r Honour I did and doe still rest satisfied therein to the full, is being absolutely Just in my Judgment, and such as have seen it that are very Judicious.

"But those of Nantuckett, it is said they say noe Man had Right to a Foot of Land before the Date of the last Charter, and acte accordingly, notwithstanding all the foresaid, and they by the Book endeavour to dethrone o'r Libertyes; announcing my Right obtained from the Earle of Sterling nothing, aslo the Indian Right nothing, my quiett Occupation there of 29 Yeares nothing, the Grounding the ten Partners upon my first Graunt nothing; all other Transactions for 29 Yeares nothing; the Lawes now made nothing which your Honour and Counsell saw Reason to put in Force; all which is most absurd, unreasonable, and must bring that w'ch they for some by End indeavour to interprett away and make voyd, is that w'ch Generall Nycolls was judged Good, w'ch his Honour Collonell Louelace confirmed without the least Scrutiny and Counsel, that which Captain Nycolls by his Letter verily approved, and that w'ch yo'r Honour and Counsel hath determined; I hope yo'r Honour will take some speedy Course to force into Practice what yo'u have established; this is very certaine, that their now con . . . ual Apprehensions, and Interpretations and Actings in some Degree accordingly was the first Roote of Contentions about Right to Land at Nantuckett, and Reuolings from Gouvernment here, and crying down Power, and their coming hither now and . . . urging without o'r doing more in punishing Ring-leaders in crying downe Power of Gouvernment with their . . . and with some of them and allso Captaine Gardner saying to the chieftest of them at his House; that yf he had noe more to answer for than they had at Yorke, he should sitt but little by it,

*On the 8th of June, 1674, Tristram Coffin (senior and junior), James Coffin, John Bishop, Nathaniel Barnard, Stephen Hussey, Thomas Mayhew, Stephen Greenleaf, Joseph Austin (for Peter Coffin), Robert Pike, Nathaniel Starbuck, John and Richard Swayne, engaged to pay the Expenses of two Persons to go to New York to settle the Question of Title. They appointed "Thomas Mayhew or his Kinsman Mr. Matthew Mayhew for one. Also Mr. Tristram Coffin Sen'r., and Major Robert Pike, or any two of them, in Case of any Providence preventing." (Deeds i, 67). At the same Meeting, a general Statement of their Title from the Grants of Sterling and Vines, and the first Indian Deed on Nantucket, May 10, 1660, down to the Time of the Meeting, with a particular Account of the Sales and Alienations of Individuals, was drawn up for Examination by the Governor. Papers Relating to the Island of Nantucket. (Note page 72).

but he had much more, and I say this hath allso turned to o'r Prejudice. I . . . have one Oath of what Capt. Gardner spake as aboue: At last I say I have doune my best in settling these Isles; have passed through many Difficulties and Daungers in it, been at verry much Cost touching English and Indians, w'ch I shall haue for present to mention; . . . yf God please to . . . it to ye Fall, and beseach yo'r Hono'r to take o'r good Understanding to be . . . I wish all Happiness to attend yo'r Hon'r and yo'rs I commend to the Lord's Direcon, P'tecon and Rest.

Yo'r Honor's most affeconate and most humble Servant

THOMAS MAYHEW."

"This 12 April, I say further, that Capt. Gardner, who seemed to make little of the Faults of the Ringleaders; I beseech your Honour to consider of his vnfitness to medle with it: Certainly they haue need of real . . . with all that now resolved to owne noe Power of his Royall Highness here, and onely one of the six is come, who wee haue accepted and admitted his free . . . the other I see noe readiness to tender any Satisfacon . . . is now to sett upon and . . . I hope o'r . . . Acknowledgment will . . . taken speedily and send, it is true that the . . . Uncertainty of Interest in . . . at Nantuckett has . . .

. Servant

THOMAS MAYHEW."

Mr. Mayhew informs the Governor that he has on the Islands 15 Grandsons, 3 Great Grandsons, 3 Daughters and 11 Granddaughters. He says further—"I prayse God two of my Grand Sons doe preach to English and Indians,* Matthew sometimes to the Younge"

Simultaneously, according to the date, the following petition was sent to Governor Andros from the Town of Sherburne.†

"To the Right Honourable Edmund Androsse Esq'r. Gouverno'r Gen. under his Royall Highnesse James Duke of York and Albany, of his Territories in America.

The Petition and Adresse of ye Town of Sherburne, upon the Isle of Nantucket.

Right Honorable, we entreat yo'r favourable acceptance of o'r real and hearty Welcome as o'r Gouvern'r which is to us as the rising Sun after a dark and stormy Night together with o'r humble Thanksgiving for yo'r Hon'rs Care of us, as appears by the renewed Commission and Direction sent our Magistrates, which we hope haue bin and will be readily followed: Thus yo'r Hon'r manifested Favour together with o'r owne Necessity, gives vs Encouragement humbly to Petition.

Ffirst that o'r real Loyalty to o'r gracious Soueraigne o'r true and hearty Obedience to his Royall Highnesse Lawes, and that we may not be excluded the Go . . . ment and Vse of them by any Meanes . . . o'r Hon.; may retaine the absolute Gouvernment no'r and that we may be subordinate to no P'son elce but yo'r Hon; onely, so long as God and his Royal . . . nesse please, which we hope will be dureing yo'r Life which we pray God to continue.

3. That the Liberties and Rights granted vs in o'r Charter by the Hon'ble Col. Lovelace by Commission from his Royal Highness

*Thomas (died 1715) and John (died 1689) brothers of Matthew. Experience Mayhew, also a Minister, was a son of John.

†Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket. p. 75.

may not be imp'ed or diminished by any P'tence of o'r Aversaries whatsoever.

4th That yo'r Hon. would be pleased to graunt us some Favoure in the Manner of our paying o'r Acknowledgement, if possible, and to graunt us such farther Instructions as shall be p'posed by o'r Friends, as yo'r Hon'r find to be moderate and rational.

5ly. Yo'r Hon's favourable Audience and candid Hearing of o'r ffriends, whom we haue for that End to giue yo'r Hon'r, a full and true Accompt of all Matters here with vs, which we haue Cause to belieue hath not bin yet done by those that haue ranne and not bin spent. There being many Things and that of Consequence which by writeing we cannot so well do, which we have committed to our Friends, to attend yo'r Hon's Direction in.*

And now Right Hon'ble we beg yo'r P'don for o'r P'testing it is not out of the least Jealousie of your Hon's Goodness to us, or Wisdome in ordering all Things so as shall be legall and just, but are herevnto moued p'ceiving ye Endeavours of some to be-reauue us of o'r all as Loyalty, Obedience, Lawes, Libertyes, all which are pr'tious to us. The father making out of these P'ticulars, and what else may concérne us, we leaue to o'r ffriends,† whom we doubt not but will giue yo'r Hon: full Sattisffaction, and Information, in whose Mouths we are confident will not be found a false Tongue.

Thus with o'r Prayers &c., we take Leaue, and humbly entreat we may subscribe o'rselues yo'r Hon. . . . and . real Seruants.

Sharborn the 12 of Aprill, 1675.

(Three signatures are illegible).

EDWARD STARBUCK
THOMAS MACY
WILLIAM WORTH
WILLIAM BUNKER
THOMAS GARDNER

It is not entirely clear on what this seeming opposition to Mayhew and Coffin was based. Edward Starbuck was originally the partner of Thomas Macy. On the other hand Edward Starbuck's son Nathaniel had married Mary, daughter of Tristram Coffin. Thomas Macy was one of the original ten purchasers. The others were half shares men or their sons. Naturally the last named sided with what may be termed, not unfairly, the Gardner faction. It appeared to be around John Gardner that the insurrectionary movement continued to revolve.

The orders issued by Governor Andros in November, 1674, seem to have finally disposed of the question of authority and the relative rights of the First Purchasers and the Half-Shares men, and to have confirmed the former in their contention. Perhaps it would have been wiser to have had all contentions ended there, but those to whom the authority was restored seem to have lost but little time in disciplining the insurrectionists, while the perversity of strong-willed men in defeat turned the tide of opposition

*"March 18, 1674-5 the Town did vote that the Letter drawn up to be sent to the Governor of New York shall be forthwith sent. To this vote John Swain, Tristram Coffin, Nathaniel Barnard, John Coffin, Richard Swain, Stephen Coffin Enter their Decent." (Town Records).

†John Gardner and Peter Folger.

into a new channel, and here again John Gardner seems to have been the center around whom the tides of revolt still rolled.

Under the orders of Governor Andros, those in authority were empowered to suitably punish the ringleaders in the disturbance, if found guilty. There was no doubt in the minds of the majority of the First Purchasers that the revolting Half Shares men came fully within the scope of those orders and they acted accordingly.

Another source of friction developed at this time and served to intensify feeling between the First Purchasers and the Gardner faction. Governor Andros commissioned Thomas Macy to be Chief Magistrate October 1, 1675, his term, under his commission, running for one year. At the end of his term, no one having in the meantime been appointed to succeed him, he and his friends assumed, and not without good reason, that the authorities at New York did not contemplate having the Island left without a Chief Magistrate and that it was incumbent on him to hold over until his successor was qualified.* Indeed the distinct orders of the authorities at New York seem to admit of but one opinion on that point.

Nevertheless Mr. Macy summonsed the Town to consider the matter and the Town decided in his favor. This action started trouble at once. Peter Folger, who was Clerk of the Court, sided with the Gardner faction in treating Mr. Macy's act as a usurpation of authority and declined to deliver the Court Records or to record the proceedings. Mr. Folger's petition to Governor Andros relative to this affair and its results, while giving the story from his standpoint, shows quite clearly the falsity of his position, in view of the early instructions of Governor Lovelace, which had not been in any degree countermanded.

The petition which, in his own words, is "The humble Petition of Peter Ffoulger, now Prisoner at Shearburn upon the Island of Nantuckett," goes on to say†— "May it please your Honor to understand, that the Occasion of this my Petition is to acquaint your Honor with that new Trouble that my selfe and others meete now withall in this Place, ffor indeed I cannot well informe your Hono'r how it is in my own Case, vnles I speake something of the generall Case. So it was that when the Date of Mr. Tho. Macy's Commission was out, he called the Town together, and being met he told them that his Commission was out, yet he did

*Richard Gardner's commission read, "This my Commission (which is to continue and bee in Force untill the next Election, and my Returne of Approbacon of a new one in his Place) shall bee his sufficient Warrant and Discharge." In the instructions drawn up by Gov. Lovelace, and sent by John and Richard Gardner, appears this order of April 18, 1673; "That the Time of the Election of the Chiefe Magistrate, and other Civill Officers bee and continue according to the Directions and Instructions already given, but in regard of the Distance of the Place, and ye Uncertainty of Conveyance betwixt that and this Place, ye Chiefe Magistrate and all the Civill Officers shall continue in their Employment untill the Return of the Governor's Choice and Approbacon of a new Magistrate be sent to them, which is to bee with the first convenient Opportunity." Papers Relating to Nantucket. pp. 51-52.

†Papers Relating to Nantucket. p. 89-98.

assert it, and desired to know of the Town who would stand by him in it. Som of vs said it was not the Town's Business to speake of his Commission, but we did conceiue that your Hon. had left a safe and plain Way for the carying on of Gouvernment til further Order. Others sayd that his Commission was in Force til further Order, though not exprest and argued it out from former Instructions, and began to be very fierce. We thought their End to be bad and, therefore sayd littel or nothing more, (they being the greater Part, but were resoulued to be quiet, looking upon it as an evil Time.* After this there came hither from Puscattaway Mr. Peter Coffin† and some others, to stay here this Winter for fear of the Indians. Then another Meeting was called to chuse new Assistants to Mr. Macy. We knowing that we should be out voted, sat still and voted not. The first Man that was chosen was Peter Coffin; Stephen Hussey was the Man that carried on the Designe in such a rude Manner as this:—Com, Sirs, lets chuse Peter Coffin, he will be here but a Month or two, and then we shall have tenn Pound Fine of him.‡ A Man that is in Commission in Bay§ and is gone thither agayn. A Man that brought hither an evil Report of your Hon. from the Bay, which some of us did publiquely protest against, and how he hath carried it since chosen I shall leave at present. But if your Hon. did know the Man as well as God know him, or but halfe so well as some of us know him, I do verily belieue that your Hon. would dislike his Ruling here as much as any of vs. In the like unciuil Manner, they chose two young Men more,** Stephen Hussey calling upon them to corn†† such a Man, because he had Cattle at their Houses to Winter, and if they did not chuse them he was afraid they would not winter them wel. The sayd Stephen bringing his Corn which betoken Choice open in his Hand, and called upon others to Corn this Man and that Man: Such a Meeting as I never was at for such a Work. And being Clarke and thereby to se to the Votes, I cald upon them to be Ciuil and not to make a Maygame of chusing Men for such Imployment, and som other spoke after the same Manner, but as they began so they ended.

Now that you'r Hon. may vnderstand how they cam to be the greater p't it was by Mr. Macy his facing about and his Family,‡‡

*Evidently the Half-Shares men entirely overlooked the explicit instructions of Gov. Lovelace, that were still in force.

†It will be remembered that Peter Coffin was one of the original 10 who purchased of Mayhew. The contention of the First Purchasers was that those who were non-resident retained their rights to participate in local affairs and that contention does not seem to have been disputed by the New York authorities.

‡It is not quite clear where Hussey got his authority for making that statement unless the Colonial laws of New York provided for it. The local laws certainly did not.

§Peter Coffin at that time was considered doubtless a resident of Dover, where he held important offices. He resided in Nantucket temporarily. He was chosen Moderator of a Town Meeting in Nantucket, October 13, 1677 and was a Proprietor.

**It is to be noted that of the men Folger complains were so youthful Thomas Macy was born in 1608, Peter Coffin, who was afterward a Chief Justice of the Superior Court in New Hampshire, in 1631, and William Worth probably about 1638. Peter Folger was born about 1618. Nathaniel Barnard was born in 1643. As Governor Andros was born in Dec. 1637 the argument was not a good one.

††Alluding to the method of balloting, a grain of corn being an affirmative vote and a bean a negative one.

‡‡Henry B. Worth in "Lands and Land Owners" (p. 18) gives the following as the division of forces prior to the change—the Gardner Party consisted of John Gardner, Richard Gardner, Peter Folger, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Macy, William Worth, William Bunker, Thomas Coleman, Joseph Coleman, Joseph Gardner, Samuel Streeter, John Rolfe, John Coleman, Nathaniel Wyer, and Eleazer Folger, 15 in all; the Coffin Party were Thomas Mayhew, Tristram Coffin, Robert Pike, (See next page)

a Man who was as much for the Duke's Interest when we were with yo'r Hon: at New Yorke as any of vs, But now for diuers by Ends it is otherwise. I am sorry to trouble you'r Hon'r. to Read so much of this durty Stuff, but that my own Busines depends so much vpon it as that you'r Hon. wil not vnderstand it, without som Intimation of it. December 26, was our Quarter Court, and I being Clarke was at Strait what to do, because I did question as Things were, whether they would keepe a Legal Court or no, though I sayd nothing but was Resolued to be quiet, and to that End, went to the Court and carried the Court Booke with me, thinking thereby to while away Time as much Peace as could be til either you'r Hon: cam to vs or som further order; but being there presently saw that I was in for if I did not Write what they would, Peter Coffin told me they would presently chuse a new Clarke. I saw that the Booke was that which they aymed at, I did as well as I could at that Time, and did think that I would consider better of my next since that they have kept many private Courts that they gave me no Notice of: Ffeb. 10th cam the Constable to (demand) the (Boo)ke and all other Records of that Nature as you'r Hon'r. may see by this inclosed Papers* which is Mr. Macy's own hand, Reading the Paper and considering that they did not want me but the Booke, I returned them this Answer in Writing, that the Booke was put into my Hands by the Generall Court, and til the same Power, or a higher, did cal for it from me I should Indeauour to keepe it, but if they would have any Coppys out of it they might at any Time have them. Immediately the Constable cam with a Summons, and having no Time to consider further of it I gave him no Answer, but went to Capt. Gardner's House where presently he cam with a Speciall Warrant. I would haue sent your Hon: the Copsy of them but I cannot git them though often desyred of the Const. The sayd Constable by the Help of other Men, haled and draged me out of the Cap't House and caried me to the Place where they were met. I spake not a Word to the Constable, nor resisted him in the least. When I cam at the House I saw none of the Court, but the Constable told me that the Court was adjourned til Wednesday next and that I was committed into his Hands and must give Bond to appeare then.

Feb. 19th, I cam before them and carried myselfe every way as ciuilly as I could, only I spake neuer a Word, for I was fully persuaded that if I spake anything at al, they would turn it against me. I remembered also the old Saying that of nothing comes nothing.

But it seems my Silence did helpe bring forth this Sentence, of which your Hon: hath her a Copsy.†

Tristram Coffin, Jr., Richard Swain, Stephen Greenleafe, Christopher Hussey, James Coffin, Nathaniel Starbuck, John Swain, John Coffin, John Bishop, Nathaniel Barnard—13 in all. The lists are open to some objection. Some residents are unplaced.

*"Tis the Order of the Court that the Constable be sent to Peter Ffoulger for the Court Booke, and all Records of that Nature and this is to impower the Constable herein, and to bring them to ye Court forthwith, and Peter Ffoulger is hereby required to deliver them.

Per me THO: MACY,

Mag.

†At a Court of Ajourment held in the Towne of Sherborne, 14th February, 1676 Petter Ffoulger, Inditted for Contempt of his Majis Athority, in not appearing before the Court according to sumons serued on him and being Aprehended by Specall Warrant being braeft to the Court to Answer for his Contemtious Charge, And being demanded why he did so act gave no Answer; Tho the Court waited on hem a While and urged him to speak. The Sentence of the Court is to Remite the Cause to the Court of Asifze at New York as the law directs and to giue

(See next page)

After my Sentence, the Constable called for twenty Pound Bond, or to Prison I must go presently, when they al know that I am a poore old Man, and not able to maintayne my Family. All my Estate, if my Debts were payed, will not amount to halfe so much, and as for making vse of Friends, they all know that I haue more Need of any Helpe that way for the Supply of my Family. For want of a Bond away the Constable carried me to Prison, a Place where neuer any English-man was put, and where the Neighbors Hogs had layed but the Night before, and in a bitter cold Frost and deep Snow. They had onely thrown out most of the Durt, Hogs Dung and Snow. The Rest the Constable told me I migh ly vpon if I would, that is vpon the Boards in that Case, and without Victuals or Fire. Indeed I perswaded him to fetch a little Hay, and he did so, and some Friend did presently bring Beding and Victuals.

But as for Mr. Macy and the Rest of our new young* Magistrates, you'r Hon: may see how far theire Pitty did extend to a poore old Man, aged 60 Yeares. At the Present I haue some Leaue from my Keeper to be sometimes at my own House, but how long that will hold I know not. I haue informed your Hon: truely what my Condition is, and my humble Petition is, that your Hon: would be pleased so to consider of it, as to shew some Favour towards your vnworthy Petitioner, and in your Wisdom to finde out some Way for my Freedom, as also to stop the Rage and Fury of these Men, Least others better than myselfe be brought suddenly to the same Condition that Ia am in if not worse, for the Mercy of some of these Men is Cruelty itselfe, And in Truth I was not the Man that they most aymed at. Others should haue bin in Prison at the same Time, but that they found more heuier Work of it. then they thought of, for it began presently to set a fire to the whole Island, for I hauing lived 30 Yeares upon this Island and the Vineyard, was so wel Known, and so wel Beloved of English and Indians, (whether deserved or not) that the Indians inquired what the Cause was of my Imprisonment, And though both P'tys was unwilling to tel them, yet being before so vnsatisfied with the Orders or Laws that these new Magistrates had made for them,† They p'sently found so much that they began to speak high in the Case for these and the like Reasons as I suppose our new Court though they speak great Words, yet at Present they are not so full of Action, and I do must humbly intreat you'r Hon: to consider of the Condition of the poore Indians in this Respect, for they haue such Cause to speak against their Actings, that we haue no way to quiet them, but to persuade them to be still til your Hon: come or some Order from you, which we tel them we do believe will certaynly be. I haue bin Interpreter here from the Beginning of the Plantation, when no Englishman but myselfe could speake scarce a Word of Indian, at which Time I am sure some of these Men that deal thus with me now, had felt Arrows in their Sides for reall Wrong that they did them, had I not stept in between them and made Peace.‡ And I have euer since bin able by the

twenty Pound Bond for his appearance, and to abide the Order of the Court, and to stand committed ti'l the Bond be given.

A true Copy By the Court,

William Woodh

*See Note p. 52.

†Probably the laws regarding purchasing and selling liquor.

‡From the petitions filed by the Indians themselves it is difficult to
(See next page)

Helpe of some antient Men, to keep Peace upon the Island, but now I am not able to answer them no other then as aforesayed, for they say there is now young Men in Place they do not vnderstand that Way. They cannot belieue that Young Men, especially such Men, can vnderstand Things like old Men, and they are always in Doubt whether they have Justice or no. They say further, that there is a Boston Man sits in Place by Mr. Macy, and he Blind him so that he canot se the Right Path, and they say that they do not vnderstand what he hath to do to Judge their Cases. These and suchlike Words I and others haue from them, and I doe verily belieue they are their own Words, that no English body ever put such Things into their Minds.

We haue had Peace hitherto when our Neighbors but Just over the Water, haue lost so many of ther dear Relations in bloody Wars, I hope your Hon: wil in your Wisdome finde out som Way for vs that we may be able to Answer these Queris of the Indians, that Peace may continue stil between vs as heretofore. I most humbly intreat your Hon. to pardon my Bouldness in Writing so much upon this Subject, for I have so much to doe with the Indians for so many Years that I cannot forbear Writing. Though I cannot Write but with Tears, considering the Misery that they and we are like to come to. If you'r Hon: put not a Stop to these violent Motions, I verily belieue it were better for vs and the Indians also, that we had no Liberty at al (at least til we could vse it better,) then thus to abuse it.

I hear now that our new Court intend to desyer leaue of you'r Hon: that my Cause may be tried at the General Court. But I humbly intreat you'r Hon: to prevent it. I shall sit down fully satisfied by your Honours Sentence, or by the Sentence of the Dukes reall Friend whom your Hon: shall appoint. It is known that I haue euer bin for the Duke's Interest if they had don so too, we had not bin so many Yeares without a Generall Court, and what kind of a Court they are like to keepe, and what Justice I am like to haue from them (as Things go now) your Hon: I doubt not wil easily conceiue: and now Right Honourable, if I and my Friends might injoy so much Happiness as to se but a Line or two of your Honour's Pleasure, it would assuredly bring much Joy to your unworthy Petitioners; Yea, it would certainly reuiue our Spirits in this Time of Trouble, til some of us might have that happy Opertunity to appear before your Hon: againe. And thus humbly beseeching your Hon: that in your Wisdom you would be pleased so to consider of my Age and Inability, as to pass by my rude Manner of Writing, I humbly leave this my Petition with your Hon: and rest.

Yo'r humble Petitioner, and unworthy Servant, who always account it his Duty to pray for your Honours Welfare here, and eternal Happiness hereafter.

Dated March 27th, 1676-7.

John Folger

Folger's peition bore an endorsement from Richard Gardner, Edward Starbuck and Thomas Coleman to the effect that in their judgments the petitioner's case, if examined by the Governor, or

see where the whites were unjust to them. Mr. Worth's opinion seems to be that the Indians were unable to see why selling their lands debarred them from using them. Doubtless Mr. Folger could quiet them in such matters. One of their besetting sins was the use of liquor. Mr. Gardner at least was not scrupulous in restraining them in that direction at this time, but possibly Mr. Folger was.

anyone whom he might appoint "except at the Vineyard," would "be found nought but standing for his Royal Highnes Interest and Government."

Taking the petition of Mr. Folger as a full presentation of the case of the Insurrectionists in the controversy then disturbing the peace and quietness of the people of Nantucket, there are certain facts that stand prominently out. As already stated, the original ground on which the Insurrection was based, that is the alleged rights of the "Half-Shares" men to an equality in all things with the First Purchasers, has apparently been abandoned as untenable, in view of the attitude, whether active or passive, of the authorities at New York.* In the petition the contention has shifted to the right of a Chief Magistrate to continue in authority after his commission had expired if his successor had not been appointed and qualified, and the power of the majority to select such Assistants as it chose.

The Insurrectionists had seized upon a time when they found themselves in a majority to throw off the allegiance they owed, for without making any such insincere pleas as "freedom of conscience," or "the people against the aristocracy," they fretted over the fact that their rights were not and were not intended to be equal to those of the First Purchasers, and they determined to secure by force of numbers a position not theirs by right or by law.

The opportunity came when the government to which the Islanders owed allegiance was temporarily under control of the Dutch† and they suddenly found themselves in a majority. When the English government was restored and they were shorn of their little brief authority the bitterness of feeling between the usurped and the usurpers, engendered by the uprising, still remained, and it was perhaps no more than natural that the First Purchasers should feel inclined to punish more strenuously the unfriendly acts of the Insurrectionists than they would those of a similar nature and degree committed by strangers. On the other hand the insurgents were still inclined to harass and rebel against the lawful authority.

Taking now Mr. Folger's petition as a basis on which to found an opinion it is clear that he and others, notably the so-called Gardner faction, were opposed to Mr. Macy's continuing in office beyond the time prescribed by his commission, which expired October 1, 1676, notwithstanding the definite instructions of Governor Lovelace, under date of April 18, 1673.

Stephen Hussey, who was of a somewhat litigious temperament,

*As appears by the decision of Governor Andros previously quoted.

†Mr. Hough says (Introduction p xv) "Upon the Establishment of the English in the Government of New York, Governor Lovelace sent an Order to those holding under the Stirling Title to produce their Papers, and take out new ones under the Duke of York. Mr. Mayhew accordingly attended, was kindly received, appointed Governor of Martha's Vineyard for Life, and the People of both Islands were confirmed in that Form of Government which they solicited."

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RANGE 10 E

W. 1/4
M. 1/4
S. 1/4
T. 1/4
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SECTION 11

SECTION 12

SECTION 13

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SECTION 16

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SECTION 20

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SECTION 28

SECTION 29

SECTION 30

SECTION 31

SECTION 32

SECTION 33

SECTION 34

SECTION 35
1800-1850
GIVEN APPROXIMATE
- ONLY -

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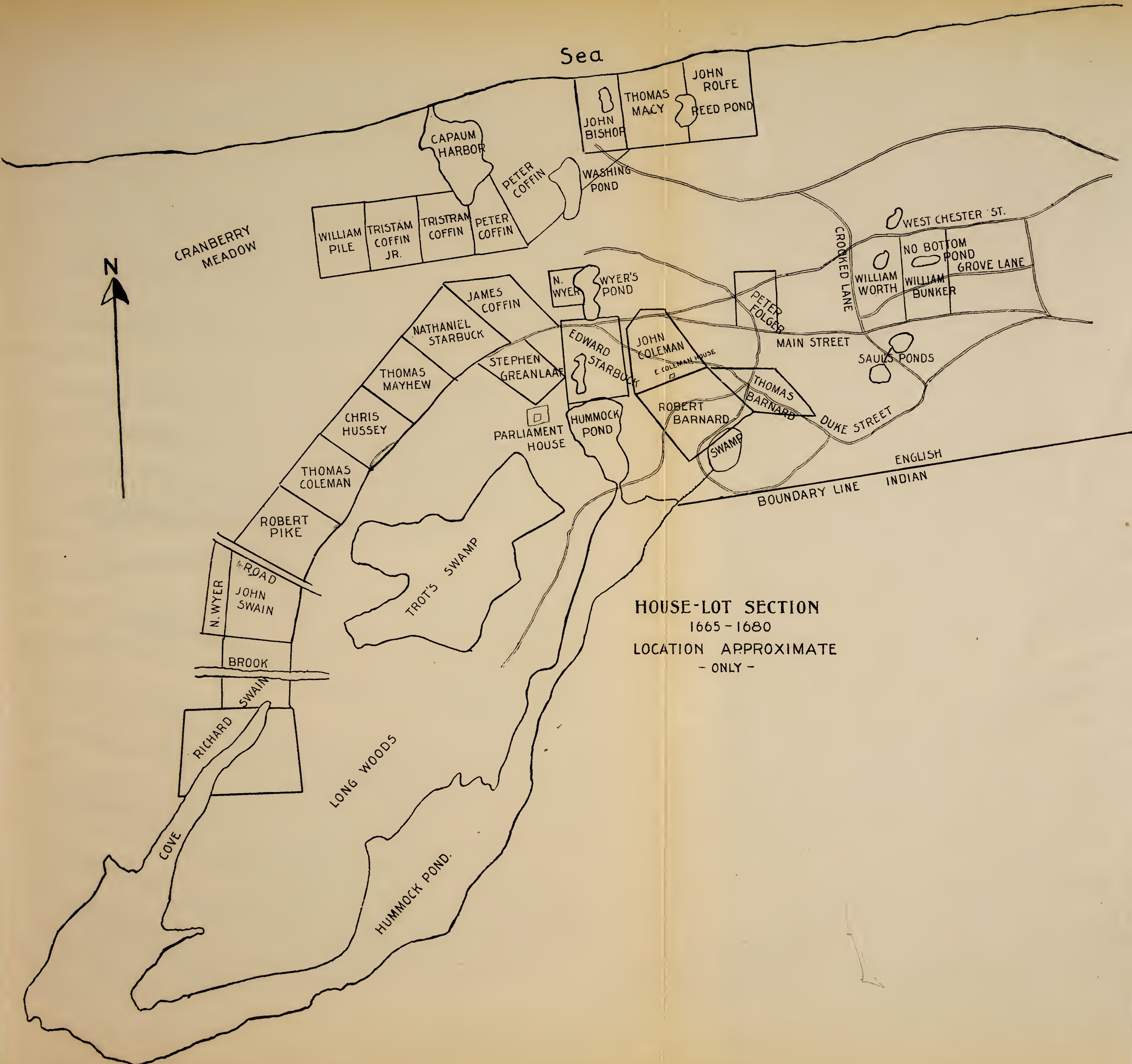
The opportunity came when the government to which the Islanders owed allegiance was temporarily under control of the Dutch† and they suddenly found themselves in a majority. When the English government was restored and they were shorn of their little brief authority the bitterness of feeling between the usurped and the usurpers, engendered by the uprising, still remained, and it was perhaps no more than natural that the First Purchasers should feel inclined to punish more strenuously the unfriendly acts of the Insurrectionists than they would those of a similar nature and degree committed by strangers. On the other hand the insurgents were still inclined to harrass and rebel against the lawful authority.

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and evidently a politician of a very active type, did not seem to be overwhelmed with modesty in urging the candidacy of his friends,* but there is nothing to show that Peter Coffin and his associates were not properly qualified and duly and legally elected. Mr. Folger does not contend that they were not. One of the principal charges that he makes concerns the pernicious political activity of Mr. Hussey and another relates to the callow youth of the electees. Therefore by his own statement it may fairly be claimed that they were properly in authority and entitled to the respect and obedience of the people.

Mr. Folger attributes the change in magistrates to the "facing about" of Mr. Macy and "his Family," meaning presumably his son-in-law William Worth, but Mr. Folger had no fault to find with Mr. Macy and his family so long as they were opposed to Mr. Coffin and Mr. Mayhew.

The next act of Mr. Folger's relates to his attendance at the Court, which, as Clerk, was his duty, and his admitted hesitancy about keeping the records, and which was followed, very naturally, by a demand from the Chief Magistrate for the Court Book and Records, which Mr. Folger refused to honor. He offered to make such copies as might be desired, but refused to yield the books on the ground that he had received them from the General Court† and would surrender them to no lesser authority. Served with a peremptory summons, he naturally betook himself to the house of John Gardner, whence he was forcibly removed. Summoned before the Court on an indictment charging him with contempt in refusing to appear according to a summons previously served, he refused to give any reason for his act "though the Court waited on him a while and urged him to speak." There would seem to have been no choice left to a Court which had any regard for its own dignity than to punish such an act, and the Court took that view of his contumacy and held him for trial at the Court of Assize at New York. The bond under which he was held was doubtless needlessly high, but there is no evidence of any attempt by Mr. Folger to cover it, and there seemed to be no recourse but to confine him in jail.‡

It was not long before John Gardner became involved in trouble. His aggressive disposition and his undisguised friendship for and sympathy with Peter Folger were quite sure to bring him into conflict with the men in authority. Added to that was

*Mr. Hussey died in 1718. His will, which was offered for probate May 13, 1718, says that he had made many wills previously but had destroyed them. His "law books" he left to his son Bachellor.

†That is the assembled Court of both Islands. The book never was recovered and its whereabouts never have been made known.

‡It is quite certain that Mr. Folger could have secured ample bail had he chosen to do so for his family and friends could have given all the needed assistance. It is quite worthy of note that no man could be confined in jail for debt in those days unless it was clear that he had property which he could use but would not. (See General Laws June 18, 1672 Deeds i, 78, Secretary's Office, New York).

an evident disregard for a law that, some years before, had been deemed essential to the public good.

The General Court for the two Islands, at its first session at Edgarton, June 18, 1672, passed, among its general laws, one providing "if any Person shall bee accused by any, either Indian or any other Person whatsoever, to have sold or furnished any Indyan or Indyans with Wine, Liquor, or any Strong Drink, Beer only excepted, hee shall either purge himself by Oath, That hee hath neither sold, given, lent, nor anywayes directly or indirectly furnished any Indian or Indyans with any Quantity or Quantities as he is Accused for: Or if hee shall not soe purge himselfe hee shall pay for such Offence after the Rate of five Shillings per Pinte, for every Quantity soe sold or disposed of.* It was further provided that no person should sell strong drink at retail without a license from the Quarter Court under penalty of £5 for such offense.

The disturbed conditions among the inhabitants of Nantucket and their effect upon the Indians, as narrated by Peter Folger, made it particularly dangerous to permit them the use of liquor, even if the laws had not forbidden it. It is quite clear that Captain Gardner paid little attention to this law, and there is no direct evidence that either he or Mr. Folger was particularly active in quieting the resentment they allege was shown by the Indians.

In a letter to Governor Andros, under date of May 9, 1676. Thomas Macy says:† May it please yo'r Hon'r, where yo'r Goodnesse have bin such as to send so after us to know how tis with us in these troublesome and dangerous Times, wherein o'r Neighbours have so greatly suffered and we as yet through the Goodnesse of God are free, these are to returne Thanks the same of yo'r Vigilancy we doubt not, hath conduced to o'r Peace these rude Lines are to give yo'r Hon'r an Accompt how Things are and haue bin with us; a considerable Company of Indians haue formerly owned themselves Philips Men, but since the Wars began they have seemingly we hope declared themselves against him. We haue carried o'rselues towards them manifesting no Distrust and Things haue bin orderly carried among them: onely we haue heard now and then a Word from . . . which we haue not liked but haue overlooked the same. And I doubt not but we may enjoy Peace (if o'r Sins hinder not) so long as we can keep strong Liquor from them. Yo'r Hon'r may vnderstand that some that dwell elsewehre haue some Yeares past sent Goods to trade with the Indians vpon the accompt of Fishing and otherwise and great quantities of strong Liquor haue bin sent and notwithstanding all orders and care about it to p'hibit it hath bin one way or other disposed to the Indians which hath occasioned great Abuse and Disorder but since the Warrs began they haue not had much: the last Fall the Court tooke into their Possession all on the Island and disposed of it by small quantities as the Owners and the English Neighbours had need, and because of the late Scarcity little hath lately come:

*Hough pp. 46-47. These were the days of the Indian uprising known as King Philip's War, and it was not entirely certain how far his influence extended.

†Hough p. 99.

The agent here that carried on the Trade for the Gentlemen hath bargained with the Indians to giue each Man a dram before they go out fishing in the Morning; but under that p'tence much Abuse have bin, but respecting the p'sent Voyage a small Quantity came, about 16 Gallons which was carried to ye Indians. It so came to passe that a Sloop came to my Hono'd Cousin Mr. Mayhew from the Hon'bl Councill, and Mr. Mayhew sent to me the Order that prohibited strong Drink being carried to any Indian Plantation,* which Order came to my Hand the 6th day of the Week, and I presently went to ye House of him that had carried the Liquor aforementioned to ye Indians: and carried the Order with me but finding him not at Home left a Warrant at the House requireing him in his Ma'ties to fetch away the Liquor carried to ye Indians: but slighted and not at all obeyed, but the Liquor spent there as I vnderstand. The Monday following I caused the Order to be read in the Town Meeting, which some greatly disliked, as I vnderstood.

My humble Request is, a Word or two from yo'r Hon: about it. Sir, concerning the Peace we hitherto enjoy, I cannot imagine it could haue bin if strong Liquor had bin among the Indians, as formerly: for my owne p't I haue bin to ye vtmost an opposed of the Trade these 38 yeares, and I verily belieue (respecting the Indians) tis the only Ground of the miserable p'sent Ruine to both Nations: for tis that hath kept them from Civility, they haue bin by the drunken Trade kept all the while like wild Beares and Wolves in the Wildernese; concerning my vnderstanding in the Matter I haue now sent to Gouverno'r Leveret, ye which I hope may come to publicke View &c. But respecting the p'sent Times and State of Things, I humbly entreat if in yo'r Wisdom you shall see meet to make a strict Law or Order respecting o'r Island to p'hibit any Vessel whatsoever that shall come in ye Harbor to sell or giue any strong Drink more or less to any Indian vnder a penalty, and to Command or Order the Gouvernor here to search all Vessels for strong Drink and either to cause the Master or Merchant to carry away or take into custody so much as the iudge may be needful for the moderate vuse of the English here, or for Indians in case of distresse, &c., and according to ye discession of the Court to put it in the Hands of some Man or Men that may be judged faithfull by small quantities, dispose as be needed, for tho ye Traders it may be do not dispose of much to ye Indians, yet many of the Inhabitants do frequently purchase it p'tending for their own vse and sel it to ye Indians. An Order from yo'r Hon'r will be of greater Force than any we can make tho left too Liberty herein: and whereas in yo'r Letter to Mr. Mayhew you giue Liberty to dispose of Powder to trusty Indians for their necessary vse we judge it were better for us wholly to p'hibit, for tho some here we apprehend may be confided in, yet so to distinguish will giue great Offence, yet by priuate Instructions yo'r Hon'r may referre something to the discession of the Gouvernor, respecting contingent Accidents in reference to . . . and Peace, not further Trouble at p'sent I commend you . . . ye weighty Affaires committed to yo'r management to ye . . . of the only wise God and remaine.

Yo'r Seruant at Command,
THO. MACY,

It is quite noteworthy that Mr. Macy did not indulge in the personalities which Mr. Folger used neither is his letter quite

*General Laws of June 18, 1672. Hough 42.

so gushing in its allusions to Governor Andros, though respectful and dignified. It is not possible to gather from his letter who is responsible for the disobedience of the laws of the General Court of the islands regarding the sales of liquor to the Indians. Experience has clearly shown that the indulgence in strong drink by the aborigines was invariably productive of the trouble and it is not unreasonable to believe that much of the disturbance among the Indians may have resulted from the indulgence in liquor. One source from which they obtained their strong drink, apparently one referred to by Mr. Macy, would appear to be John Gardner, as would seem to be shown by a letter from him to Governor Andros, dated March 15, 1676-7.*

Mr. Gardner, in assuming to acquaint the Governor with the state of affairs on Nantucket, said that "there hath bene an unhappy difference Amongst us; beyond before my coming to this Island; and since not decresed, is to Evident." He then goes on to recite from his standpoint, the story of the original purchase of the Island from the Mayhews, the admission of partners; the accession of the Half-Shares Men; the brief reign of the Dutch, the return of the English, the transfer of governmental responsibility from the Earl of Sterling to the Duke of York and the orders given to the First Purchasers to appear in New York and file their claims and get them recorded, but does not allude to the order of Governor Andros of November 7, 1674, in which he clearly explains that those previously in ownership were confirmed in their titles, but must have them recorded anew in order to avoid possible future trouble from litigation.

Mr. Gardner continues: "Now heare comes in the Ground of all our difference, that several of the Inhabitation joyned with the Purchasers, affirming that this therould Titell as Good, and that they need not to take the Titell from his Ryall Highness as the Law directs, and that it was the one before, On the managing of this Dispute hath many Things fallen on us as sum of us judge derogatory to his Ryall Majesty's Authority, and his Ryall Highness Propriety and Gourment, which will beter Apear by the Evidences in sesone. Thes Things hath wrought such Resistance in Agit'tion that we are now Gone just to Distracktion . . . in that of the Gouernment that is amongst us.

Mr. Macy and his Relations though formerly asserted his Ryall Highnes Propriety and Interest now joyne with that Party as we judge opose it, and sum Persons now came out of the Bay† of those Purchasers as Sojourners for a Time by Reason of the Indian War, so they now haueing the bigger Party hear, mould all Things after ther Plesuer, or at Lest Endeuer it, but which is worse than all this, Peter Coffin and James, Soyourners for a Time, haueing ther Mouths full of those vile Reports, thay windy of your Honors being reported to be the Indians Abeter in the War against the English, aleging it publeckly, as a Ground why we might not follow your Honors Order according to the Law, in helping the Indians as the Law dericts; and this thay prest with vyolence in words. I gave them this Answer after sum others, that I did believe that it would neuer apear that your

*Hough p. 103.

†The Massachusetts Bay Colony.

vnspoted Honor had euer asisted the Indians, or ben the Abeter of his Majesties or the English Enemies. Peter Cofen answered, then hee was basly belyed, in a reprochfull Maner as could well be without positive Afirmiting of it:—further following this Discorse with vere high Words, Mr. Macy being by, and heard all thes Things, but could not find one Word in your Honors Vindication or Stop to their Vyolence, though aserted himself to be a Chef Magistrate.”

Mr Gardner continues his opposition to Peter Coffin who he says is “now in Comision the Bay, and Debity of ther Generall Court, as I am enformed,” and then says—“and for my seluef I haue haluef a Barrell of Rom taken from me, and disposed of after ther Plesuer, and for what Reson I profes I know not, but because it was myne. (This was done cheafly by Mr. Macy and his Sone Worth.) I have desiered the Constabell to giue me a Copy of the Warrant by which he took it from mee, but I cannot obtaine it, and from Mr. Macy cane have no Answer. But . . . of Releuef in its seson; but for the Present haue expected dayly the Prison to be my Portion, I being Highly Guilty of that great Sine of Aserting his Royall Highness Justes . . . and Propriety according to Law, as sum count it, but I hope not all.*

Amongst the Indians, there has been Great Disturbence of late, by Reson of several Lawes, mad and Published amongst them by our new Magistrates, and it rose so highe, that one of the Indian Sachems tould me, they could not forbear but must fight, if these Laws wear prosicuted one them, and no passifuing of them but by assuring them of his Majesty’s Reall Care in Proteckting them from Wrong, together by begeting in them a high Esteeme of your Honour, that you haue always taken care that they shall haue equall . . . and that upon the just Complaints, find . . . out Releuef, to which they say thay are fully Satesfied, and are allways willing to ly down by your Honor Plesuer, but cannot beleue that it is from your Honor, that Boston Men should be ther Juges,—that to speak ther one Words, say and beleue to Masters heard . . . by Boys, as they call young Men in this Case.† But hear are som of them now gone to your Honor, desiring me to wright in their Behaluef, by home I spose your Honor will vnderstand at Large ther busnes that I am a Stranger to: but Assuers them of your Honors Redynes to hear and dow them Right without an Advocat; and of them is one Hardy; that sent your Honor a Girdell of Peaque the last Year by Capt. Philipson. He is a popelar Man amongst the Indians here, and is as good a Wite we judge as any is amongst them. I question not but your Honors Wisdom will so Carry it towards them as will abundantly Ratify our hitherto continued Peace, and if your Honor shall be Pleased to favor vs with your Word to the Master of aney Vesell to give them Pasage back, and land them on the Vynyard which will be in ther way; your Honor will aboundently Oblige your unworthy seruant heare.”‡

*History is not particularly complimentary to Andros. He inclined to be domineering and the fees exacted for recording grants were quite a source of revenue. He was recalled to England in 1681 and put on trial for alleged misdemeanors, but was acquitted. He was denounced as a tyrant, but it must be admitted that the people of Martha’s Vineyard and Nantucket had little to complain of as to him personally. It was claimed too that he made little effort to suppress the Indians.

†It is not surprising that Macy desired to enforce the provisions of law against the sales of liquor, wisely passed by the General Court. The English men on Nantucket capable of bearing arms in 1675 were about 30 while the able-bodied Indian men numbered between 500 and 600.

‡Papers Relating to Nantucket pp. 103-110. The sentence of the Court in the case of John Gardner was as follows (Ib. pp. 110-111)—“WHEREAS this Court taking into consideration how they might best
(See next Page)

Gardner was summonsed before the Court and refused to appear. Brought forcibly by the constable he treated the Court with the utmost discourtesy. It was not possible for the Court not to take cognizance of his lawless behavior and he was accordingly fined and disfranchised. The punishment may have been severe and disproportionate to the crime, but it must be remembered that the evidence shows that the attitude of the Indians on the Island was becoming threatening and the conduct of Peter Folger and John Gardner was not of such a nature as to pacify them.

From that sentence Capt. Gardner appealed, his appeal being addressed to "Mr. Thomas Mayhew and Gentlemen all such as are his Majesties Lawfull and Rightfully Established Officers," and setting forth that "Whereas, I haue ben twice feched out of my House by Warr't under the Name of a Generall Corte, and highly charged with contempt of his Majesties Athority, the which I am so far from offering the Lesst Countenance vnto; that I desier not Longer to Lieue than to be Ready to Sacrefice my Liufe and Fortains for the maintaining of it, but as to my Actuall Obedience to a Generall Corte, I dow not vnderstand of aney ther can be heare at this Time; by Reson of the Persons hear of our Iland that tack vpon them the Gouvernment at this Time hauing not aney Lawfull Athority Acording to his Excelecies the Gouvernors Instructions, so far as I can vnderstand so to dow." Captain Gardner gives as his reasons for considering that there is no court—First, Mr. Macy's alleged usurpation of authority; second, that many allege that Nathaniel Barnard did not have a majority vote; thirdly that he did not understand how Peter Coffin could legally be elected an assistant. If, however, the Governor determines the Court to be regular and lawful he addresses his appeal to the Court of Assizes at New York.

maintain his Majestie's Authoritie in this Court, espetially with relation to the Heathen among whom it was vulgarly Rumored that there was no Gournment on Nantuckett and haueing good Cause to suspect, the same to proceed originally from some English instigating them, or by their practice incouraging them in the same, to the great Danger of causing Insurrection:

This Court Respecting the same, saw Good to send for Capt. John Gardner, who had at the Quarter Court, refused to appear being summoned, and had refused to assist the Constable in the Execution of his office, vpon his Command, to make his Appearance to **Answer the same**, in pursuance whereof, the Court sending the Marshall twice for him with a Warrant refused to come, the Marshall afterwards fetching him by Force, when he came to the Court, demeaned himself most irreverently, sitting down with his Hat on, taking no Notice of the Court, behaveing himself so both in Words and Gestures, as declared great Contempt of Authoritie of this Court, tending to the great dishonour of his Majesties Court Authoritie the Incouragement of others, and espetially the Heathen who being before by some evil Spiritt persuaded that there was no Authoritie, were hardly diswaded from using Violence; the Composeing whereof was the principall Cause of the Court present Setting; this Court haue therefore thought good for upholding and maintaining the Peace and Tranquillitie of this Place, which is so greatly indangered by such a President of such Note, and at such a time, by such a Practice to discountenance such Practices, and deterring others from the Like, haue Resolved and do therefore order: That Capt. John Gardner shall pay a Fine of ten Pounds in Money, or Something equivalent thereto into the Treasurie and is disfranchised also:

This is a true Coppie Taken out of the Record of the General Court houlden at Nantucket, June the 5th, 1677, By me

MATTHEW MAYHEW."

The appeal of Capt. Gardner was considered by the Governor and Council and on August 3d it was ordered—First, that Mr. Thomas Macy continue Chief Magistrate; second, that proceedings against Captain Gardner upon the complaint of the constable for contempt of the Court, as well as the complaint of Tristram Coffin and John Swaine regarding a deed burned or destroyed* be suspended until further order to be taken before winter, or as soon as may be" during which Time all Persons to forbear Intermeddling Speeches or Actions or any Aggravations whatsoever, at their Perills." The action on the complaint against Peter Folger was likewise suspended until further order.

On the 21st of September Governor Andros issued another order to the same effect addressed to "the Magistrates of the Particular and Generall Court att Nantuckett." In the order Governor Andros declared the proceedings of the Court, so far as they related to John Gardner, to be "illegall, beyound your Authority, and only peculiar to, if in the Power of the highest Judicature in these Parts."† In the case of Peter Folger it was ordered that if the case did not come before the next Court of Assizes it should be remitted to the Governor and Council by the first convenient opportunity for action. All parties were bound over to answer when called and in the meantime if "they or any other should misbehave themselves, they may be further proceeded against according to law."

To this order the local Court does not seem to have given much heed. The criticism of Franklin B. Hough, regarding this period, that the "orders of the New York Governors appear to have been obeyed or disregarded according as they favored or opposed the Views of the Parties in Power," seems to be justified.‡ At the same time it must be admitted that in some respects the attitude of the New York government was vacillating, and the First Purchasers seem only to have protected their clearly defined rights.

Captain Gardner, who seems to have been a prolific writer, under date of March 16, 1677-8, gives his version of what occurred when he presented the order of the Governor to Mr. Mayhew. He writes**—“Three Days after hee came to my lodging in as great passion as I judg a man could wel be Accu(s)ing me hyly whering I was wholly Innocent, and not proued though endeauoured. Mr. Mayhew taking this opportunity to vent himselfe as followeth, Telling me I hav bin at York but should loose my Labour, that if the

*It was claimed that an important deed given to Mr. Gardner to have recorded had been lost or destroyed.

†It is difficult to quite reconcile this with the order issued by Governor Andros November 7, 1674, authorizing the General Court "to call to Account and Punish according to Law, all such Persons as have been Ringleaders or Capitall Offenders, and Transgressors against the Establish't Government under his Royal Highnesse, **the Crime not extending to Life, Limbe or Banishment.**" (Papers relating to Nantucket p. 65.) it would appear that the Governor considered that the sentences against Gardner and Folger were out of proportion to the offenses and had been carried to the point where they were vindictive rather than punitive.

‡Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket p xvii.

**New York State Archives Secys Office. Hough p. 115.

Gouvernour did unwind he would wind, that he would make my fine and disfranchizement too abide on me do the Gouvernour what he could; that he had nothing against me neither was angry but that I had spooken against his Interest and I should doune, with maney more Words of like Nature, but to lounge hear to ensert; and when I came Home to Nantucket, I found the same Mind and Resolution there also." I deliuered Mr. Coffin your Hon's letter, who the next day shewed me your Hon's Order that he had red: speaking fayerly to me, and say'd what was Reason should be don. But I soone found a great chang, Mr. Coffin teling mee he had spoken with the Rest concerned: And that they were Resolved to try it out with the Gouvernour, and that they would bring it to the Court of Asize which was aboue the Gouvernour and Counsel so he vnderstood them: I then demanded what he vnderstood then by the Gouvernours order, he answered that it was nothing at all but two or three darke words and that my disfranchizement and fine should be continued."

Captain Gardner further states that the authorities had taken from him to secure his fine of £10, eight cattle and one fat sheep, "near duple in vallew were I obnoxious to such a fine." Two of the cattle had been killed since the order was received. Peter Folger's fine and disfranchisement were continued. Captain Gardner also complains that "John swayn and William Worth put for Assistants though twice not excepted by your Hon'r and truly I cannot but beleiue it was don in opposition to your Honours order."*

Mr. Gardner soon after (December 5, 1678) addressed another letter to the Governor apologizing if in anything it "should appeare he hath misbehaued himselfe," and stating that no attention had been paid to the Governor's orders, and praying "such further ord'r may be taken herein yt yo'r peticoner may not still remain soe greate a sufferer under s'd Judgment.†

The status of affairs as shown by the letters and petitions to the Governor and by the several votes of the Town is very peculiar. Drastic action had been taken against Gardner and Folger and so far as that went there seemed to be no intention to modify it even when ordered to do so by the Governor. On the other hand the Town, on June 8, 1678, disclaimed any intention to meddle with anything appertaining to the Duke of York.‡ Capt. Gardner had been disfranchised in June 1677 and yet a grant to build a mill for the Town was renewed to him February 13, 1677-8 to hold good until the last of September, 1678.** In June 1678 Capt. Gardner, James Coffin and Nathaniel Starbuck were chosen Prudential Men.

Even more peculiar was the action taken by the Town at a meeting held January 6, 1678, at which it was "Voted by the Town that whereas Capt. John Gardner and Peter Folger were by an

*This letter does not seem to have been written by John Gardner, though signed by him. The penmanship and spelling are better than in other letters more clearly written by Capt. Gardner. It was more likely written by Peter Folger.

†N. Y. Colonial M. S. S. xxviii Secy's Office, Albany.

‡Town Records.

**Town Records.

order of the Town bareing date the 16th, I mo., 1676, prohibiting them to act in the public consens of the Island at New York or Elsewhere either by word or Riteing*. this is to manifest and declar that the Intent of the Town in that order was not to seclude either the persons aforementioned or any other person from Town Meeting nor to act therein as Townsmen, and this hath proved since in that they have bin warned to Town Meeting as other men and this is further to declare that if any sentence or clause in the said order may be Strayned by Interpretors to such a Sense namely to seclude or prohibit them or any other either from coming to Town Meeting or to act therein as Townsmen, Contrary to the Intent of the Town—it is hereby made utterly void and null."

This interpretation seems to be out of line with the sentence of the General Court, the purpose of which would seem to have been to prevent either Gardner or Folger from any participation in the Town's affairs, whether domestic or with the government at New York. As there does not seem to be any record of dissent to this vote it may not be unfair to assume that even those most strongly opposed to the disfranchised men believed that the sentence may have been unduly severe.

There were still other matters between Capt. Gardner and the First Purchasers that were provocative of ill feeling. One of these is indicated by a vote of the Town passed February 13, 1676, under which "John Swain, Stephen Hussey and John Coffin are Desired to Demand of Capt. Gardner in behalf of the Town those Deeds of Land the Deed of Coature and pocommo and the plains which were Delivered to Mr. Mayhew to be Recorded." Just how this affair terminated is not clear from the records.† If the deeds referred to are those given to Edward Starbuck and assigned by him to the First Purchasers the ownership seems legitimate enough.

In a letter to Governor Andros dated May 31, 1677,‡ John Gardner writes that an Indian was intending to go to New York to complain to him regarding a deed which he claimed to be illegal. Evidently Captain Gardner for some reason sided with him, for he writes "there is on thing mor I would Enforme your

*At a Legal Town meeting in Sherborn ye 16, January 1676, Voted by the Town that whereas Capt. John Gardner was chosen by the Town to go to New York to negotiate som public causes of the Island and Peter Folger to assist him as appears by the Record on the Town's Book, the Town doth now Repeal and Revoke the order aforesaid and do forbid the said Capt. Gardner and Peter Folger or either of them medel at all hence forward in any of the Town's concerns either at York or Elsewhere under any colour or pretence whatsoever—the true Intent and Meaning is that they have no allowance to act either by word or writeing." March 18, 1674 the Town voted to send John Gardner and Peter Folger to New York on business concerning the Charter. This is what the vote of January 16, 1676 refers to.

†January 3, 1660. Sachem Nickanoose deeded to Edward Starbuck, as he said, "out of my free Volentory Love" to the said Edward Starbuck, "all that parcel of Land called Coretue with all the privileges or Benefits." August 30, 1668, Edward Starbuck assigned this property to the First Purchasers. The original deed, signed and sealed by the Indian grantors, the assignment signed by Edward Starbuck and the date of record by Matthew Mayhew, June 14, 1677, are among the papers left by the late Mrs. Eliza Barney. The date of record would seem to indicate this to be the deed referred to by Capt. Gardner.

‡N. Y. State Archives, Secy's Office. Other letters seem to indicate the Indian to be one Obadiah. It would seem as though the deed which Mr. Gardner mentions was the one it was claimed was burned or destroyed.

Honor of which is that the deade ov Indian purchas which Mr. Mayhew brought to yourk when he recieued the patent for the town of Governor Louelas: and now stands on Record at yourk is A falce thing as will apear it being nether signed nor sealed . I sepose it was of mr. Mayhews one making being much moar in it then was ever bought as will Aboundandly Apeare but Mr. Mayhew sayth it is the Copy of A dead that was procuered of the Indians to prevent others from purchasing: but now It is Aserted to be An onest thing and as I vnderstand they intend to mayntain it to be a true thing: as yet the Indians vnderstand it not of it but should thay before it be Recktyfied as I dout not but it will when your Honor haue the hearge of it." * * * I haue the paper that was Recorded and Am Resolued not to deliver it except to your Honor or your Honors spetial Order, for nothing but it seluef can prove it falce." It was doubtless the controversy regarding this deed which led to the action of the Governor and Council on August 3d. There is nothing to show that Governor Andros made any order or decision on the merits of the counter claims regarding the deeds.

In Captain Gardner's position, the situation on its face does not seem especially creditable, since he was intrusted with the deeds as a messenger and it looks much as though he had no particular desire to pacify the Indians who were beginning to be restive over the legitimate acts of their own sachems. It does not appear that any among the First Purchasers made any claim to land which was not legitimately his and for which a proper deed could not be shown. If the deeds Captain Gardner refers to applied to **Coatue** the fact that they were given by sachems unquestionably competent to give them, and given to Edward Starbuck, who was held in high esteem by the natives, seems sufficiently good evidencê of their genuineness.

April 15, 1673, Governor Lovelace issued a license to Richard and John Gardner, who, as he says, have "Declared unto mee their Intent of undertaking the Designe of a ffishing Trade upon the Island of Nantuckett and Parts adjacent, if they may have License to buy and make Purchase of some Land by the Sea-Side or else-where of the Indyan Natives Proprietors for their Accomodation," "for an Encouragement unto them * * * I have thought fitt to give and grant * * * unto the said Mr. Richard and Capt. John Gardner and their Associates to buy and make Purchase of some convenient Quantity or Tract of Land for the Use aforesaid *** not yet made Purchase of by the Rest of the Inhabitants," for which, when the proper return was made a Patent of Confirmation would be issued.* This was eight months after Captain Gardner had been granted a half share by the First Purchasers for the same purpose and six months after the Town had granted him liberty "to set a house upon the highway at Wesko going down to the Landing-place." This so-called license of the Governor, therefore, seemed not only superfluous but involving a conflict of authority in respect to the rights claimed by the First

*Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, pp. 53-54.

Purchasers. It does not appear that the Gardner brothers ever availed themselves of this grant, but that it was a disturbing element is evident for on the 6th of the 11th month, 1678, the Town voted* that Tristram Coffin, William Gayer, John Swaine and Stephen Hussey should be a committee to interview Richard and John Gardner regarding this grant. There seems to be no further report in the Town Records concerning the matter and it is reasonable to infer that the question was satisfactorily settled.

So far as Captain Gardner and Peter Folger were concerned the matters in dispute with the Town seemed gradually to adjust themselves and a more harmonious condition to prevail. With the General Court, however, it was a different affair. The Court had disfranchised Captain Gardner and was not inclined to remove that disfranchisement notwithstanding the orders of Governor Andros.† Under date of December 5, 1678, Captain Gardner addressed another petition to the Governor in which he sets forth "That yo'r Petition'r was att ye Generall Court held at Nantucket from ye fifth to ye 16th of June for a pretended Erreuerent behaviour in said court fined ye sum of 10 lb. & disfranchised allsoe, as by ye Records & Judgement of the said Corte may appear, a copy whearof is herewith sent; whereupon yo'r Petitioner Applied himselfe to yo'r Honor to disfranchisement taken of or remitted conceueing himselfe . . . farr guilty to deserue such a punishment as by such judgment is Imposed on him however (as now he doth) & did acknowledge and crave yo'r honors Pardon for any thing wherein it should appeare he hath misbehaued himselfe; upon which Applycation and Adress yo'r hono'r in Councell ye 3 of Agust following was Pleased to order that all further proceedings aganst ye Peticoner thereupon should be suspended till further ord'r as p'r the said Ord'r may appeare: but before ye said ord'r could be shewed to ye Magistrats Execution issued forth on the said Judgments and 8 head of yo'r Petition's Cattle by vertue thear of seized on to satisfie ye said fine (which amounted to a farr greater sume then ye fine was.)‡ & yo'r Peticon'r stil remained disfranchised soe the same tooke noe effect, upon which yo'r Peticoner made his further addresse to yo'r hono'r and yo'r hono'r was pleased ye 21st of (Sept.) following to send another ord'r by advice of yo'r Councell direckted to the Magistrats of ye p'ticuler & Generall Court at Nantucket which was produced & considered of by them at their next Generall Court where in steade of p'forming what is thearin ordred they quibled thereat and have Evaded the Compliance there with on prefence that ye said Judgement was not giuen on ye account menconed by y'r Hon'r in ye said Ord'r and

*Town Records.

†It is quite a problem just what the position of Governor Andros was at times in this controversy. He issued orders affecting Gardner and Folger and reversing the findings of the General Court but seemed to make no effort to enforce them. Under date of September 16, 1677, Governor Andros notified the Town that "an undue or illegal returne of the Chief Magistrate of Nantucket hath been made two year successively from thence, the one being by Law wholly incapable thereof." (Town Records). The Town Records contain no report of any meeting for several years about this time at which the Town voted to send the name of anyone.

‡An inventory of the estate of Tristram Coffin returned to the Probate Court in October 1706 enumerates, among other items, these: 2 Heifers, £4.0; 2 Oxen, £9.0; 2 Steers, £3.10. Captain Gardner does not specify just what kind of cattle were seized.

y't you'r hono'r either is misinformed or did mistake ye Matter and therefore doe hold and Maintaine ye said Judgment on foot; and haue killed some of ye cattle taken from yo'r Petitioner since ye said 2 ord'rs notwithstanding yo'r Petitioner is well satisfied that it was yo'r hono'rs Intention as is in said ord'r menconed y't all ye Proceedings and Judgements should be null & void and what is taken from him on y't account again Returned to yo'r Petitioner: which they absolutely refuse to doe."* Captain Gardner asks for a more effectual order.

It does not appear any attention was paid to the orders of Governor Andros by Mr. Mayhew and the Court. In the meantime harmony was beginning to brood over the disaffected conditions in Nantucket. The General Court officers asserted as their excuse for their refusal to obey the Andros decision, that it was rendered without a knowledge of the facts. The Town so far opposed the position taken by the Court that Mr. Gardner was chosen an Assistant in 1680 and the Town was cited to appear before the Court to answer for its action.†

About this time another matter absorbed the public interest, both at New York and Nantucket. A ship had been wrecked on Nantucket Shoals in September, 1678. It was the duty of Tristram Coffin, who was then Chief Magistrate, to see that all the property pertaining to her was, so far as was possible, properly salvaged. It appears that portions of the vessel's cargo and appurtenances were being carried away, seemingly contrary to law, and Mr. Coffin was called upon to give an account of his stewardship. It would seem that Governor Andros had directed him to come to New York and explain what had been done, for Mr. Coffin wrote to the Governor, late in July or early in August, 1680, regarding the matter.‡ In his letter he says "Your honers humbell seruant

*N. Y. Colonial M. S. xxviii, Secy's Office. Not only did the General Court refuse to abide by the order of the Governor, but, so late as 1680, issued the following summons "To the Constable of Sharbourn greeting. you are Required in his Majesties Name to summons the inhabitants freeholders householders of yo'r town to answer their default for that as a town in their election of assistance in gouernment: presumed to elect Capt. John Gardner who was incapacitated to bear such office of trust by sentence of court thare; giue the said Town summons to answer to the same at the next General corte houlden at Nantucket or Marthas Vineyard. By order of the General Court

MAT. MAYHEW, Secretary."

The summons is dated June 9, 1680 and sent to Joseph Gardner, nephew to the Captain, to serve. Colonial M. S. .S. xxix N. Y. Secy's Office) There seems to be no record of any further proceedings in the matter.

†Mr. Gardner was commissioned Chief Magistrate in Nov. 1680, April 27, 1682, and June 2, 1684. (Hough 116).

‡N. Y. Colonial M. S. S. xxix Secy's Office. The letter is endorsed as received Aug. 6, 1680.

Governor Andros' original order was as follows—"Whereas I am Informed That a great Ship was some time the last Month cast away and remains a Wreck on Nantucket Shoales, out of which many persons have and do Daily fetch some of her Loading or appurtenances Therefore in discharge of our duty & to prevent all Embezlm'ts These are in his Ma'ties name and behalfe to desire and require you together with Mr. John West, authorized and herewith Sent, to take Care That such Lading and Appurtenances of the s'd wreck as hath or shall bee saved, bee brought, a Shore, to yo'r parts, & the same Duely Inventoryed, & secured in some place or places, in Ord'r to a Legall Determinacon for the Just Sattisfaccon of the Own'rs, and Savers, And that you make Returne, as Soone as may bee, & from time to time, of yo'r

(See next page)

as Dutie obligeth me) am willing to giue your hon'r a Trew Account of my not cominge to Appeare Before your hon'r in fort James in March or April last past, as I wrot to your hon'r in October last past) in verite the month of March last with us was very windye & could Raw wether) and I was more weacker then formerly: But in April I went to the vinyard in a cannoe for to hire Mr. Dagget & his sloop to goe to Yorke cittie. But when I came there I mett with a letter y't was sent to the Worshipful Tho. Mayhew Esquire which his son in law . . . way of Boston sent him in which he wrote y't the Deppetie Gouvernor of the Mathathusets tould him y't we of Marthas Vineyard and Nantucket weare boath vnder or should shortlye be vnder the Mathathusets government and yt the did Intend very shortly to send to Mr. Mayhew concerninge it: So vpon consideration of it Mr. Mayhew and myselfe thought it most nessesarye not to goe Abroad from home but forbare a few months and if the did not send to vs yt wee would forthwith call a generall court, and then to signify to them yt wee would not doe any Thinge of yt kind without order from your hon'r and hon'rabell Counsell; for wee know them of ould But wee have not yet heard from them, only by ye'r Talk.*

"Right hon'rabell soe theare pr'sentinge this oppertunetie of Capt Watters his putting in att our Island wee have sent by him to bee delivered to your hon'r the Three great gunes y't weare found when the ship was brocken to peces by the storm and if there can be any more found wee shall secure them but it is doubtfull for there Runneth such a dreadfull Tide where the bottom of the ship lieth y't men are afraid to dive there;

There weare Two peeces of a small hauser yt I sould to pay men for there labor the oft callinge on me for It. And there is leaft the shrouds yt are most of them cut which is littel of it fitt for any Thing but for Junke. There are about 40 hides but they ar so Rotten yt no man will give any Thing for them. Right honr'abel so wee hop you'r hon'r wil mack the moust fauourabell

proceedings therein, that Ord'r may bee taken accordingly. In the Meane time that nothing bee disposed of, unlesse upon acc't to the Savers. Given under my hand, & Seale In New York this 25th day of Octob'r in the 30th yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne Annoq Dom. 1678.

E. ANDROSS

Gen. Entries xxxii 8 Secy's office Albany N. Y.

To the Chiefe Magistrates
& Offic'rs of the Islands of Martins
Vineyard & Nantuckett.

The following appears on the Town Records: 'A Bout the Twenty Fourth or Twenty Fifth of September both Englishmen and Duchmen declared to me Tristram Coffin Chiefe Magistrate of Nantucket that they had saved what they could of the goods and could save no more the hole being full of water so Every man returned home and the Duch men to there quarters from the ship at the East end of the Island and Further said they dare not adventure their healths and Lives for they knew not what for they accounted the bids not worth the saveing—in about two or three days after James Coffin and John Coleman came to me and Desiered of me to know whether I would permit them to take out hids out of the Ship at the East End of the Island and to have the hids for thare Labour or what they could git for them for their Labour Adventure and Hazard—so I give them this Answer—that If they wold Adventure so to do they should have all the hids for their Labour Adventure and Hazard with proviser that if in case I was colled to account for the said hids—that they or whosoever acted with them should be Liable to give me an Account and be liable to sattisfie me for any Dammage I should Sustain which accordingly they Engaged and so proceeded to the saving of what was saved and the hids ware sold by my Approbation—this was Declared by Mr. Coffin and commanded me to Record it and this was recorded by me the 14th of the 9th mo 1678.

WILLIAM WORTH Register."

*The malcontents on Martha's Vineyard had in October, 1673, sought annexation to Massachusetts. Banks's Hist. of Martha's Vineyard, Vol. 1 pp. 157-158.

construction of our actinges in & about the priuatears ship. There was such an ower of temtation yt I doe Judge yt there may by some English & divers Indians, the Imbezzlement of ffortie or flightye p'nds worth of sails & Ropes & other things. But I doe afferme yt I cannot find the perticular Men, only the doe Judge y't it was giuen to them by the priuatears and say he can proue it fulye should soe I have sent by Mr Waters fower Barilles of Cod fish part of w't wee owe for our Acknowledgement. Wee hope to Bring or send more shortly: all our poepell say y't we owe it due to his Royal lines or to your hon'r the ar willing to pay So with my humbell Dutye & seruing I Rest your hon'r to serue you to my power."

In the meantime, Governor Andros failing to get the response from Mr. Coffin that he had expected constituted on June 26, 1680, a Board of Admiralty, consisting of Captain Caezar Knapton, Captain Richard Hall, Mr. John West and the Chief Magistrate of Nantucket, "to heare and determine any matter or cause depending concerning the wreck of a French shipp there cast away by some of Capt. Bernard L. Mojues men about the Latter part of the yeare 1678 and give Judgement therein according to Law, & former practice in such cases."*

The Court of Admiralty convened at Nantucket, August 28, 1680, Capt. John Gardner, who had been commissioned Chief Magistrate following Mr. Coffin, despite the edict of the General Court, being the fourth member.† Mr. Coffin being called upon to give an account "of what was saved out of the Rack of a French ship, cast away on this Island by some of Capt. Bernard Lamoyne's Men, declared he had formerly given an Accoumpt, which being prodused and read, it appeared that thare ware saved out of the said Rack two thousand and sixteen Hydes, which he confeseth are disposed of by his Order, Allowance and Aprobation, and by Information giuen, we vallew at fouer shillings per Hyde, which amounts to fouer hundred and three Pounds fouer Shillings; and also on Cable and a Pece, likewise sold by the said Tristram Coffin at forty fouer Pounds; and one Sayle at Six Pounds ten Shillings; and two Pecis of Hasers at eleuen Pounds and an Anker at thirteen Pounds; which in all amounts toe fouer hundred seventy-seven Pounds fourteen Shillings, for which no Claime hath bin made according to Law.

This Court tharefore, taking into Consideration the Allowance of Salvage of said Goods, and vnderstanding the Difficulty and Hardship the Sauers endured, doe alow on fifth Part thareof for Salvage, according to Law, which amounts toe ninety-five Pounds ten Shillings. And for what was disbursed by the said Tristram Coffin on Accoumpt of some Duch Prisoners left on the Island, and for what was paid by him to William Worth, for his Wound, forty Pound one Shilling. In all, one hundred thirty-five Pounds eleaven Shillings; which being deducted out of the said Sum of fower hundred seventy seauen Pounds fourteen Shillings.‡ Thy doe adjudge

*Gen Entries xxxii, 91, Secretary's Office, Albany, N. Y.

†Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket pp. 118-120.

‡The amount alleged to have been paid to William Worth and allowed by the Court in offset, Mr. Worth, in a letter to the Governor in June 1680, denies having received. After excusing himself on account of his wound and "violent sickness" for not rendering an earlier account he says "forasmuch as our cheef magestrate with two of his assistants sent an accoumpt to your exelency that they gaue me twenty pounds thare Conclusion I knew not of vntil the time of entry on Rec- (See next page)

and determine that the said Coffin doe make Payment and Satisfaction toe the Gouvernor or his Order, on Accompt of his Royall Highness to whom by Law it doth appertaine the Remainder of the said Sum, being three hundred forty-three Pounds ten shillings. And as for what Guns or Rigeing or other Things that are vndisposed of toe be apprised and Salvage to be alowed as aboue, and to be sent to New York for his Royall Highnesse vse, the Salvage toe be lickwise paid by the said Coffin, to be deducked out of the three hundred fourty-three Pounds ten Shillings. They likewise declare thare Opinion that the said Coffin's Actings Proceedings in disposing of the said Goods, are contrary to Law.

By Order of the Court &c.

WILLIAM WORTH Clerk."

The decision of the Court was a severe blow to Mr. Coffin, who undoubtedly suffered for the sins of others as well as being duped apparently by them. It does not appear that he personally profited in the least by the irregularities connected with the salvaging of the property. He was well advanced in years and seemingly more easily imposed upon. In his distress he wrote to Governor Andros two days after the decision of the Court saying;* "My humbell Service presented unto your Excelencye humblie shewing my hartie Sorow y't I should in any way glue your Exelency just occasion of Offence, as I now plainly see in actinge contrary to the Law, as I am convined I did throw Ignorance in regard of not beinge acquainted with the maritime Lawes, and yet I humblie intreat y,our Exelency to consider y't in on Respect my weeackness I hope may bee a littell born with; for I did tender diuerse Persons the on halfe to saue the other halfe, and I could not get any to doe it; and for the Hides I could not get any to goe, but for to tacke all for their Labor, because it was judged by many y't the weare not worth the sauing; so I was nesesetated to doe as I did or else the had bin quite lost. Tharefore I humblye intreat your Excelency not to think y't I did it for any bye Respects or selfe Ends; for I doe assure your Exelency y't thare was not any on Person y't did indent with me for any on Shillinge Proffit, only I did tell foure of them y't if I should bee by any cal'd to accot, the should bee accountabell to me. But now the will not owne it and I can not proue it, so I by Law am coust to beare all, only my hop is y't your Excelency will be pleased out of your Leniency and Fauor to me to except of in't Money, and Bill is sent for the answering of the Judgment of the Court; for had not my Sonne, James Coffin borrowed Money and ingaged for the rest of the Bill, I could not have done it, but I must have gone to Prison.† Now I humblye intreat your Excelency to heare my louinge Nighbor Cap't John Gardner, in my behalfe, and w'th your Excelency shall bee pleased to order Concerning the Case, I shall thankfulye except, knowing your Excelency to bee a cam-pashonate mercyeful Man. And I hop I shal for Time to com . . .

ord but I nether then nor since have Reseued on farthing nether doe they profer me anything altho I Remane almost a Cripell. I conceaue thare desine was to agment the charg by that account sent your Exelency in which will appare littell truth; But If it may please your exelency of your nobel Clemency to give your pore servant anything to Repaire my great damage I shal for ever be obledged toe your Exelency but if in your wisdom you shal otherwise dispose I for euer be contented." N. Y. Col. M. S. S. xxix, Secy's Office. Whether Mr. Worth received the award subsequently or not does not appear but evidently the Court was satisfied that when its decision was made the money had been paid.

*Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, pp. 120-122.

†It will be noted that Mr. Coffin and Capt. Gardner have entirely made up, and that the Captain stood staunchly by Mr. Coffin in the hour of need.

to be more wiser and doe kept your Excelency's humbell Saraunt whylst I liue to my Power.*

Tristram Coffin

To this petition Governor Andros replied in November "These are to Certify that I doe approve and allow of the Composition and Agreem't made between Capt. Caesar Knapton, Capt. Richard Hall, Capt. John Gardner, and Mr. John West, who were authorized to make Enquiry ab't the Wreck of a French ship cast away on the Island of Nantuckett in one thousand six hundred seventy and eight, and Mr. Tristram Coffin, then Chiefe Magistrate of the said Island, concerning the same, for the sume of one hunderd and fifty Pound, halfe of which is payed; and on paym't of the other halfe, secured by his Sonn's Obligacon, I doe accept the same in full Satisfaction and hereby acquitt and discharge the said Tristram Coffin from the Judgm't giuen against him in the Court of Admiralty, on Account of said Wreck."†

This seems to have ended the unfriendliness between Mr. Coffin and Captain Gardner. Just how it was brought about we can only conjecture. Presumedly Mr. Coffin was somewhat broken in health and had begun to realize the serious position he had, unwittingly and without the least personal gain, put himself into and that the sentence of the Court would quite bankrupt him. One can readily surmise that he had thrown himself upon the mercy of the Court and that Captain Gardner had most charitably come to his relief.

In October, 1681,‡ Mr. Coffin went to his long account. That Captain Gardner was genuinely sorry would seem evident from a letter he wrot to Acting Governor Brockholes, who succeeded Governor Andros, in 1681, in which he wrote,** under date of February 5, 1681-2. "My Humble seruis presented wishing all Hapines to your Honour with all the Rest of our Good frends with you; the want of opertunity forseth silance Elce I should haue as my duty binds me Giuen your Honour An acount of our Affairs with vs oftener then now I haue which I hope your Honours wisdom will Excuse.

At present al things with us are in quietnes but could not but Emproue this opertunety to Again Acquaint your Honour with Mr. Cofens death who died October last; and Mr. Gyers†† being much from home being a seaman and indead not sworn according to Law when hear, mackes me Againe to Entreat your Honors serious Consideration for a suply in Mr. Cofens place. I would Humbly name Mr. James Cofen; but what Ever your Honours pleasuer direct shall Atend but at present find it difficult to hold Cort with only two.

Honorable sir, the Troubles at the head and fountain hath not only moved my inward Greafe and sorrow but the Effects so muded our litel streams that I haue found it Enouth to Ceap things Euen; but hope it will be beter and am glad for the Good newes I hear from home hope shall feale the Effects both with you and vs.

*Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, pp. 120-1-2.

†Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, pp. 122-3.

‡Mr. Coffin died Octboer 2d.

**N. Y. Colonial M. S. S. xxx Secy's Office, Albany.

††Wililam Gayer, evidently at the time an assistant Magistrate.

Hear hath ben sum moueings Amoungst sum hote brains being not willing as they say that the Gouverner should Infringe their Liberties: I think it is that he should mack Justises without ther Leaue, for the persons put in thay say thay Like but that the Gardner should put them in without them thay Like not; but I think and am well Asured wear thay Left to them selues it ould sone be ther Ruene. For my one part I ame as nearly as affors'd can be of a heauey Burden: and would Earnestly Entreat for a releafe, as soone as might be, but Leaueing my seluef and it to your Honors Wisdom: beging a faorable Construcktion of what is hear Rudely presented; and also entreat sum direcktions in what hear is presented So praying for your Honors Hapy prosperity in which I shall Euer Reioyse that I am

Your Honours Most Humble
seruant

John Gardner

On the 25th of November, 1680, the Court ordered Peter Coffin, who was presumably a constable "forthwith to deliver unto Peter Folger that beast that was killed at Poatpis, there to deliver it to him, it being the beast that was formerly taken from him for a fine. You having liberty to way the quarters, hide and tallow and to take a receipt accordingly."

The wolf and the lamb seem to have lain down together, the Gardners and the Coffins were rowing over the same course in the same boat and in the same direction and the "Insurrection" was to be spoken of in the past tense.*

Just what the disturbances are that Captain Gardner refers to in his letter to the Governor acquainting him of the death of Tristram Coffin is not apparent. There was about that time an effort of some of the malcontents at Marthas Vineyard to have the jurisdiction over the island transferred to Massachusetts and it is not unlikely that a similar desire was expressing itself at Nantucket.†

At all events the Insurrection was over and harmony was restored between the Coffin and the Gardner factions. It is not, therefore, surprising that two years later the heads of the two families were asosciated in "A Confirmacon Granted to John Gardner

*Mary Coffin, daughter of James and granddaughter of Tristram, married James, son of Richard Gardner, and Ruth daughter of James Coffin soon after this period married Joseph and Abigail, daughter of James, married Nathaniel, both sons of Richard Gardner. The number of Selectmen or Trustees continued at seven for many years.

It is quite likely that the young people who persisted in intermarrying despite the quarrels of their ancestors had much to do with the status.

†Banks History of Martha's Vineyard Chap. 16.

On Martha's Vineyard Simon Athearn was the leading and dominant figure in the insurrection against the constituted authority going far beyond the position assumed by John Gardner on Nantucket. Athearn was also the dominant figure in an endeavor to promote the secession from New York and the change to the government of the Massachusetts Bay. It will be remembered that in his letter to the Governor, March 15, 1676-7, Capt. Gardner accused those in authority at Nantucket as seeking to be set off to the Massachusetts Bay or as he expressed it "there intrinsick Vertu, haueing so great a north Inclination." Mr. Athearn was quite as restless a spirit as Capt. Gardner and both of them for a long time opposed the lawful authority.

and James Coffin for the Island Nantucket,"* by Governour Dongan and which reads: "Thomas Dongan Capt Generall, Governo'r in Chiefe and Vice Admiral in and over the Province of New Yorke and Territorys depending thereon, etc.: Whereas there is a certaine Island within these his Roy'll High'ss his Territoryes lyeing and being to the south east of Martins Vinyard stretching in Length neare upon a south East and North West Line Commonly called and knowne by the Name of Nantuckett Island, Whice said Island was heretofore Purchased for a Valuable Consideracon by Thomas Mayhew of Martins Vinyard Senior and his sonne Thomas Mayhew Junior of James Fforrett agent to Wm Earle of Sterling in whom the Governm'tthen was and by then. Conveyed and made over to severall of the Inhabitants the ffreeholders and their associates who have likewise made Purchase of the Indian Right to the Land there now in their tennure and Occupacon as by Pattent Dated the twenty eighth day of June in the twenty third yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hund'd seventy one from Francis Lovelace Esq'r Governour &c Relacon being thereunto had Doth and may more fully and att Large appeare Now for a Confirmacon unto the said Inhabitants ffreeholders and Purchasers there and their associates in their Possession and Enjoym't of the Premises Know Yee that by virtue of the commission and authority unto me Given by his Roy'll High'ss of this Province I have Given and Granted and by these Presents Doe hereby Give Grant Ratifie and Confirme unto John Gardner and James Coffin as Pattentees for and on the behalfe of themselves and their associates the Inhabitants ffreeholders their Heires Successors and assignes the said Island called Nantuckett Island That is to say soe much as hath by them been made Purchase of Together with all the Lands Sojles Woods Meadows Pastures Marshes Lakes Waters Fishing Hawking Hunting and Fowling and all other Proffits Commodities Emoluments and Heareditaments to the said Island belonging or in any wise appertaining Royall Mines, Whales, Drifts and Wrecks Excepted and the said Island and Premisses shall be held Deemed Reputed Taken and be an Entire Enfranchized Townshipp Mannor and Place of it Selfe and shall allwayes from time to time and att all times hereafter have hold and Enjoye like and equall Priviledges w'th any Towne Enfranchized Place or Mannor w'thin this Governm't and shall in noe manner of wayes be Subordinate or belonging unto have any Dependency upon or in any wise be under the Rule Order or Direcon of any other Towne or Place To have and to hold the said Island with all and singular the appurtenances unto the said John Gardner and James Coffin and their associates their Heires Successors and assignes to the Proper use and Behoofe of the said John Gardner and James Coffin and their associates their Heires Successors and assignes for ever the tenure of the said Island Land and Premisses to be according to the Custome of the Mannor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent in England in free and Common Soccage and by fealty only they the said Pattentees and their associates their Heires Successors and assignes Yielding Rendering and Paying Yearly and every yeare on or before the twenty fifth day of March unto his Roy'll Highn'ss the Duke of Yorke his Heires and assignes or to such Governour or Governo'rs as from time to time shall be by him constituted and appointed as an acknowledgm't Six Kentails of good Merchantable fish to be Delivered in the City of New Yorke unto such Officer or Officers as shall be constituted to Receive the same.

*Patents V, 146 Secretary's Office, Albany, N. Y. Gov. Dongan succeeded Gov. Andros permanently.

Given under my Hand and Sealed with the Seale of the Province att ffort James in New Yorke the fifth Day of June in the thirty sixth yeare of his Ma'ties Reigne anno Dom 1684.

THO DONGAN

This was followed three years later by the Dongan Patent, evidently in response to the desire of the inhabitants, and reciting more in detail the functions devolving on the people of the Island. The Dongan Patent, after a preliminary following very closely after the confirmation of 1684 continues as follows:

"And whereas there are severall Tracts or Parcells of Land upon the said Island that have not as yett been purchased of the native Indian Proprietors, and whereas John Gardner, one of the ffreeholders of said Island, for and on behalfe of himselfe and his Associates, the ffreeholders Inhabitants of said Island, hath made Applicacon unto me for a more ample Confirmacon of all and singular the said Island, and also that I would erect the same into one Township to all Intents and Purposes, and likewise grant the Liberty and Right of purchasing all the said unpurchased Tracts or Parcells of Land upon the said Island Nantuckett, from the said India native Proprietors, Now Know Yee, that I the said Thomas Dongan, by vertue of the Power and Authority unto me derived from his most sacred Majesty aforesaid, and in pursuance of the same, for and in Consideracon of the Quitt Rent hereinafter reserved, and divers other good and lawful Consideracons me thereunto moving, have given, granted, ratified, released, and confirmed, and by these Presents do give, grant, ratifye, release and confirm unto John Gardner, James Coffin, William Gyer, Peter Coffin, Nathaniel Bernard, Stephen Hussey and John Macy, ffreeholders and Inhabitants of Nantuckett, herein erected and made one Body Corporate and Politiq, and willed and determined to be called by the Name of the Trustees of the ffreeholders and Commonalty of the Town of Sharborn, and their Successors all the aforerecited Tracts of Land within the Limitts and Bounds aforesaid, together with all and singular the Houses, Messuages, Tenements, Buildings, Milnes, Milnes-Dams, Fences, Enclosures, Gardens, Orchards, Fields, Pastures, Woods, Underwoods, Trees, Timber, Feedings, Comon of Pasture, Meadows, Marshes, Swamps, Plains, Rivers, Rivoletts, Waters, Lakes, Ponds, Brookes, Streames, Beaches, Quarries, Mines, Mineralls, Creeks, Harbours Highwayes and Easements, Fishing, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling, (silver and Gold Mines only excepted) and all other ffranchizes, Profitts, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever, to the said Tracts of Land and Premisses belonging or in any Wise appurtaining or therewithall used, accepted, reputed or taken to belong,, or in any Wise to appurtaine to all Intents, Purposes and Construccons, whatsoever, as also all and singular the Rents, Arrearages of Rents, Issues and Profits of the said Tract of Land and Premises heretofore due and payable, together with the sole and only Propper Right and Liberty of Purchasing from the Indian Proprietors all that the unpurchased Tracts or Parcells of Land whatsoever on the said Island as aforesaid: To have and to hold al the before recited Tract of Land and Premises, with their and every of their Appurtenances, unto the said John Gardner, James Coffin, William Gyer, Peter Coffin, Nathaniel Barnard, Stephen Hussey and John Macy, Trustees of the ffreeholders and Comonality of the Towne of Sharborn, and their Successors forever, to and for the severall and respective Uses following, and to no other Uses, Intents and Purposes whatsoever."*

The Patent then with the customary prolixity, grants a manor

*Patents ii, 254. Secy's office, Albany.

"according to the Manner of East Greenwich, in the County of Kent," England, with the customary tribute; makes the freeholders a body corporate and politic; and impowers them to elect officers and to perform all the functions devolving on towns under similar patents. The tribute to be paid annually, is £3 current money to be paid on or before March 25, forever. It is dated June 27, 1687. The original is in the office of the Town Clerk.

CHAPTER III

ANNEXED TO MASSACHUSETTS

The abdication of James II and the accession of William and Mary gave the leaders in the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies encouragement to apply for new Charters, each hoping for the broadening of its jurisdiction and authority. Rev. Increase Mather of Boston, Rev. Ichabod Wiswall of Duxbury, and Sir Henry Ashurst were constituted a committee to obtain, if possible, new and more comprehensive Charters. They found the English royal authorities directly opposed to their plans and strongly favoring a consolidation of Colonial grants. Instead of enlarging the powers of the Plymouth Colony there seemed to have been a plan under consideration to unite it with the Province of New York. It proved a long and difficult task to prevent this transfer of jurisdiction. The only alternative that seemed to present itself by which that plan could be frustrated was the union of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, and that was done. In the Charter granted by William and Mary, which was dated October 7, 1691, and under which the consolidation was effected, the bounds as defined expressly included the Islands of Capawock, or Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Sir William Phips was made Governor of the new Province of the Massachusetts Bay which comprehended within its scope the territory from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Martha's Vineyard.*

While this transfer seems to have somewhat disturbed the

*Mr. Hough says (Papers relating to Island of Nantucket, p. 146) "The following is the Language of the Charter of William and Mary, under which Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were claimed by the Government of Massachusetts Bay;" * * * all that Part of New England in America, lying and extending from the Great River commonly called Monomack, alias Merimack, on the north Part, and from three miles northward of the said River to the Atlantick or Western Sea or Ocean. on the South Part, and all the Lands and Hereditaments whatsoever; lying within the Limits aforesaid, and extending as far as the outermost Points or Promontories of Land called Cape Cod and Cape Malabar, North and South, and in Latitude, Breadth and Compass aforesaid, throughout the Main Land there, from the said Atlantic or Western Sea and Ocean, on the East Part, towards the South Sea, or Westward, and so far as our Colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and the Narragansett Country. And also, all that part and Portion of Main Land beginning at the Entrance of Piscataway Harbour, and so to Pass up the same into the River of Newchwannock, and through the same into the furthest Head thereof, and from thence Northwestward, till one hundred and twenty Miles be finished, and from Piscataway Harbour's Mouth aforesaid, North Eastward along the Sea Coast to Sagadahock, and from the Period of one hundred and twenty Miles aforesaid, to cross
(See next page)

dwellers on Martha's Vineyard,* there is no comment concerning it on the Records of the Town of Nantucket. This apparent unconcern perhaps arose from the fact that Tristram Coffin, whose intimacy and sympathy were largely with the Mayhews in matters of local government was no longer living and there seemed to be no one to take up the cudgels in his place. Nor were Thomas Macy or Edward Starbuck living at the time† The feud which had existed between the Coffin and Gardner factions was softened by the death of Tristram Coffin, and, with the execution of the Dongan patent to "John Gardner and James Coffin, as Patentees," it passed into history. It would, nevertheless be quite interesting to know the train of reasoning by which Mr. Gardner so readily accommodated himself to the changed condition.

Apparently the earliest intimation the New York government received regarding the change came through a letter from Mr. Mayhew at Martha's Vineyard. The Council was convened August 12, 1692, and the record says:‡

"Upon reading a Letter from Maj'r Mayhew of Martin's Vineyard to Wm. Nicolls Esq., signifying that the Inhabitants of the Islands in Dukes County are disturbed by some Warr't or Order directed to a Constable, or some oy'r Person, from Boston in New England, as if these Islands were under that Government, to their Disorder and Confusion.**

Their Maties Pleasure being noe ways signified to those in authority, how concerning the Surrender of any Part of this Province or Dependencie unto any Person whatsoever.

Ordered, that the Officers, civil and military, of the said County, be required, and they are hereby required, to continue in their Obedience to their Mat'ies Authority, settled over this their Province, pursuant to their several respective Commissions, until further order."

Mr. Mayhew was not satisfied with the attitude of the people of Nantucket. Although there was nothing in the new arrangement which seemingly affected his position socially or officially on

over Land to the one hundred and twenty Miles before reckoned up into the Land from Piscataway Harbour through Newichwannock River, and also the North Half of the Isle of Shoals, together with the Isles of Shoals, together with the Isles of Caporock and Nantucket, near Cape Cod aforesaid."

This is in very similar language to the grant of King Charles I previously noted.

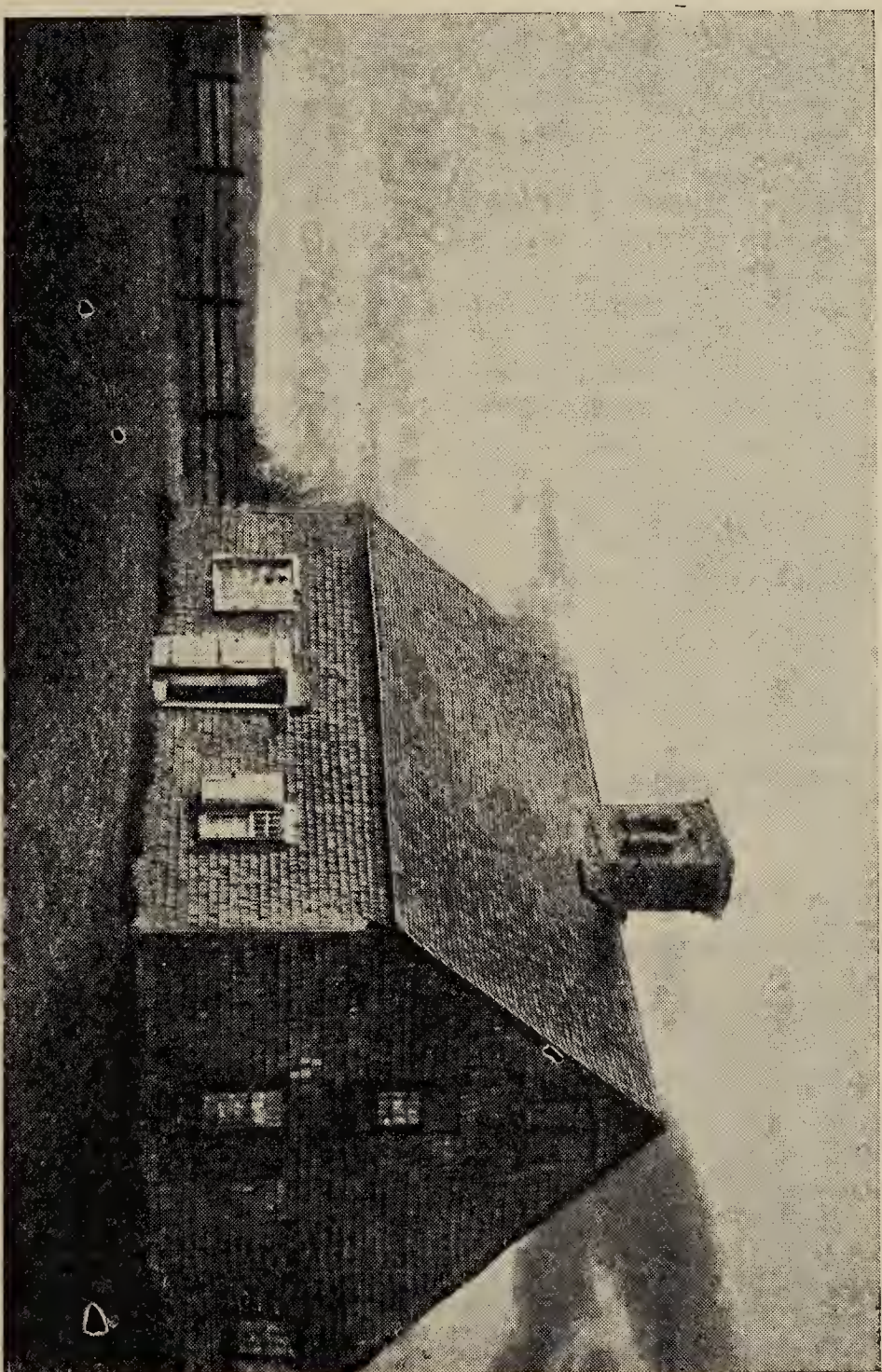
*See Banks's History of Martha's Vineyard. According to Banks the Maythews and their friends resolutely opposed the change, while the opposition, in the persons of Simon Athearn and Joseph Norton, as strenuously favored it. Norton was elected Representative to the General Court of Massachusetts.

†Edward Starbuck died 4th 12mo 1690, and Thomas Macy died April 19, 1682.

‡Thomas Mayhew Senior died in 1681.

§August 12, 1692—Hough, p. 145.

**The order referred to was a precept directing each town to send a representative to a "Great and Generall Court" to be convened at Boston June 8, 1692. Banks says (Hist. of Martha's Vineyard, Vol. 1, p. 182) the qualification prescribed for electors was "a freehold of 40 S. per ann(nm) or other property to the value of £40 sterling." The people of Nantucket do not appear by the Town Records to have taken any action on the matter, but the records of the General Court (Mass. Archives, Legislative 1-213 to 292) show that Capt. John Gardner was the Deputy for 1692-3, and James Coffin for 1695-6 and 1698.



THE JETHRO COFFIN HOUSE BUILT 1768.
(See Traditions)

the islands it seems apparent that he expected to be in some way divested of the power conferred upon his family under the jurisdiction of New York. He wrote a letter of remonstrances to Governor Fletcher of New York on the subject which was considered at a meeting of the Governor's Council held at Fort William Henry October 31, 1692, of which the following is the record:

"Upon the Reading of Letters from Mr. Mayhew, Justice of the Peace in Martin's Vineyard in Duke's County,* wherin he doth advise his Excelency of the Defection of Gardner and Coffin, two of the Justices of the Peace in the Island of Nantuckett, in the s'd County from this Government, to that of the Massathussetts Bay und'r S'r William Phipps, and that they of Martin's Vineyard are threatened with Force if they doe not submitt to the Authority and Governmn't of S'r Will'm Phipps, praying Advice, &c.

Whereas there is noe Advice from their Sacred Majestyes to the Governor and Councill of this Province that they had annexed any Part of this Province to the Massathussetts Bay, nor hath Sir William Phipps produced any Order or Direcon thereunto, nor made his Excell'y the Governor and Council acquainted with any of his Proceedings in this Affair.

It is the Opinion of this Board, nemine contradicento, that a Letter be sent to S'r Will'm Phipps, to demand by what Authority he doth claim the Government of Duke's County in this Government, to the great Disturbance of he Inhabitants. And that a Letter be sent to Mr. Mayhew, Justice of the Peace, wherein it be signified that his Excell'y the Governor hath wrote to S'r Will'm Phipps to demand by what Warr't and Authority he doth claime the Government of Dukes County, and to require the said Mr. Mayhew, with the rest of the Magistrates there, to maintain and preserve their Ma'ties Peace in the Exercise of the Government, pursuant to their respective Commissions, until further Order.

Ordered David Jamison, Cl'k of the Councill, doe prepare the s'd Letters accordingly."†

Following up the subject an Address was prepared and sent to the King which stated that "Wee your Majesties most dutyfull and loyall Subjects are called againe by our bounden Duty to lay at your Royall Feet our most humble and hearty Thanks for that inexpressible Favour that your Mat'ies have been graciously pleased (in the midst of your most glorious Design for the Redemption of our Nation and yo'r Mat'ies Allyes in Europe from the Tyranny of France) to regard the meanest of your Ma'ty's Subjects in this Place by your Royall Commission to his Excell'y Col. Benjamin Fletcher, yo'r Maties Captain Generall, our Governor, who since his Arrival in this your Mat'ies Interest, visited the ffrontiers and put them into such a Posture of Security that not only yo'r Ma'ties Subjects in this, but in our neighbouring Colonyes are hitherto safe from all Attempts of the Ffrench yo'r Ma'ties Enemyes, and by other prudent Measures taken by him he had composed Differences and reduced all the Subjects into perfect Tranquility, the Possession

*When the Province of New York was divided into counties, Nov. 1, 1683, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and the adjacent islands were constituted Dukes County. Dukes County was reincorporated and Nantucket County constituted by the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in June, 1695.

†Papers relating to Nantucket, pp. 149-50.

whereof was not long enjoyed, when some restless Spirits, not being satisfied with that Harmony that was amongst yo'r Ma'ties Subjects here, interrupted our Peace by lessening and reproaching your Ma'ties Government, and stirring up Sedition amongst some of yo'r Majesties Subjects, too easily led aside Yo'r Ma'ties Government by this was likely to fall into new Convulsions, had not the Watchfullnesse of his Excelency and his piercing Judgment discovered the Author,* a Person convicted of Murder, and ony by yo'r Ma'ties Clemency sett at Large, who had fled to Boston, and was there countenanced by Sir William Phips; and tho' his Excellency hath sent Expresse for the demand of the Incendiary, yet he peremptorily denied to deliver him, and rather gave him Encouragement, and doth not desist persuading other Parties equally destructive to your Ma'ties Interest, as by seizing of Martin's Vineyard, a Member of this Government e'v' since its first Settlement, under yo'r Ma'ties Crown, tho' it be neither by Name in the Massathusetts Charter, nor by yo'r Ma'ties Command to yo'r Ma'ties Governor here ordered to be delivered.

By Reason whereof your Ma'ties Peace is much disturbed, the Authority derived from the Crown impaired, and the Strength of this yo'r Ma'ties Province weakened, which is humbly submitted, with our continued Supplicacons to the Divine Magesty for yo'r Ma'ties long and happy Raigne attended with an irresistible Conquest over all your Ma'ties Enemyes.

W. NICOLLS
CHID BROOKE
G. MINEVILLE

N. BAYARD
FREDERICK FLYPSE
S. V. COURTLANDT
JOHN LAWRENCE

New York, Feb. the 10th, 1692."

Three days later Governor Fletcher received a letter from Governor Phips explanatory of the change in the Charter.

The Council held a meeting on February 13, 1692, at which "His Excell'y did recommend to the Council to meet this Afternoon to consult of a Letter from Sir William Phips, dated the 2d of January, come to Hand yesterday, with a printed Copy of the New England Charter, and to give him their Opinion under their Hands concerning Martha's Vineyard."† On the following day

*Referring to one Abraham Gouverneur who had been sentenced for the crime of murder but had been discharged by Gov. Fletcher. He wrote a letter from Boston to his parents which fell into the hands of the authorities. The letter contained reflections on the government and "Words tending to Sedition, which did pass in a Conference between Sir William Phips and s'd Gouverneur," which letter had created considerable disturbance.

The Governor brought the matter to the attention of the Council at a meeting held Jan. 5, 1692, and the Council recommended that the Governor write to Sir William Phips inclosing a copy of Gouverneur's letter and acquaint him with the evil consequences that had resulted from it and demand the extradition of Gouverneur. This, however, seems to have no relation to Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard affairs.

†The following is a copy of that portion of iSr William Phips letter to Gov. Fletcher referred to by the Council: "Sr. I lately Received yours of the 10th of nov'r past, In which you mention something of the Islands of Nantuckett and Martha's Vineyard. I presume you cannot be ignorant That it has been their Ma'ties pleasure to Incorporate those Islands with the late Colony of the Massachusetts, New Plymouth and the Provinces of Maine &c into one Real Province, by the name of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in and by their Royal Charter granted the Seventh of October 1691. A Copy whereof for yo'r further Satisfaction therein I have Inclosed: And pursuant unto their Ma'ties Commission for the Government of s'd Province I have
(See next page)

at a meeting of the Council it was "Ordered, the Opinion and Advice of the Council concerning Sr. Will'm Phips L're and Martin's Vineyard be entered in the Council Book."

Ordered, the Adresse of the Council to their Ma'ties setting forth the Circumstances of this Government, be entered in the Council Book."

The opinion referred to is as follows:

"The Opinion and Advice of the Council concerning Martin's Vineyard to his Excell'y upon his Reference and their Perusal of Sr. William Phips L're and the printed Copy of the New England Charter.

New York the 13th of February, 1692.

His Excellency Ben Fletcher, &c., this Day having recommended to our Consideracon a Letter from Sr. William Phips dated the 2d of January last, come to Hand yesterday with a printed Copy of their Ma'ties L'res Patent for erecting and incorporating the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, not attested concerning Martin's Vineyard,* and desired our Advice.

Upon Perusal of the s'd printed Copy, having duly considered the same, and the Platt of New England before us, we doe finde that the North Halfe of the Isles of Shoals opposite to the Mouth of Piscataqua River, and the Isles of Capoag and Nantuckett to the Westward of Cape Cod, are nominally included in the said Grant, and in more general Words all Islands and Isletts lyeing within tenn Leagues directly opposite to the Maine Lane, within the Bounds of the s'd L'res Patents which we are informed are many hundreds.

And we are humbly of Opinion that forasmuch as their Ma'ties have ascertained the North Halfe of the Isles of Shoals to the Massachusetts Bay, leaving the South Halfe to the Province of New Hampshire, those Islands lying dubiously opposite to the Province of Main and Hampshire, and the Islands of Capaog and Nantuckett to the Massachusetts Bay, both of which are to the westward of Cape Cod, which is the southernmost Bounds of their Patent, they can have noe Pretences by the s'd L'res Patents to Martin's Vineyard or any other Island to the Westward of Nantuckett, which we humbly submitt and desire yo'r Excellency will be pleased to

with the advice and consent of the Council, granted forth Commissions and Setled both civil and Military offices in each of the said Islands respectively; who are in good quiet well and orderly disposed according to their Ma'ties Commands within their Government of this Province; I therefore desire & Expect that they be free any disturbances. * * * * *

W. PHIPS

Boston Jan'y 2, 1692" (Mass. State Archives, Colonial VIII, p. 52)

Banks quotes from a letter written by James Coffin and William Worth, dated Oct. 13, to John Gardner: "Mr. Mayhew sent us over his shrike and Ben: Smith and one man more with the governors orders which we have sent his Excellency a true copy; at there arivall they ware very high but we discourst with them till we made them calme; but in short we are all well satisfied by what we understand by them that Mr. Mayhew at thare returne with our Answer will goe directly for York; and we have reason to conclude will doe us all the mischife that he is aboll to doe; and by al that we can gather he hath bin & is the only Instruement to stir up the governor of York against us."

History of Martha's Vineyard, Vol. 1, p. 187.

*It would seem that the Council was not quite sure of the genuineness of the document transmitted by Gov. Phips.

recommend the same to the Ma'ties by their Sec'y of State for their Decision in that Affair.

N. BAYARD	FFREDERYCK PHILIPSE,
JOHN LAWRENCE,	S. V. COURTLANDT,
GAB. MONVILL	CHID BROOKE,
	W. NICOLLS.'''*

It is difficult to discover the logic of the reasoning of the Council that the Royal Grantors did not intend to include Martha's Vineyard in the Massachusetts Bay Patent, since it distinctly includes by name the Island of Capawock and by the deed of Richard Vines the Island is called "Capawock als Martha's Vineyard." It is evident that the agreement did not create any visible impression, for there was no change made in the original adjustment nor any apparently even considered.

The Governor and Council of the Province of New York held one more meeting relative to the change of jurisdiction, the record of which is as follows:†

At a Council held at ffort William Henry, the 17th of March, 1692.

Present: His Excell'y Ben: Fletcher, Esq.

Ffred Philips	{ Esqrs.	Chid Brooke	{ Esqrs.
Steph Courtlandt		John Lawrence	
Gab. Monvielle		Caleb Heathcote	

His Excell'y did signify the Occasion of his calling the Council together was an Opportunity for Martin's Vineyard, did offer his Opinion that it may be proper to send Mr. Mayhew a copy of the Councils' Report upon S'r William Phips L're and the printed Charter, to lett him know that his layd before their Ma'ties and desire him with the rest that are well affected to the Government to preserve the Peace, and act nothing by S'r William Phips Authority voluntarily, but what shall be forced upon him, and from Time to Time as Occasion to send Account of it hither, which is approved off, and the Council doe advise his Excell'y accordingly."

The last act had been played, however, and the curtain rung down on the situation of Nantucket in its relation to the Province of New York.

Immediately after the formal transfer of jurisdiction was effected, in order to prevent any dispute arising regarding titles the General Court of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay passed an Act for the "Confirmation of Titles within the Islands of Capawock, alias Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket."‡ This Act, after reciting the change effected by the new Charter and the conditions under which titles had been previously held, provided that—"It is therefore declared and enacted by the Governour, Council

*Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, Hough, pp. 145-6-7-8.

†Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, Hough, pp. 153-4.

‡Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. 1, p. 117.

and Representatives convened in General Assembly, and by the Authority of the same:

That all lands, tenements, hereditaments and other estates, held and enjoyed by any person or persons, towns or villages within the said Islands of Capawock, alias Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket, and each of them respectively, by or under any grant or estate duely made or granted by any former government, or by the successive governours of New York, or any other lawful right or title whatsoever, shall be, by such persons or persons, towns or villages, their respective heirs, successors and assigns, forever hereafter held and enjoyed according to the true purport and intent of such respective grant, under and subject, nevertheless, to the rents and services thereby reserved or made payable; and are hereby ratified and confirmed as fully and amply, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as the lands in any other parts or places within this province, by virtue of their majesties royal charter.' This act was passed June 13, 1693.

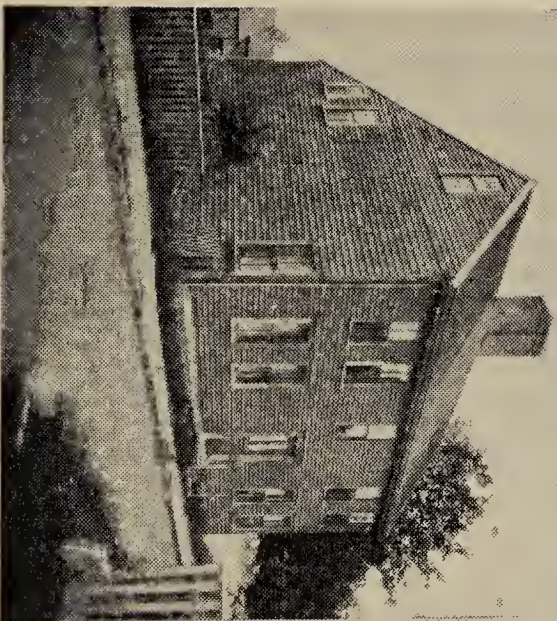
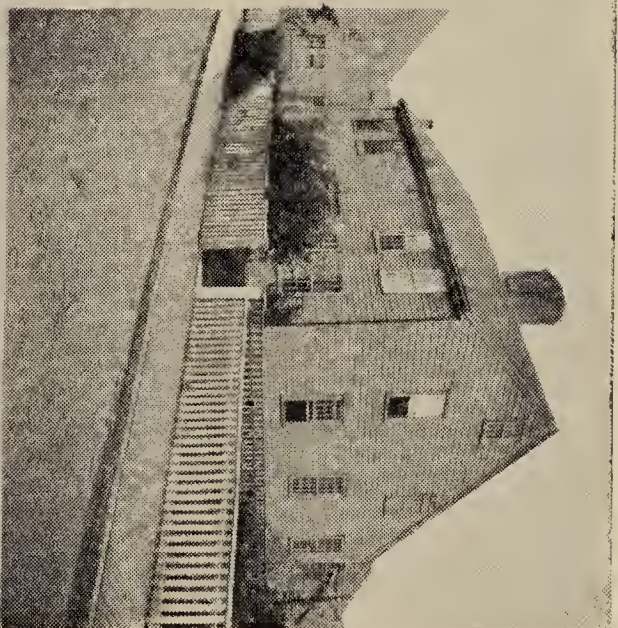
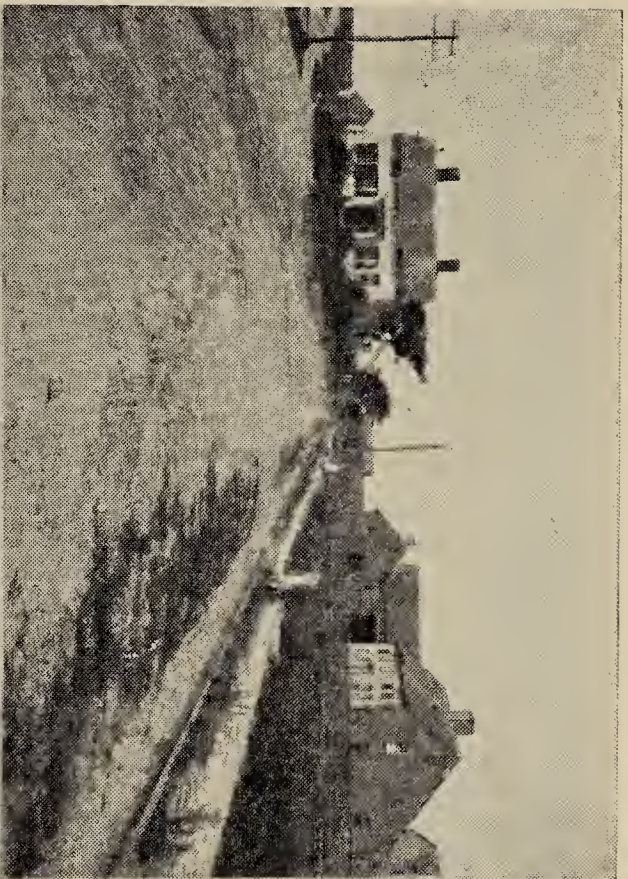
Mr. Mayhew was clearly very much dissatisfied with the trend of affairs. As the malcontents on Martha's Vineyard were advocates of a Massachusetts jurisdiction* he evidently, and naturally, thought it meant a material limitation of his authority on both islands. Gov. Phips commissioned Wait Winthrop to go to the islands and administer the oaths of office to those in authority. His reception by Mr. Mayhew certainly lacked cordiality. In a letter to Secretary Addington, received October 21, 1692,† he writes that after some delay he met Mr. Mayhew who was returning home from Barnstable, and told him his mission. Mr. Mayhew, he says, "utterly refused to accept of any place himselfe, but said he knew not but his brother and Mr. Newcomb might, which he should encourage, and so went home in his canoe." From there Mr. Mayhew sent Winthrop some papers from New York which showed that the authorities of that province were not convinced of the validity of the Massachusetts claim. An order from Governor Fletcher set forth that Dukes County was in arrears of taxes £3.15s. and directed the collectors to push the collection to the extent of prosecuting delinquents. Mr. Mayhew was also ordered by the New York Council to recognize the New York Government until further orders. Those orders Mr. Winthrop believed would be transmitted as soon as a sloop then lying in Tarpaulin Cove could get to New York and return. He adds in his comments on the local situation—"one grate matter that dissatisfyes is that warrants were directed not to their towns which is an infringement of the liberty granted by the charter and not hauing their representatives ought to be excused from the late assessments. But for the future if thay fall under the Gov'rmt shall be willing to pay their dues. I haue not written to the Gov'r‡ not knowing whether he may be at home, but hope you will lay this matter effectually before his excellency and Councell that something may spedily be don."**

*Banks History of Martha's Vineyard.

†Mass. Archives, Towns II, 384.

‡Gov. Phips—Mr. Winthrop's letter being addressed to Secretary Addington.

**Mass. Archives, Towns II, 384.



TYPICAL HOUSES

Upper Main Street
Nye House About 1740

Richard Gardner About 1724
Benjamin Fosdick About 1750

Soon after this Matthew Mayhew addressed a letter to Governor Phips and Council setting forth his experiences regarding the practice and conditions of the courts in Dukes County and the difficulty in finding in Nantucket a jury that would be impartial to try local cases.* This condition was aggravated by the separation of Nantucket inasmuch as prior to the division the Court could be held at Martha's Vineyard, or if held on Nantucket an appeal could be made to the General Court session at the Vineyard. In a letter from Simon Athearn of Martha's Vineyard touching the

*The following is the full text of Major Mayhew's letter—To his Excellency S'r William phips K'nt their Maj'ties Gov'r'n'r the honorable Willia mStoughton Lef't Gov'r'n'r and honourable Council of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England—May it please yo'r Excellencies and hon'r:—haveing had the hon'r (though unworthy) of serveing the crown, by severall trusts committed to me, in Dukes countie, more than twentie years under the severall Gov'e'ns of the province of New York and thereby haveing knowledge of the state of that countie, according to my capacitie and being since the anexing s'd countie to this province, by the favor of yo'r excellency and this honourable court, honored with a Commission, relating to the Gov'rment of Martha's vineyard and being the greatest part thereof I beg yo'r Excellencie and hono'r pardon if in this (conceiving it to bee my dutie) I should erre in laying before yo'r excellencie and honors the present state thereof. The s'd countie containing the Islands of Marthas Vineyard, Nantucket, Elizabeth Islands, with severall smale Islands adjacent is not only devided by removeing Nantucket, but likewise Elizabeth Islands, and s'd Isles adjacent, as if not within this province, have not layn within the jurisdiction of anie Court from where the insuing inconveniences arise.

Nantuckett, being few people in number and haveing manie years, maryed in the relation of first and second cousens, and otherwise are so neerly related, that in causes among themselves, a Competent number to serve on a jurie can hardly be found the Complaint whereof by some of their own, was lately layd before the honourable Court; and the indians cannot expect anie justice in anie thing relating to their lands, since the freeholders, joynly holding the Island from the Crown, are equally concerned to defend anie injustice therein don to the indians by anie one of themselves which inconvenience would leave a dore open to that injustice, that not one only hath been remedied, by their being inabled to have their causes tryed by the vicinage who were knowing in the particulars of their circumstances; which (however some pretend) manie of their inhabitants, and some of good note among them, I know desier might be continued, the English inhabitants in the countie are grieved being abridged of the great benefitt to have the titles of their lands, tryed by honest men of the vicinage, and cannot easilie beleiev that the intent of so great a priviledge is answered by esteeming Charlestown of their vicinage, whose distance is so great, and judges must be such, that cannot well know the manner of their holds, with other circumstances relateing thereto, extremely divirs from anie within neer one hundred miles from Charlestown, and question whether a cause concerning their free hold brought originally thither would not bee objected to bee coram non judice which cause severall grounds of action have been deferred prosecution. I shall instance in one which is a Gen'tl of England pretending title to lands of about 200£ value which hath by his attorney; in part been layed before the honourable William Stoughton Esq.

I might instance in multitude of inconveniencis respecting land evidences, lying at Marthas vineyard with the register, and the like the justices for the sake of justice being necessitated manie times, not to conform to the province lawes, respecting their jurisdiction and power, and other officers either to neglect that which ought to bee by them don or streck the laws.

and respecting other Islands though within the incorporations of towns on Marthas Vineyard have been a refuge for servants, and given some alreddie the advantage to bee transported beyond sea, and harboured by the English there.

I have forced myself to the presumption thus to lay before this honourable Court, the inconveniences attending the separating of the countie haveing been constantly attended with questions from constable, overseers, marshall and others, relating to their respective
(See next page)

same matter of the division he writes* "It will be most easy for each Island to keepe their perticuler sessions at home & in case of appeal to some superior Court. Beside it will be a Prouince Charg to heier a vessel onc a year to Carry ye Justices of ye Superior Court to marthas vineyard or nantucket."

That the same subject was agitating the people of Nantucket is shown by a petition from James Coffin evidently filed about the same time. Major Mayhew's letter bears no date so it is uncertain which was filed first or whether one was occasioned by a knowledge of the other. Mr. Coffin's petition† is addressed

"To the Hon'ble Wiliam Stoughton, Esq., Lieut. Govern'r of their Maj'ties Province of the Massachusetts bay in New england, & the Hono'd Council & Representatives assembled in General Court at Boston—

The humble petition of James Coffin, in the names & behalfe of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of Nantucket Sheweth—

The his Maj'ties Royal pleasure in determining the Island of Nantucket under the Government of this province hath given very great Satisfaction to the Inhabitants thereof, who always have been and still are ready to yield all due obedience to his Maj'ties Authority here established: And did with joy entertaine the notice of the Act of this Hon'ble Court in Conferring on them the priviledge of holding the Sessions of the peace & Court of pleas within themselves and that the Tryal of all civil cases by Appeal or writ of Error from their Inferiour Court of pleas shall be in the Superior Court to be holden in Boston or Charlestown, which priviledges, as they best agree with the inclinations of the Inhabitants and their way of Trade and Commerce, which is principally at Boston and the places adjacent, so any change or alteration thereof they feare will prove greatly prejudicial.

The end and scope therefore of this Address to the Hono'ble Court is for the preventing their feares, and by a Seasonable application to obtaine (if it may be) a further and more full confirmation of those priviledges already granted them, which som of late have projected the removal of them from, and essayed to reduce the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard into one Countie: Against which yo'r pet'r humbly offers to the Consideration of this Court—

1. The great and unavoidable charge which all who shall be any wayes concerned to appeare at Courts, will be exposed unto in passing and repassing from Iland to Iland, the distance (by sea) being considerable, the passage also may be very uncertaine, and sometimes impossible; whereby also the Seasonable Serving of writs from one Iland to another may be often obstructed.

2. According to the usual method, where there is but one Regiment in a County one Chiefe field officer hath the Command of the Militia, and may draw them hither or thither as he shall judg meet, the danger whereof, in this case, by exposing one of the

trusts; how to get their pay; with several things relating to the assesment which I could not resolve being not directed by law.

Lastly, as to the Gent'n of Nantucket. I would hope they might not have so bad an intent, by desireing the seperation, nor intend to do so ill as they are necessarilie inabled to, and by under no smale temptation therefore, and shall forbear to instance; having been too prolix, considering yo'r Excellencie and hono's weighty affaires.

Yo'r Excellencies and hon'r humble se'vant

MATTHEW MAYHEW.

Mass. Archives, Towns, Vol. II, p. 88.

*Mass. Achives, Towns, Vol. II, p. 111.

†Mass. Archives, Towns, Vol. II, p. 117. John Gardner and James Coffin were the men to whom the Dongan pattent was addressed.

Ilands (their Strength being drawn off) to the mercy of the enemy, is obvious.

3. It seems very improbable that men duly qualified to be Judges of a Superior Court will be found on either Iland, and it Seems unreasonable to expect or desire the Superiour Judges of the province to transport themselves to either of these Ilands to hold their Court there: So that the Ilanders must either sit down satisfied with the judg'mts of their own Courts, with out any Appeale or bring their Appeales or Writs of Errour over to the Superiour Courts holden upon the Maine: And if so, why may not the Ilanders of Nanutcket be allowed to continue where the Law hath already slated them, that being much more for their convenience (by reason of their trade to Boston by Sea) than any other part of the province: and in times past, when they were under New York Government, they had their Appeales to the City of New york, the Metropolis of that province as Boston is of this.

Your pet'r therefore humbly prayes your Hono'r & this Hono'ble Assembly to grant to the Inhabitants of Nantucket the Confirmation of their Courts and Appeales, as the Law hath already provided and that no insinuations to the contrary may find place with you, and if it may Consist with the Law and Rule of prudence that they may be annexed to the Countie of Suffolk.

All which your pet'r Submits to the Wisdom of this Hono'ble Assembly

And shall ever pray &c.,

JAMES COFFIN.

The petition oif Mr. Coffin appeared to meet with a favorable reception and notice seems to have been issued to the authorities on Martha's Vineyard to present their objections if they had any, for Mr. Mayhew addressed the following letter "To the Worshipfuls John Gardner, Esq., James Coffin & William Gayer, Esqs., on Nantucket:

Gent'l

on motion to the Gov'nr' and Counsell of the p'rovine of the massachusetts Bay in New England, intimating the p'rsent state of that part thereof formerly Dukes county through some misinformation to be abridged of the libertie of subjects to the Crown of England: the further consideration is remitted till yo'rselves appear at Boston or show to them vnder yo'r reasons for yo'r urgent derier of yo'r seperation out of s'd county my self being dis'rd to give you notice that his excellency s'r William phipps in Councell will hear the same in their convention beginning tuesday the 16th of Octob'r next when it will bee expected you should then give them vnder yo'r reasons therefore.

i am Gent'l

Yo'r humble s'rvant

MATH. MAYHEW.

Dated Marth Vineyard

Sept'r 28, 1694.

A letter was received from four of the Trustees* of Nantucket saying—"May it please his Excellency the Gouverno'r and honorable Counsell &c. haueing Receaved some lines from Mr. Mayhew signifyinge thare had bin some mis Information whareby ducks County are abridged of the liberty of Subjects to the Crowne of England and that It is expected by gouvernor and Counsell we should Render

*Trustees under the Dongan Patent.

our Reasons for our urgent desires of our separation out of s'd County on the 16th of this present october Before His Exelency & Counsell in obedience whareunto humbly desier to Answer

1st. as to Mis Information we know of none neither Doe beleave thare hath bin any 2ly, that thare are any abridged of the libertys of subjects to the Crown,(we know nothing off) nor Doe not se it) we look not on o'rselves so to be abridged) And why anye other should look on themselves so we know not Its true that at an asembly at Yorck to which we had no order for) any Representative at which the whole Collony was Devided Into 12 Countys* one was so small as twas said was only some four houses in the willdernes to keep Swine And the greatest had but liberty of an Inferior Court, And had appeal to the grand sessions And to the governor and Counsell) And as toe ourselves we Judge our liberty is not Impaired Ether at the vineyard or toe ourselves) Be it obiected we haue no Superior Court as in some other Countys now in this province) we Answer we are not Capable of it) Nether are thare persons suitable in all that part Called Ducks County) Nether were we in that state before we ware anext to the prouince. But had the liberty of holding Inferiour Courts in each Island by ourselves. Tho none of the other Island thare And our appeales was to new York. Nexly for our urgent desier of seperation we know noe such vrgencye we hope his Excellency and Counsell know our desiers ware moderate for which we haue Reasons we Judge of wight) 1st If we (were) together It was But an Inferiour Court And vnder Corection Could be Expected no more now: And so much it is by our selues And was so before now in Respect of our distance being 10 or 11 leags by sea to attend the winds and wether Which al must doe that make vse of it Besides the charge of a vessel and hands which we haue found great and trobelsom) which we hope will be Judged Reason suffitient to desier to be eased: of so great a burden No County being vnder the licke Sircomstancies and al for no Advantage as before. lastly why any Gentelman of the vineyard should thinck themselves agreved we se not) should they say they want help we beleve it. They may Say to vs posibely Come help your fellows) But they are abundantly advantaged beyond vs being as It ware but a ferry over to plimouth side where they may be abundantly advantaged beyond what we can doe) And why any should be Angrie Because we desire to adnere to Boston as to our Superior Court we se not That being abundantly for our advantage. And we suppos It will be granted them where is most for thare advantage At which we shall not Emulate) had we not the liberty of Apeale to A superior Court far beyond what we Could have had at the vineyard we should have looked on ourselves much abridged of Subjects Libertys) And we suppos They not Considering how the law hath provided for vs may be a great part) If not the ground of the disattisfaction.

Much more we might say But vntil we know the pertickler obiections against what Is all Ready Stated Cannot so well make Answer So Hope his Excelency and Counsel will Except our Readiness and willignes with all submsio'n to Aques In your Honers pleasure But humly pray that thare may be no Alteratio'n as to our present State) But that we may haue full oppertunity two Answar two pertickulars which we dout. as in Duty bound to pray your Exellency and Honnorable Counsells Reall Servants

JOHN GARDNER
JAMES COFFIN
WILLIAM GAYER
WILLIAM WORTH.†

*November, 1693.

†Mass. Archives, Towns, II.

Two acts appear to have been drawn up. The first provided that "Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Elizabeth Islands and the Island called Nomans Land and all other Islands lying thereabouts shall be and remain one County to all Intents and purposes as formerly they have been by ye name of Dukes County and ye Quarter sessions of ye peace and Inferiour Court of Common pleas be there held four times in a year that is to say at Marthas Vineyard on the last Tuesdays of March and december And at Nantucket on the last Tuesdays of June and September." It was further provided that "the superiour court of Judicature shall be Annually held for ye Counties of plimouth, Barnstable, Bristol and Dukes county at plimouth on the second Tuesdays of March and September."

This arrangement seemed to comply in some respects with the expressed opinion of Mr. Mayhew, but did not meet the approval of the people of Nantucket, as appears by the letters of James Coffin and of the majority of the Trustees, which seem to have been written and sent in response to a suggestion for an expression of opinion from the General Court. The act passed the House of Representatives in November, 1694, and was sent up to the Council for concurrence. There it was held up for further consideration.

Evidently the arguments presented by the people of Nantucket as previously quoted, prevailed for the Act of November "1694" died in the Council and a new Act was drawn entitled "An Act for the better Settlement of the Island of Marthas Vineyard and Islands adjacent." The phraseology of this bill was*—"Be it Enacted by the Lt. Governo'r, Council and Representatives convened in General Court or Assembly and by the Authority of the same That the Islands of Marthas Vineyard, Elizabeth Islands, the Island called No mans Land and all the dependencies formerly belonging to Dukes County (the Island of Nantuckett onely Excepted) shall be, remain and continue to be one County to all Intents and purposes by the name of Dukes County And all Appeals from any Judgement or Judgements given or to be given in any of the Inferiour Courts of Pleas within the s'd County shall henceforth be heard and tryed at the Superiour Court of Judicature to be holden from time to time at Plymouth within the neighbouring County of Plymouth, any Law usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding; the Jurors to serve at s'd Superiour Courts of Judicature to be from time to time chosen and sum'oned out of the several Towns within the s'd County of Plymouth and Dukes County according to the directions in the Law in such case provided.

"The Island of Nantuckett to remain & continue under the same Forme of Govern't as is already there settled; and Appeals from the Judgements given or to be given in the Inferiour Court of Pleas within ye s'd Island to be heard and tryed in the Superiour Court of Judicature to be held at Boston within the County of Suffolk as is by Law provided."

The act was passed in June 1695.†

*The same bill, or one practically identical, passed the House again Feb. 28, 1694-5 but like its predecessor died in the Council.

Towns II, 122.

†It would appear to have been the result of the remonstrance of the people of Nantucket in the summer of 1694.

It was about this time that a French privateer appeared off Nantucket. A letter from John Thatcher to Lieut. Governor Stoughton, superscribed "post hase—for their maiesties service," dated Barnstable 3rd of May, 1695,* says "Intelligence just now from nantucket that the French are now there with a vessell. I have ben on shoare & the intelligence we have is heare in in closed." The urgency of the matter is indicatd by these endorse-ments—"all Their maistes officers to whome this shall. Com are Required to post this with all possible speed as directed, John thacher Jus. Peace," and "This to be delivered to Constable of Scituate & so from Constable to constable hast post hast. Will Bradfom's Justice of peace."

The inclosure Justice Thatcher mentions was from Nantucket and was as follows: "worshipful Sir—This is only To Enform That This night The ffrench Landed on our Island plondered on House and caried Away fovre (2) men and are now About The Iland of what for I know not. it is but A small Vessell They said at The Hous. Ther was 2 more of which wee know not. we thought Good to for To signifi That Ther may be post sent To Boston. which is All and in hast from

Your servant

JOHN GARDNER

Nantucket The 3 day of May 1695.

In a letter apparently addressed to the Lieutenant Governor, Barnabas Lothrop gives a little more detailed account of the depredations of the privateersmen. Under date of Barnstable, May 6, 1695, he writes—"honorable sir I sopose your honor has had the a Count from nantucket that the french were Landed one the est end of the Iseland pluderod oe hose caried away the man and his son. there vesill was a bark or a shallop. thay thoutt the number to be a hundred but being in the night and much frited there mite be considerable Les. we know not they sayd at the house the frensh men spake of two consorts they had. we sent over a whale bote but not yet returned. we hant herd from them sense capt gardners Lines that were posted to your Honer. we herd grate guns there all most every day sens. we are ferefull Lest the Island should be taken; tis very probible that gardners sloup that came from Boston is taken and with him Capt Gorom and seuen or eight of our naibers going to a weding. tis thoutt thay had in fouer or five hundred pounds ad this day has there bene a gret fite at se twixt nantucket and marthas vinyerd; seuen uesils at Lest were sene. twas hasey other wise we mite have sene more of there action. the most of them seemed to be sloups two or three semed prety big vesils. we herd the guns from about a Leuen a clk to a bout four at times small shot very much. I think we herd at Lest a hundred gret guns and moer. they stud estward tis now an ouer within night and the bot not returned from nantuket which increses our fers. we can giue no farther a count only sum grat guns were herd after sunset: a day of troubell the good Lord pity us and fight our batel else we are in a woeful case: not more at present But make bould to subscribe myselfe your honers servant to serve to my utmost power

BARNABOS LOTHROP

*Mass. Archives, Letters 30-31.

William Bassett of Sandwich in a letter concerning the same raid adds these particulars—"There is this evening Come Down from Falmouth five men that was taken yesterday By the french in a Brigateen that came from Jeneka laden with salt had on bord 1000 lb in cash the masters name is Greenwood belonging to boston, and they say that she hath took divers vessils more this day that were coming from the westward, they have taken in all seaven vessils as we are Informed, these men say that the french are 54 in number well armed they came In a shalop which had two Guns and two pattardak (2), and say that they come from the mouth of Canda River and is thought that they are on their Motion Back again they were seen this after noon about six of the clock about the hors shoe* or between that and Cape poge, these men say that they have caryed away no english prisoners only the mate of ye briginteen and that they have taken on bor'd the briginteen the guns that was in their shalop, and she had 3 or 4 before."

Soon after this raid of the French, in all probability as a result of it, the following petition was sent to the Colonial government:† "To the honor'ble William Stoughton Esq'r. Lieut. Gov'r'n'r & comand'r in cheif in & over his Maj'ts p'r'vince of the Massachusetts Bay in New England the hon'ble Council & Representatives of s'd p'rvice in Generall assembly Convened—

The petition of Matthew Mayhew re'pr'sentative of Edgartown and Chilmark on Marthas vineyard and James Coffin Rep'r'sentative for the Island of Nantuckett

Humbly Sheweth—

that the Islands of Marthas vineyard and Nantuckett being on the frontier of this pr'vince, and not only so but lying in that part where the french are more particularly designed for advantage of taking not only provisions coming from the western partes but likewise shipping from most partes haveing commerce and loads heer have alwais in time of warr been thereby exposed to a continuall charge not only for securing of themselves but manie times for succer and defence of such shipping, and that not only by English inhabitants on said Islands, but likewise by raising such force as they could, by armeing the indians, supplying them with ammuniton and provision, while the enemie hath been on the coast, were while they were annexed to the pr'vinc of new York supplied wth ammuniton, armes &c. at the charge of s'd province, and in consideration of their great charge while the enemie were hourly expected to come into their harbour, more for the shipping there then hopes of profit by plundering such poor places: and the necessitie of liberallitie to the indians in drink and provision over and above powder and the like necessaries, were by the justices of s'd province, so far abated of the proportion they should have otherwise have payed for sustaining the charge incumbent on the province that in a tax of about ten thousand pound the said Islands were assesed but fifty pounds and in consideration of their lying so open to the enemie were by the Gov'r'n'r & Councill p'rmissid a supply of powder small armes for the indians, and a further supply of more great guns immediately before their being annexed to this pr'vince: all which considered, and that all such Charge hath since that time wholly been on the inhabitants, to the value of many hundred pounds, and often more for securing the shipping laden with provision, and other shipping

*The Horse Shoe Shoal.

†Mass. Achives Military, Vol. IV. p. 298.

bound to boston & adjacent towns, it being beneath both an English and a cristian spirit to suffer the taking of such vesls when it might be by us hindered beside the after charge of sending botes to nform vesls comeing in from sea of the enemies being on the coast, so that s'd Islands are at this time deeply indebted, and particular men, on such sudden ocasions know not when they shall be reimbursed, and probably never from a poor distressed people.

Therefore yo'r petitioneres verily believing it hath not been that this honourable Court would not have accordingly have either abated said Islands in the particular taxes or otherwise assisted them, but our own defect in not laying before them the reasons, therefore, now humbly pray

that whereas the inhabitants of s'd Islands, have been doomed to pay certain summes of money as their proportion on a tax of thirtie thousand pound, that in consideration that they have sustained the cost and charge aforesaid, without charging the province anie thing for the same, and for the better inabling them to secure both themselves and such shipping comeing into and going out of this province: that it would apear this great and generall court that the said summes may be remitted, each Island disbursing towards fortifying the same, in providing armes and ammunition, whereby they may bee inabled to doe his majesty and his province better and further services: the summe of fifty-pound each Island and an account thereof to bee particularly made to this honourable court, by the p'rsons who they shall in their wisdom commit the care thereof unti: and the said Islands erect at their own charge sufficient prisons. all which yo'r petitioners humbly lay before this hon'able Court, praying the same may be enacted and shall always always pray &c

MATTHEW MAYHEW
JAMES COFFIN.

The response to this petition was soon forthcoming. The prayer of the representatives of the two islands was duly considered by those in authority "And his honour the Lieut. Govern'r and Com'and'r in Chief declaring his Intention to order Fortifications to be Erected in the s'd Islands, Voted That abatem't be made unto the Islands of the respective sums oweing from them in arrears of ye thirty thousand pound Tax as is above prayed for to be disbursed and laid out upon each of the s'd Islands in Fortifications Artillery Arms & Ammunition according as the Com'ander in Chief shall give directions the accompt of the expense thereof to be laid before and Examin'd by a Com'ttee to be appointed by the Com'ander in Chief for the time being and to be laid before this Court, the Sums hereby abated unto s'd several Islands and to laid out and expended as afores'd is £150 to Marthas Vineyard and unto Nantucket is £150.10.9." The act was read and passed in the Council in October, 1696 and concurred in by the House.

Doubtless some kind of a fortification was built and guns mounted in Nantucket but there seems to be no further record concerning the matter nor anything to show where they stood.

The period from 1700 until the beginning of the Revolutionary War, is quite devoid of noteworthy events that are not recorded under some special division. The Town Records, like those of other

towns, are singularly barren in detail, and leave the gleaner of historical material to wonder why so many interesting stories were only half told; and why so many documents, capable of throwing important sidelights on municipal action, were not more carefully preserved. Few clerks seem to realize that they are writing history, and that many matters, well understood perhaps by contemporary participants, will be unsolvable enigmas in a few years, when those immediately concerned have passed into the "undiscovered country."

The chief matters of interest for the period named (1700 to 1775), excepting those specially treated, are, however, to be found in the Town Records. One at least, can get some idea of what was done of municipal concern, and it is interesting to note in this connection what the Records contain.

March 20, 1701-2, it was voted to "lay out the land not already Layed out in the neck called the long woods to every freholder according to his proportion." It was also voted that "every whole share man shall have liberty to put twenty sheepe into the abovesaid neck to fatt at the time when the rams are taken up and all the rest of the Proprietors according to their proportion & no more except the trustees shall inlarge the order." Permission was granted each Proprietor to exchange his land "anywhere to ye westward of ye town fence" for other land not already laid out. "At the same meeting Eleazer ffol(g)er did propound to the towne for liberty to purchase ten akers of land of the Indians som whare to the East end of the Island for to putt a hous on for his son Laying downe so many akers to the towne of his land in an other place."

It is evident that live stock of various kinds, allowed to go at large on the common lands developed so rapidly that the Town was frequently called on for repressive measures. December 10, 1702, the trouble was with hogs and the Town voted "that after the last of March next Insuing no hogg shall have Liberty to go on the commons without an order from the Towne." It is to be presumed that four legged hogs were meant, and that their owners were the parties to apply for the permits. The owners of the unpermitted hogs were fined for each one trespassing and in case of the owner's refusing to pay the fine, "the hoggs shall be solde at an outcry* and the overplush money Returned to the oner."

May 16, 1702, "it was agreed on and voted that Coetoe shall be reserved for to put on cattel for to fatt,† the proportion to be two cattle to one share and so in proportion for the rest & no more, and if any more cattel shall be put on or found there they shall be accounted damage fesent and proseded with according to Law, neither shall any horses, Mares or hoggs be Suffered to be put on there and if any shall be found there they shall be accounted damage fesant and be proseded with according to Law, if any man

*Auction.

†Coatue must have deteriorated as a place for grazing since those days unless the northern part was used exclusively.

shall see cause to put on calves in the room of cattel he shall have liberty to put on the calves in the Room of one groen beast,"*

January 5, 1703-4, the Town passed the following vote: "We the purchasers Inhabitants ffreholders and Joynt Commoners of all the Common and undivided Lands on the Island of Nantucket according to our shares or proportions orderly obtained either by patent or purchase of the Indians right, either by ourselves or pre-disessors, being orderly met for the making or confirming such necessary Orders for our Mutual Interest and benifit as we are privilged by the province Laws so to do, Considering our orders and divitions and stents on our Commons have hetherto been made and followed according to our former Constitution when Annexed to the government of Newyork and so good and legal then and suppose remains so still our properties being confirmed by the great and General Court of this province together with the Royal Consent of there Majestys king William and Queen Mary of blessed memory never the less for the preventing of all futur disputes and to make said former orders unquestionable our present orders—according to the laws of the province we aforesaid being orderly mett do Constitute and confirm all our former orders made by the Trustees and are on our towne Record which ware according to our then Constitution to be our present orders as they Stand Recorded in the Towne book, with all the Articles Clauses stents both of Cattle, Horses and Sheep with all the penalties thereunto Annexed to be our present towne orders to all intents constructions and purposes in the Law what so ever particularly that order made and Recorded february the 7th 1689:† of allso february: 169 1-2 allways Reserving liberty to our selves to ad what we find there wanting and to alter what we find inconvenient we do therefore now ad and order that wareas there is no penalty Annexed to what Horses shall be put on the commons more than the stent by the order aforesaid that what Horses or Horss kind that any commoner shall put on the commons mor than his proportion by orders aforesaid shall be accounted damage feasant, the damage to be accounted twenty Shillings p'r year and so proportionable for every Horss or Horss kind so found on the commons and the owner of s'd Horses or Horss refusing or neglecting to pay as aforesaid shall be proceeded against according to Law, we the proprietors aforesaid to further ad and alter that wareas it is said in our former order to be taken by the constable and sold by outcry which Article we do Alter or Repele it wholly and ad in the room thereof to be taken up and disposed of as the Law directs." At a Town meeting held March 23, 1703-4 it is recorded that "The former order about Hoggs was confirmed."

Sometimes the description of the laying out of land is so worded that by careful study it would appear practicable to draw a fairly accurate map of the section. This in October, 1703, the Record says: The Bounds of on Aker of land layed out to John Swaine Sen'r which is part of his Devident Land from a Rock by the Clay pits near Nathaniel Coffin's House S:west westerly; 66 Rodd from thence S: 1 by west; 13 Rodd, from thence; West 1 be north 13

*A petition from Stephen Hussey to the General Court, dated June 1, 1762 prayed for a change in Court jurisdiction because of a possible miscarriage of justice. The General Court refused his petition with a decided reprimand, as he had shown no damage and reflected on the Justices of the local Courts. (Mass. Archives, Judicial Vol. 3, p. 40.)

†Evidently referring to the Dongan patent granted in 1687.

poles: from thence No b East; 13; Pole: from thence East and b South; 13 pole."

Directly following the above record comes the following: "To the Towne or Townsmen of Sherbourne. Friends. I did formerly promise to make a conveyance of Several or Certaine Tracts of land unto yow, being not willing to appropriate more land to myself than anyone of like capacity and as many of you well know or may Remember I promised to lay downe or Resigne up to ye Towne certaine parcels of land as much or more than ye Neck is on which I now Live & that which I promise to make over to ye Town is $\frac{3}{4}$ of my Fathers house Lott with 20 acres of Divident Land near Wesco as also my house Lott at Kachkesset* and: 7 acres of pasture adjoining to it & one acre of meadow at Mattakitt, all these certaine parcels of land I then promised to lay down or make over to ye Town So that I might quitely possess and enjoy ye neck on which I live and yow having performed your part and I having met with many accidents which hath caused me to detract time. But now I think it Time to confirm what I then promised, I do now declare I do Resign and make over unto the Town all my Right, Title and interest in all ye above s'd parcels of Land unto ye Town Etc Decemb'r 14th 1687.

JOHN SWAINE.

This was certified as acknowledged by John Swaine Senior, 23d of March 1712-13 and was entered on the Records 23, 3 mo., 1713. It was noted as recorded by Nathaniel Starbuck, Town Clerk, 23d, 3d mo., 1713.†

On the 19th of the 3d month, 1707, at a legal meeting of the freeholders "it is agreed y't ye 2 day of ye 4 mo next shall be ye day to begin to wash ye sheep." "At the same meeting it is voted that there shall be one Acre of Meadow laid out at Coetue of ye Common meadow lying near ye woods to that share wharein Robert Long is concerned in stead of an acre in ye Ram pasture now fed by the Town's creatures."‡ At the same meeting "the town doth choose & appoint James Coffin Jr. George Gardner & Stephen Coffin Jr. to take account of all the fleeces at ye time of shearing our sheep next ensuing & also a Just the Commons with Every man for this year." "At the same meeting it is agreed on & voted concluded that Robert Long shall have liberty to take up: 5: Acres of land on ye neck commonly cald Sisspennis neck he laying down as much in another place."

*A tract of land on the west side of Hummock Pond. (Lythgoe, p. 28) The matter mentioned was satisfactorily settled February 2d of the same year.

†Not infrequently several years elapsed between the execution of a deed and its being recorded.

‡It appears not unlikely that in the early days of the English settlement the northern part of Coetue was quite heavily wooded, probably like some parts of Wauwenit. This is the first mention of Long's name in the records.

John Gardner died May 6, 1706. From the time of the Dongan patent he was almost continuously in office most of the time as a Trustee. He was Town and County Treasurer from 1687 until his death.

On the 3d day of the 4th month, 1707, it was voted to have the Town House repaired and William Gayer and Richard Gardner were appointed a committee to see that the work was properly done.*

On the 23d. of the 1 mo., 1708, "it was agreed & voted that John Macy should build a prison for ye town as soon as he can."

On the 12th of the 3d mo 1708, "the town doth grant Benjamin Swaine the liberty of that stream of watter which runs by John folgers house to dam it up & to sett up a fulling mill on it one the Conditions he shall Injoy the same so Long as he shall resionably comply with ye fulling of their cloath they paying for the same."

In 1709, 4th. 8 mo., the Town appointed a committee to adjust the dispute with Stephen Hussey in regard to titles. The exact phraseology of the act of the meeting as recorded is—"at a towne meeting at ye house of George Buncker it is voted yt ye towne will choose a committee of 4 or 5 men to debate ye diferance between ye town & Stephen Hussey, it is agreed & voated yt William Gayer & Richard Gardner, Eleazor folger Jr & George Gardner are to debate, agree & fully to comply with Stephen Hussey concerning ye former diferances between him & ye town Concerning titles of lands in ye town's behalf."†

The early records of the Town are joined with deeds and agreements that at least serve to diversify them. On the page following that on which is recorded the vote of the Town to adjust its dispute with Stephen Hussey, is recorded the following: "To all christian People to whom this present Writing may come. John Barnard and Joseph Coffin of the Island of Nantucket in the Province of the Masatusets in new England send greeting for as much as John Barnard married Sarah Macy said Island and Joseph Coffin married Bethiah Macy. These are to therefore to declare that we John Barnard and Joseph Coffin Doe for our selves and for our heirs and Sucksesors fully and absolutely aquit and discharge Thomas Macy our brother-law from all Depts Dues and demands whatso ever Relating to the Estate of John Macy Deceased we doe say we doe by these presents Renounce all claims What so Ever or any demands of the said Thomas Macy his heirs or Sucksesors unto the premises above Specified and in witness heare unto have sett to our hands and seals This 23 day of february 1707-8.

JOHN BARNARD

JOSEPH COFFIN

This agreement was witnessed by William Worth and Joseph Marshall and acknowledged by the signers in the presence of James Coffin Justice of the Peace and properly recorded by Nathaniel Starbuck Jr.

This agreement is followed by two contracts given by Thomas Macy. In the first he conveys to John Barnard in consideration of the payment of £45 to him by said John Barnard "one whole and

*When the Town House was built is not clear. This is the first mention of it in the records.

†Mr. Hussey seemed determined not to allow his "law books" to grow mouldy through disuse, for his law suits were many.

compleat twelf part of a Shear of Lands and accommodations Excepting such part as might belong to the said twelf part of a Shear in the inclosure now about my house improvement in Meadow tillages and passture which Is hereby excepted and not to be understud and intended in said saile within the Island of Nantucket together with all lands meadows, swamps, marshes wood Woodland Divisions and lots belonging to one twelf part of A sheare Except as before Excepted." This deed is dated February 23d. 1707-8 and is witnessed by William Worth and Joseph Marshall. A similar document, worded almost identically like the one to Barnard conveys to Joseph Coffin, cooper, a twelfth part of a share of land under the same conditions, for the same amount of payment and under the same restrictions.

At a Town Meeting held on the 25th of the 5th month 1709, it was ordered "to stop ye Cutting any more Wood from of Coature.* At the same meeting "ye towne doth agree to mak a dam at ye Mill brook & also one at ye old brigg† near Edward Allins for to drawne ye Swampe."

At a meeting of the Town held as above (28th. 1st mo. 1709-10,) "ye towne do agree & voat yt Nath'll Starbuck shall have ye Liberty to take up one acre of Land on exchange for to sett a meeting house on to ye eastward of his son Nath'll Starbuck where on ye timber now Lieth." This action of the Town would seem to fix definitely the site of the first Friends' Meeting-house and very approximately the date of its erection.

On the 16th of the 4th month 1710 the Town "Taking into consideration ye great misschife don on ye commons by hogs Rooting thereon & having Endeavoured by making several orders to prevent ye same do find yt unless all hogs be prohibited from going on ye commons ye misschife don by hogs cannot be Prevented Do therefore order & vote yt no hog shall go on ye commons or feed on ye commons after ye first day of ye eight month next ensuing ye date hereof & who so ever lets or suffer any of his hogs to be on ye commons after ye first day of ye eight month as above shall pay a fine of one shilling for every hog to any person yt Pounds them & every freeholder hath power to impound them him self or by his order."

A somewhat peculiar action is on record under date of the 12th of the 1st month 1710-11. After giving the names of the Trustees elect, the Record says "Richard Gardner was chosen trustee but by vote was (at ye same meeting) put out againe." On the face of the statement it looks a little as though Richard Gardner was, at least temporarily, not in good repute, but as he was im-

*There seems to be continued evidence of the increasing scarcity of wood. Any person convicted of illegally cutting wood was subject to a fine of 10 shillings a cartload and forfeiture of the wood—the fine to be used for the Town poor and the wood to go to the informer.

†Bridge. Notwithstanding the fact that the Records occasionally refer to the Town House, many Town meetings are held at private houses. That of the 25th 5 mo. 1709, was at James Coffin's—that of 26th 3 mo. 1710, at Nathaniel Starbuck Jr's.

mediately chosen to the responsible position of assessor, an office with a small salary attached, it is not unlikely that he resigned and that his resignation was accepted.

"At a Towne meeting of ye inhabitants freeholders Nantucket ye 25 of ye 11 mo 1711 ye town takeing into consideration ye great benefit yt Coetue neck is to them for ye sucker of their sheep in hard seasons as is lately Experienced do now conclude that there is necessity of preserving ye Seaders & pines & other groaths there do now voate yt after publication of this order no person whatsoever shall not for time to come cutt or carry of from Coetue any sort of Wood by land or Water, Either seaders pines or any other groaths of wood under any notion or pretence Whatsoever on penalty of paying a fine of ten shillings for any quantity whatsoever & to forfeit what is brought of & ye informer to have it & one half of ye fine."*

On the 14th of the . . th moth, 1713, the Town "Granted Richard Gardner one quarter of an acre of land at Wesco to sett his son Solomon's house on, on ye south side of ye highway to ye Southward of all ye acre lotts in Wesco fields, being Esteemed his proporation (with ye above said Lots) to yt quarter of a shear which he had of Joseph Coleman."

On the 24th 1st mo. 1714, the Town granted "Lieutenant Peter Coffin's heirs liberty to exchange half an acre of land whereon Jean Coleman house now stands for so much land in a other place."†

On the 23d of the 1st mo. 1715, "John Bernard & Nathaniel Barnard Jr are chosen Surveiers of ye hieways & to mend them."

The Twon seems to have failed to settle satisfactorily its little affair with Stephen Pease,‡ for at this same meeting "Stephen Coffin Jr. & Ebenezer Coffin are chosen & appointed by ye town to go to Stephen Peas & demand of him ye rent dew to ye town (from him) for ye use of their Land whereon his house & fence now Stands & to advise him to take a Leas of ye s'd Town for ye year Ensuing & they are to Give him a Leas in ye behalfe of ye towne."

On the 3d of the 1st mo., 1716, "The Town do agree & vote yt they will build a Town house this year or as soon as they can 34 foot long, & 24 foot wide. George Gardner, Stephen Coffin Jr., & Ebenezer Coffin are chosen and appointed to build ye above town house. ye town do vote to sett ye above house on ye hill betweene William Strettons and George Bunkers near William Strettons."

At the same meeting a committee was appointed "to search out ye Indians priviledges" and find who are trespassers. A committee was also chosen to interview the persevering Stephen Peas and warn him to remove his fence from the Town land or procure a lease of the land. At the same meeting it was "Voted yt Eleazer Folger Jr shall deliever ye new york law book to Enoch Coffin."**

"At a Town meeting ye 24 day of ye first month 1716, warned to consult concerning setting up a School & any other besines yt

*Cedars, pines and similar evergreen trees seem to have been used for the shelter of sheep and cattle.

†Lieut. Coffin was a resident of Dover.

‡Mr. Pease about this time had a petition in the General Court for relief from an over-tax of £4. 12s. A hearing was ordered but there seems to be no further records.

**It is possible that this note may refer to the missing Court record book which Folger's grandfather concealed. If it does Enoch Coffin was no more successiul in getting it than his predecessors.

may be then thought needfull Richard Gardner is choosen Moderator for this meeting. Voted yt ye Town will chuse a Schoolmaster for ye year ensuing. also voted yt ye town will hier Eleazer Folger for a Schoolmaster for ye year ensuing. voted yt ye Town will give Eleazer folger three score pounds currant money for to keep school one year & he consents to keep for ye above mentioned sum of money."

The Town Meeting held on the 29th of the 11th mo. 1716-17 is recorded as held "at ye town house" so that it is fair to assume that the committee had attended to its duty and that under its fostering care the municipal building had been erected. It was then "Voted by ye Town yt for time to come all ye propriators Meetings shall be warned by setting up a Notafication on ye Town house & on ye Meeting house."*

On the 16th day of the 1st mo., 1717, "Eleazer Folger is chosen to be Rejester to Record deeds and such like." This seems to have been the first time this term for an official seems to appear on the Town Records.

At the Annual Town Meeting on the 18th of the 1st mo., 1721, the Record states "Elezer folger is chosen Rejester for this Countey of Sherborn to Rejester all deeds (etc) for ye space terme of five years." At the same meeting Benjamin Bunker was "chosen & appointed to kill all ye doggs on ye island of Nantucket & ye town will pay him for his pains."

"At a Leagul Town Meeting held on Nantucket ye 8 day of ye 9 mo., 1721, warned to chuse Trustees for to Receive our Town Proportion of ye fifty thousand Pounds loan Granted by ye general Coort ye 15 of ye first month 1721, George Bunker is chosen Moderator for the present meeting. Jethro Starbuck, Stephen Coffin, Jr., Thomas Macy, Samuel Coffin, Batheler Hussey are chosen trustees for ye service above Mentioned by a Clear Vote."†

At the Annual Meeting held 16th 1st mo., 1721-2, the Record in noting the choice of officers says "voted yt ye Selectmen shall be chosen by holding up hands." This is the first occasion on which they are recorded as "Selectmen" for many years.

At a Town Meeting held on the 2d day of the 3d mo. a night police force seems to have been established. The vote as recorded is "Voted yt there shall be a constables watch Established in ye Town for ye space of three months time from ye publication of this order for ye suppression of all disorders & breach of ye peace in ye night season."

"At a Town Meeting held at ye Town house on Nantucket ye 21 day of ye 11 mo., 1723, appointed to consider of & conclude upon sending an answer to newyork Government to their last letter, George Bunker is chosen Moderátor for this present meeting. voted & agreed yt ye Town will send a letter to newyork Govern-

*Evidently the Friends' Meetinghouse.

†Owing to a scarcity of money the Province established a credit of £50,000 to be loaned to the several towns.

ment in answer to their last which letter was read & dated at this meeting ye 21: of ye 11 mo."*

An occasional vote for a Town official, as recorded, leaves one in doubt as to whether there were contestants for an office or whether it is the intention of the Clerk to record that the vote was unanimous; thus the record says—"At a legal Town Meeting held in ye Town house on Nantucket on ye 20 day of ye 3 mo., 1724, George Bunker is chosen (by a clear voe) to Represent this Town & Serve his Majesty at ye Great & general court to be held at Boston on ye 27 day of this Instant."

In the Town Meeting held on the 17th day of the 1 mo., 1724-5, Thomas Macy was elected County and Town Treasurer. This seems to have been the earliest date at which this joint Treasurership is recorded. The amount required to defray the expenses of the County and Town at that time was small. On the 23d of the 10 m., 1724, £90 was "Raids to Supply ye Town & County Tresuries for ye defraying of charges therein," and at a meeting held on the 18th day of ye 11 mo., 1725-6, "ye sum of fifty two pounds" was raised to defray the Town's charges for the year ensuing. As there seemed to be no special appropriation for the County it is possible this amount covered the demands of both. At this latter date, it was "voted yt ye method for ye future to warne ye Town Meetings shall be set up notification at ye two meeting houses & ye town house, setting forth ye occasion of ye meeting, unless in such case that a meeting must be before any first day of ye week happens then to be warned after ye former usage."†

At a meeting held May 18th, 1726,‡ it was voted—"that our Representatives be desired and impowered to prefer a petition to the General Court that all appeals hereafter made from the Inferior Coort on Nantucket shall be to the Superior Coort of Judicature to be holden at Boston within and for the County of Suffolk in the month of August and also all appeals from the Court of sessions of the peace to be to s'd Court at the same time and place."** At the same meeting it was also voted—"that all Indians, negros and other suspected persons that shall be found on the wharfs or about town after nine of the clock at night shall be liable to be taken up and carried before some Justice of the Peace who is hereby desired to lay a fine of two shilings a piece on all he finds guilty to be paid to those the Selectmen shall order and impower to take up s'd persons and the Selectmen are hereby desired to make use

*There is nothing to indicate what this correspondence was about. The above is all there is about it in the Nantucket records and a diligent search of the New York records does not reveal so much as that. It is quite a remote time from the transfer to Massachusetts for any question concerning that affair and even if it were not it would seem more proper to discuss the matter through the Colonial government.

†The "two" meetinghouses referred to are the Friends, the one referred to in the Town Meeting of 28th. 1 mo. 1709-10, and the Congregational which was erected about 1724 or 1725.

‡The names of the months are given instead of number. Eleazer Folger had died and the new Clerk, who was elected March 16, 1725-26, modernized the records.

**A similar condition seems to have occurred in June 1717. The Council in answer to a petition passed an order annexing Nantucket to Suffolk County. The House refused to concur, but voted to have the Governor designate one or two Judges "from the Main" to "be of the Judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas & General Sessions of the Peace from Time to Time." This was accepted by the Council and consented to by the Governor.

of such methods as they shall think most proper to Suppress the aforesaid persons from being on the wharf or about town after the time of night afore s'd." It may be noted that Indians and negroes come into the interdicted class without reservation; others are possibilities.

At the Town Meeting held March 18, 1727-8, Nathan Folger was "chosen pound keeper for the pound near his house, John Swain, alias England, to be chosen pound keeper for that pound at Poatpes—John Renuff is chosen pound-keeper for Newtown." This is the first mention of that section of the Town by that name that occurs in the Records.

On July 16, 1728, it was "voted that the town will Receive & draw out their part of the 60,000 pounds allowed to them by an Act of the General Court being 780 lb. Voted that Silvanus Hussey be one of the trustees to receive and improve our part of the s'd money to the towns best Advantage Voted that Ebenezer Gardner be one other of them. Voted that John Macy be the third Trustee for the s'd affair." It is to be feared that this accession to the finances inclined the Town to extravagance for at the meeting held January 10, 1728-9, the sum of £120 was appropriated for the Town's needs for the ensuing year.

March—1728-9, Nathan Folger was chosen "to have the care of the Meadows under the bank near his house and to impound all Creatures found loose thereon and all Creatures teddered on the Common on s'd Meadows."

The brevity of Town Records sometimes presents some interesting questions for solution, as for instance at the election of Town officers March 16, 1730-31, John Renuff was chosen a Selectman. Then immediately follows "Voted that John Renuff is discharged from the being Selectman and Ebenezer Gardner is chosen in his stead." Gardner had been on the Board of Selectmen for the two previous years, and Renuff was drawn as a petty juryman, which might have interfered with his service as a Town Father. The action of the meeting did not prevent John from being chosen a Field Driver and a Hog Reeve the following year. He was also chosen a Grand Juror.

A Town Meeting was held May 19, 1732 "to choos forty-two men part Indians part English to serve on the jury at the Superior Court to be held at Sherborn on the 14 day of June next." "The Indians then chosen and voted to serve are these under written, Cawdoode, Eben Cawdoode, Micah Phillip, Jonathan Small, Jonathan Micah, Mattakachame, Micah John, Aaron, John Quaiub, Ben Teshime, John Teshime, Josiah Spotso, Wechigin, James Pocknah, Anthony Solomon." Of the number Cawdoode, James Pocknah, Micah, Ben Teshime, Josiah Spotso, and Wechegin were chosen Grand Jurors. The others were appointed to the Petit Jury. Whether electing Indians to jury duty did not prove a sucecss, or for what reason is not clear, but that year seems to have been the only one in which they were chosen.

No inconsiderable portion of the time at Town Meetings seems to have been taken up with a discussion of the dog question. Orders were frequently passed for their restraint and occasionally peremptory orders were given for them all to be killed. On the 21st of October, 1734, the "Town taking into consideration the Damage done and like to be done by the great Increase of Dogs among us have voted and agreed that henceforth no dogs be kept on the Island of Nantucket and that all the Dogs that are now shall be Destroyed unless the owner shall send them of the Island or otherways Dispose of them within fifteen days & in the meantime to keep them carefully tyed and prevented from doing any damage. And the Town hath voted and agreed that if any persons shall presume to keep any after the expiration of s'd time he shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings a month to the use of the Town for such time as he shall keep a Dog. and the town hath chosen & impowered Thomas Macy, John Macy, Nathan Folger, John Coffin, Zephaniah Coffin and Grafton Gardner, or any of them to take care that the above orders be Effect-performed."

At a Town Meeting held January 20, 1734-5, it was voted to pay Jethro Starbuck and Thomas Macy £20, "for their trouble and charges in managing the loan money." It was further voted "that one hundred and fourty one pounds seven shilings and eight pence the Remainder of the Interest* of the loan money shall remain in the treasurers hands for the use of the town he accompting with the Town for it."

At the Annual Town Meetings held March 23, 1735-6, it was voted "that Samuel Ray be a Packer to view and prevent any fraud in flesh exposed to sale by the barrel for the year Insuing." At the same meeting the Selectmen, or any three of them, were authorized "to examine and audit the Town Treasurers account and make Return thereof into the town meeting in January next." Jeremiah Gardner, George Hussey and Eleazer Folger were appointed a committee "to Draw up & send an address to the Governor concerning the Superior Court from this County to Barnstable."† On May 10, 1736, George Bunker was elected Representative to the General Court and he was instructed "to perfer a petition to the general court to pray them that we might have a special court held on our Island for the tryall of any Capital crime and high misdemeanor that may hereafter happen to be committed here in consideration of the great charge of going to some other county."

On January 17, 1736-7, it was voted that the charge of recording the ear-marks of sheep "be put into the raise for every man to pay the equall proportion who had one or more marks to Record."

*Principal is doubtless meant as £780 was the entire sum originally received and the Town at once appropriated £120 for current needs.

†Dec. 17, 1736, the General Court enacted this law—"Whereas the Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket Complain of the Great Hardship & Expense of transporting their Criminals to the County of Barnstable in Order to be tryed Be it further Enacted by the Authority afores'd that from henceforth all Capital offences or other High Misdemeanors that shall arise or be Committed within the Island of Nantucket or the dependencies thereof shall be heard and tryed at an Infer'r Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and Gen'l Goal Delivery to be holden for that purpose within the Island of Nantucket or some place within the Same and at such time as the Gov'r & Council advising with the Justices of the s'd Court shall from time to time direct and appoint according as occasion may be." (Mass Archives Vol. 65, p. 116.)

On July 11, 1736, (?), John Aaron, James Mamuk, Josiah Spotso, Mattakachame Micah, all Indians, were selected for Grand Jurymen and Micah Phillips, Anthony Solomon, Isaac Woose, old Saul, John Quaiab, John Teshime, James Pock, and Titus Ezeky, also Indians, were chosen for Petit Jurymen.

In 1738, the rat problem seems to have presented itself to the Islanders for solution. The fisheries and their accompanying trade were employing an increasing number of vessels and doubtless rats were among the undesirable importations. At a meeting of the Town held May 22d of that year it was "Voted that every person that shall from henceforth kill a Rat and carry his head unto the town Treasurer shall for every such Rat Receive Six-pence Reward which the Treasurer is hereby ordered to pay, this Act to continue & be in full force for one year Insuing the Date provided the s'd Rat shall be so full grown as to be all over Covered with hair." This vote was formally and solemnly "consented to" by the Selectmen as appears by their signed indorsement, though why this consent should have been deemed necessary is not apparent. At a Meeting of the Town January 15, 1739-40 this vote was renewed to stand in force for another year, which would seem to indicate that it had proved efficacious.

There would seem to have been some hesitancy on the part of the hogreeves in regard to enforcing the Town's orders or some fear as to how far their acts would be supported, for at the Annual Meeting held March 18, 1739-40, it was voted "that the Town will support and Defend the Hogreeves in any action or Suit they may be concerned in for Impounding any hogs Going at large or that are liable to be impounded by law."

At the Annual Meeting of the Town March 9, 1740-41, "it being put to vote wether the Town will build some fortifications to prevent an enemy from comming into the harbor it passed in the negative." * The rats seem to continue their depredations and the voters seem satisfied with the effect of their campaign against the pest as it was voted "that the order made for killing Rats be Revived and Confirmed for the year Insuing." A new source of trouble seems to have arisen—geese were becoming troublesome—the salvation of ancient Rome was a nuisance on Nantucket, and it was voted "that no Geese shall henceforth Run on the common and if any be found there it shall be free for any to kill them and have their bodies." At the same meeting the salary of the Town Clerk was set at 20 Shillings New Tenor, or three pounds of Old Tenor per annum. On the same occasion 'It being put to vote wether Francis Blockhouse of Barnstable a weaver shall be admitted an Inhabitant here it passed in the negative.' This rejection of an undesirable, a not infrequent circumstance in many towns in the Massachusetts Bay, was so rarely resorted

*There was a chronic state of war between England and France, and French privateers hovered continually around the coast.

to in Nantucket, thta this appears as a single, isolated case. It is to be regretted that the early records of the Trustees or Selectmen do not appear to have been preserved until long subsequently. They may have explained some acts of the Town, which at present are difficult to understand.

That there was a military company on the Island, in spite of the vote regarding fortifications, is evident from a vote passed March 24, 1740-41, providing "that the charge of Drums and Colours for the Military foot Company shall be Defrayed out of the Town treasury."

It was decided not to send any Representative to the General Court for the May session, in 1741, but on July 6th, the Town elected Capt. Josiah Coffin to that position, to the Court "to be held at Boston, July 8th, 1741, during their session and sessions for the year Insuing."

At the Town Meeting, January 19, 1741-2, it was voted "that the selectmen be impowered to purchase some quantity of corn with the Publick Money, to supply the poor with, if they find it necessary."

On February 22nd, 1742, the Town voted to choose "36 to be for Jurors of the Superior Cort and 109 for petty Jurors." Why so many were to be chosen is not clear. Challenges would seem to have been numerous.

At a Town Meeting held April 12, 1743, the Town applied the principle of betterments to highway alterations. At that meeting it was voted, "that the Town will have the highway near Ebenezer Calef house to be a little altered so as the Selectmen Judge to be more convenient for the Towns use if he the s'd Ebenezer Calef will be at the charge of it, it being also for his benefit." At the same meeting the Town voted to allow William Swain three pounds for the use of his house in the small pox time.

At the Annual Meeting of the Town, held March 14, 1744, Matthew Jenkins was elected "leather sealer for the year Insuing."

"At a Town Meeting at Shurborn on Nantucket July ye 5, 1744, George Bunker Esq., is chosen Moderator for this meeting. Voted that this meeting be adjourned until the 7th of July following at which time being met the meeting was opened. Voted that Benjamin Jinks of Tiverton, clothier, be admitted an Inhabitant here if he Removes hither within one year & a half next Insuing."

On July 11, 1744, jurymen were drawn to serve at the Superior Court to be held at Barnstable on the third Tuesday of July for the Counties of Barnstable, Dukes and Nantucket.

January 24, 1746, the Town voted to "Build a light house on Brant point." Ebenezer Calef, Jabez Bunker and Obed Hussey were chosen to "be the men to take care to build the light house." On the 28th of the following April, the Town passed the following seemingly incomplete vote: "that whereas there is a light house built at the Charge of the Town on Supposition that the owners and

others concerned in the shipping will maintain the s'd light as they shall think to be the most for their conveniency During the pleasure of the Town." As there was no other business transacted at the meeting, which seems to have been called solely for the consideration of this matter, the inference is that the Town desired it understood that the owners of the shipping were expected to maintain the building and light.

December 17, 1746, the Town again voted to have all the dogs on the Island of Nantucket killed and appointed a committee of seven to be the executioners. Any other inhabitant had the privilege of sharing in the slaughter. A reward of "ten shillings for a large dog and five shillings for a little one old tenor," was offered to increase the interest in the process of extermination.

January 13, 1747-8, it was voted "that the Town will fence the Beach near brant point, to preserve the harbor and that Matthew Jinkens & Nathan Coffin, manage s'd fence."

A foot note following the record of the Town Meeting of March 14, 1748, announces that "The old prison at Wesco is Sold to William Swain for 18"10'.0 old tenor." There is no record concerning the transaction regarding the cause or authorization excepting this.

September 14th, 1748, "Voted that the watch in the Town at present shall begin at Eight of the clock in the evening except on seventh day night and first day night it shall begin at seven o'clock." "Voted that the watch at break of day may return to their Home."

January 31, 1749-50, It was voted to petition the General Court to change the date of the local March Court "to the last tuesday in february or the first in March."* At the same meeting a committee of three was chosen to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

For some unexplained reason the Annual Meeting of March 13, 1749-50, resulted in a complete overturn of the Board of Selectmen. Some members of the Board of the previous year had served for several years, some of them for as many as twenty-five but they all went down in the political upheaval.†

January 30, 1750, it was voted "that the Town will buy an Engine to Quench fire of £18.0.0 price Sterling. Voted that Silvanus Hussey, Abishai Folger and Richard Coffin be the men to procure s'd Engine."

May 22, 1751, George Hussey, Richard Coffin and Grafton Gardner were appointed a committee to draw up a petition to the General Court praying for an abatement in the Province tax assessed against the Town "s'd Town being Humbly of the mind that they are Rated much above their proportion."

January 15, 1752, the Town passed an order "that all neat

*The Court day was the last Tuesday in March. It does not appear that the General Court sanctioned a change.

†Thomas Macy had served 25 consecutive years, and Paul Starbuck 13 years with a single year interim.

creatures horns be sawed off from three years old and upwards by the first of May next." A penalty of five shillings awaited the owner for each failure to comply with this law and Shubael Pinkham was appointed to prosecute all who did not so comply.

March 18, 1752, the Town voted "that the watch house in Wesco be the place to keep the Engine in in the place where it now stands. Voted that Six Men be chosen to take care of s'd Engine. Voted that Richard Mitchell, Zacheus Macy, Paul Bunker, William Coffin, John Coleman Jun'r, & Hezekiah Coffin be the Men to take care of said Engine & repair the House fit for the Reception of said Engine and safe keeping of the same."

There appears to have been a desire on the part of the Proprietors of the common and undivided land to purchase the fence which the Town had erected at Brant Point and which adjoined that of the Proprietors, but at a meeting held January 10, 1753, it was voted not to sell it. The Town did vote, however, that it would join the "fence that was set on Brant point with the Proprietors Fence that now Incloses s'd Point & jointly make one fence in common where it now stands or in any other more Convenient Place in order to preserve the Harbour & maintain the same so effectually (if possible) that no Beasts may be able to break into the same & if any do they shall be dealt with as by Law in such cases is provided."

Another somewhat mystifying item as it stands by itself in the Town's Records is found under date of January 30, 1754, which states that the Town voted "that the affair concerning the Doctor's bill of charge for what was done for Nathaniel Clark at Rhode Island be continued till the next meeting." At the next meeting action was again postponed and there the matter seemed to end. What happened to Nathaniel Clark in Rhode Island, or whether it was a case of supposed liability or simply charity is left to conjecture.

Up to the year 1754, there appears to have been no attempt to separate the early Town Records from those of the County and Proprietors, with which they were somewhat bewilderingly entangled. On February 13 of that year the Town voted "that the records that belong to the Town that are Intermixed with the County & Proprietors Records be Transcribed into a Book by themselves to be in the Care of the Town Clerk. Voted the Town Clerk, Proprietors Clérk & County Register shall Transcribe what each hath in his Custody & Deliver them to the Town Clark and County Register." It would appear that this order never was carried into full effect as the early volumes contain vital statistics, records of meetings, deeds and court records in the same books.

On October 9, 1754, at a legally warned meeting of the Town, "that part of the Excise Bill now Depending in the General Court Relating to the Private Consumption of Wines, & Spirits Distilled Came under Consideration and after a full Disquisition of the matter—Voted Unanimously that the Passing that part of the Excise Bill into a law Relating to the Private Consumption of Wines & Spirits Distilled is against the minds of this Town. Voted Unanimously that the Thanks of this Town be given to his Exelency the Governor for his not Signing of the aforesaid Bill &

Desire him to Remain of the same mind at the Setting of the General Court next."

At the Annual Meeting March 19, 1755, Matthew Barnard and Samuel Ray were elected "gaugers of Liquid Matter." At the same meeting, Grafton Gardner, Richard Coffin, David Gardner, John Gardner and Abel Gardner were chosen "a Committee in behalf of the Town to view the Land between the Dewelling House (s) of Barnabas Gardner & John Coffin Sheriffs & use such measures as they shall think Proper to obtain a Public Highway for the use of the Town through the same in such Part of said Land as they shall think fit." The peculiar personnel of the committee leaves it doubtful whether it was intended to persuade Barnabas Gardner or intimidate John Coffin.

At the Annual Meeting March 27, 1756, the minor officers were again selected by a hand vote.

A meeting of the Town was called December 8, 1756, to take measures to have the Province tax for the current year abated. Abishai Folger, Esq., the Representative in the General Court was instructed to urge the Town's claim and Jonothan Coffin, Esq., was appointed to co-operate with Mr. Folger in drawing up a suitable petition to present to the Court setting forth the many reasons for an abatement and stating that the Town is "Humbly of opinion as said Tax now stands that it is Impossible for said Town to pay it."*

February 23, 1757, it was voted to repair the Town house.

The salary of the Collector of Taxes for 1758 was fixed at £33.6s.8d lawful money. Thomas Arthur was elected Collector. It was again ordered at the Annual Meeting that the ends of the horns of next cattle be sawed off, a penalty of eight pence attaching to those who failed to obey the order.

At a Town Meeting held July 26, 1758, for the purpose of acting on the matter, it was "Voted that the Town will build a Light House on Brant Point.*** Voted that Abishai Folger, Za-

*When the English government inhumanly exiled the Acadians from their homes in Nova Scotia and dispersed them among their Anglo-American Colonies Nantucket had its assignment of 33 to which one was subsequently added. In the Archives of the State on page 174, vol. 23, (French Neutrals) is the Statement of the Town on the expense of sustaining them from Feb. 8, 1756 to Aug. 14 of the same year, amounting to £26.19.3. The division was apportioned according to the taxable wealth of the towns. On page 3 of Vol 24 is a list of the names and ages of those assigned to Nantucket. They were in March 1758, as by the record:

Germa(i)n Dupee aged	69 yrs.	Peter Brufe (Sickly)	44 yrs.
Mary Dupee, wife (Infirm)	61 "	" Mary Brufe his wife	37 "
Michaell Dupee his son	33 "	" Peter Brufe, his son	20 "
John Dupee, Do	25 "	" Mary Brufe his Daughter	18 "
Margaret Dupee, Daughter,		Mataine Brufe his Daughter	14 "
(Sickly)	22 "	" Margaret Brufe Daughter	12 "
Hannah Dupee, Do	20 "	" Modlin Brufe Daughter	9 "
Modlin Dupee, Do	15 "	" Elizabeth Brufe Daughter	7 "
—iver Dupee	29 "	" Francis Brufe son	4 "
Ann Dupee his wife	31 "	" Joseph Brufe Son	1 "
Mary Dupee his Daughter	5 "	" Jermane Dupee aged	35 yrs.
Margarett Dupee Daughter	3 "	" Ann Dupee his wife	36 "
Ann Dupee Daughter	1 "	" Margarett Dupee daughter	11 "
Francis Dupee	27 "	" Peter Dupee son aged	10 "
Margarett Dupee his wife	24 "	" John Dupee son	9 "
Francis Dupee his son	11 "	" Mary Dupee Daughter	7 "
Margaret Dupee Daughter	4 "	" Joseph Dupee son	6 "
Joseph Dupee Son	1 "	" Susanah Dupee daughter	4 "
		Charles Dupee son	3 "
		Francis Dupee son	1 "

cheus Macy & Richard Mitchell be a Committee to get a Light House built on Brant Point and to carry on the affair till the Light House be Completed. Voted that the aforesaid committee build such a Light House as stood there heretofore which was lately burnt down."

At a meeting on January 30, 1760, the Town voted to "chuse a number of men to walk the Town in the night season and on the first Day of the week to suppress the Growing Disorders of the young people in the said Town and all others that are disorderly and act Inconsistently with the Principles of Morality & Virtue.

Voted that Obed Hussey, Thomas Arthur, Elisha Coffin, Samuel Ray, Christopher Hussey, Paul Bunker, Urfah Gardner, Hezekiah Coffin, Nathaniel Macy, Simeon Gardner, Richard Chadwick, Paul Gardner, Shubel Pinkham, Peleg Bunker, John Gardner, Jr., & Francis Brown be the men to serve the Town in the above written Capacity for Six months next Ensuing."

At the Annual Meeting, March 19, 1760, Thomas Arthur was re-elected Collector of Taxes, and his salary was fixed at two and a half per cent on collections.

It would appear that the office of Constable was worth something to the incumbent for the record for this meeting states that "Micah Coffin is to give thirteen & four pence & Joseph Bunker five and four pence for the place of Constables."

The same meeting also chose Francis Barnard and Peleg Bunker "to Inspect and take care of the Engine." The record also shows a different procedure regarding the election of a county Register, as it states that "the votes for a county Register were brought in and Delivered to the Constable to (be) brought in to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace at october next according to Law."

At a meeting held December 31, 1760, "It being put to vote whether the Town will build a Workhouse for the use of the Town it passed in the negative."

At the Annual Meeting March 25, 1761, Capt. Obed Hussey, Joseph Rotch, Richard Coffin, Hugh Catchcart, Frederick Folger and Thomas Arthur were elected "Wardens." There is nothing in the Record to indicate what their duties were but presumably they were Fire Wardens. The same constables were again chosen and their offers were slightly increased excepting that Bunker's was the higher. The meeting chose Elisha Coffin, Peleg Bunker, Thomas Macy and Solomon Gardner to be night watchmen for £800 old Tenor for one year. Elisha Coffin was chosen "Master of the Watch" and the meeting voted to have a "watch House built for the use of the Town."

At a meeting held May 20, 1761, it was voted "that the Town will make application to the General Court to Desire them to pass a Act to put a stop to Masters and Mistresses of Houses entertaining Minors at unreasonable hours of the Night in Drinking, Carousing and frolicking Contrary to the Mind of their Parents or Masters.

Voted that the Selectmen of the Town of Sherborn be a Committee to draw up a petition in behalf of the Town and present the same to the General Court in order to have the above mentioned vices suppressed."

In the latter part of 1761, the Town appears to have had some kind of a controversy with Shubael Folger and at a meeting held November 4, the Selectmen were appointed a committee to manage the affair with Shubel Folger Respecting the House Thomas Ellis lives in and to repair the House if they see Cause at the towns charge and to act therein in all Respects according to their Discretion in behalf of the Town and make Report of their Doings therein to the next town meeting for their approbation." The Selectmen failed to file any report and the affair remains an unsolved mystery.

There must have been some street paving done at this period for at a Town Meeting held January 6, 1762, the Records say

"It being put to vote whether the Town will pave the Street from Phillip Pollards to David Macys it passed in the negative." At the same meeting it was voted "that the Town will buy an Engine to Extinguish fire." It was also voted "that a Committee be chosen to buy another Engine and that Joseph Rotch and the Selectmen of the Town be a Committee to have charge of Procuring another Engine of a larger Size than that we have got for the use of the Town." The Town voted at the same meeting to "Erect a Beacon in some Convenient Place for a mark for Vessels to come in at the East Channel," and chose Christopher Hussey, Robert Barker and Nathaniel Macy a Committee "to set up said Beacon in some convenient Place as they shall think Proper for the use of the Publick."

At the Annual Meeting March 24, 1762, four Constables were chosen instead of two and there seems to have been no offer made for the privilege of serving in that capacity. John Coffin 2d, Paul Bunker, Nathaniel Macy, Robert Barker, John Russell and Chapman Swain were chosen Wardens, an office which seems regularly added to the list. At this meeting Samuel Cartwright, Seth Gardner, Elihu Gardner, and Benjamin Coffin Jr., were appointed "to watch the Town in the Night Season all four to watch from Dark till Ten of the clock and two of them all Night for one year Insuing for £800 old Tenor to prevent Disorder & immoralities in the Night Season and Seth Gardner shall be Master of the watch aforesaid."

The following year, the Town appointed William Coleman and Solomon Gardner to be the night watchman with Solomon Gardner as "master of the watch" and Richard Mitchell and William Rotch to be overseers of the guardians of the peace. It would seem as though Coleman might have been made first mate, or made an officer of some kind to have given him a less neglected appearance.

It would appear as though quite a little local business must have been done in exporting oysters and that the Town Fathers

were apprehensive of too heavy a drain on the source of supply, for at the Annual Meeting of 1763 (March 23) the Town voted "that no oysters be Exported out of the Town under the Severest Penalty of the Law." Voted "that no Person shall give or sell any oysters to any person to export out of this town under the Penalty of fifteen Shillings for every two bushels so given or sold to be Exported and so in proportion for larger or smaller quantities." Thomas Arthur, John Coffin and Jonathan Burnell were appointed to see that this order was executed and to prosecute all offenders.

July 13, 1763, it was voted "that an addition be made to the House where the Engine is now kept so as to be Capacious enough to hold the new one lately come to the Island," and a committee was selected to see that the purpose of the vote was carried out. The new engine was put under the care of the same committee that had the former one in charge and they were ordered "to try the same once in three months at least and to keep the same in repair for the Use of the Town."

At a Town Meeting held October 19, 1763, it was voted "that two Houses be built for the Reception of such persons as are Infected with the Small Pox. Voted that said House(s) be built on Coatue Point. Voted that David Joy, Jonathan Swain and Joseph Swain be the committee to build said Houses. Voted that Eben'r Calef and Obed Hussey Esq'rs, be Joined in the affair with said committee towards building and regulating said Houses. Voted that the town will suffer Inoculation of the Small Pox to be practiced in said Town by a Major vote of Sixty eight voices against Forty one. Voted that Inoculation be practiced during the Towns Pleasure. Voted that James Coffin, Francis Macy, Thomas Bunker, Solomon Gardner and Benjamin Fosdick be a Committee to Inspect the affair of Inoculation and to determine when it shall be proper for persons to come into the Town after they have been Inoculated."

November 16, 1763, the Town voted "that the vote passed by the last Town Meeting for Setting the Houses that are to be built for the Reception of such as shall be taken sick of the Small Pox at Coatue be reconsidered. Voted that the Houses to be built for the Reception of such as have the Small Pox be built to the Eastward of George Husseys lot near the shore between the shore & Pond near where Joseph Marshalls House stood. Voted that the Hospital be built to the westward of the Pest House and at least to be fifty Rods Distance from it to be at the Discretion of the Committee that build the same"*

It is quite evident that the deportment and morals of the people had not so improved that surveillance was not needed, for at the Annual Meeting of the Town March 21, 1764, it was voted "that the Town will Hire a watch to watch the Town in the night season. Voted that Jonathan Coleman, Robert Coffin, Jethro Coffin, Job Coggsshall, Caleb Bunker Jr., & Charles Clasby be a watch to watch the Town in the night season for one year and that all Six walk the Town every night from Dark until Ten of the clock and after that for four of them to walk all night to Prevent Disorders in the Night Season for a thousand Pounds old Tenor among them all for a year and two of them walk near the watch House

*From this circumstance the Pest House shore derived its name.

in the Center of the Town till ten of the clock and the other four through the Town till ten of the clock as aforesaid and that they frequently in the Night season give the Inhabitants of the Town the time of Night and looks of the weather & other Remarks worthy of Notice with a clear and Audible voice."*

August 15, 1764, the Town voted "that the Town Arms remain in the same situation that there are in at present. Voted—that the vote passed in a Town Meeting held at Sherborn October ye 19: 1763, that Inoculation for the small Pox be practiced in this Town be Reconsidered and that Inoculation for the Small Pox shall not be practiced or carried on in this Town."†

At the Town Meeting of March 4, 1765, Joseph Jenkins, John Coleman, Richard Mitchell, William Coffin, William Rotch, Obed Hussey Esq., Andrew Myrick 2nd, Tabor Morton, Jonathan Burnell & Joseph Heath be the men to take care of the Engines for this year and that Obed Hussey Esq. be master fire-ward." At this meeting the Selectmen were appointed a committee to agree with four suitable men for night watchmen and to settle on the price to be paid and report in the afternoon of March 20, to an adjourned meeting. At the adjourned meeting the Town refused to reconsider its vote and Christopher Worth and John Barnard were selected for the job at salaries of £500 each, old tenor. Why two men only were selected instead of the four voted for on March 4 is not in evidence.

A curious duplication of the Records appears as an apparent report of the Annual Meeting of 1765, the record of a meeting March 4 being practically identical with one held March 30th, the differences being largely in the order in which the names are written.

May 15, 1765, the Town voted "that the owners of the North Shore Meeting House may Deposit the Inside work of said Meeting House in the Town House during the Ensuing Summer or till said Meeting House is Rebuilt."‡

Richard Coffin, who had served the Town for 19 years as Treasurer appears to have died about this time and at a Town Meeting held April 3, 1765, a committee was chosen to audit his account. At the Annual Meeting held March 19, 1766, Zaccheus Macy was chosen his successor and for the first time, as the Records indicate, was paid for his work his salary being fixed at 2½ per cent. In the meantime the pay of the Collector had ad-

*About 100 years ago, probably longer, the emblem of office of the police was a wooden staff some five feet long, surrounded by an iron crook, like a shepherd's crook, quite a formidable weapon for offence or defence. The expenses at this time were low, the appropriation being £250 lawful money.

†The reason for this marked change of opinion is not difficult to discover. Innoculation as then carried on consisted in communicating the small pox to the patient under such conditions as occasioned him a minimum of risk. So long as he was practically quarantined the people incurred but little danger of contagion, but they became careless, and mingling too soon with the people in general produced a dangerous condition. Hence the change in public sentiment. Mr. Macy says (p. 65) that this condition of affairs "at length caused a remonstrance against the inoculation to be sent to the Governor, requesting his aid to suppress it. This put a stop to the business for a time, but it was resumed in 1772, when the Town again took measures to put a stop to it, and at length agreed with the Doctor, he relinquishing the business, to buy his buildings at cost, which they accordingly did, and paid him the amount of his bills, viz: £1072, 17s, 6d old tenor." The old time paper, or "old tenor" as it was called, had become so debased that for several years it took £8. "old tenor" to equal £1 of "lawful money."

‡This was the Congregational Church vestry which was moved to its present location in that year.

vanced to 3¾ per cent. At the same meeting, Solomon Pinkham and George Pollard were employed to watch the Town from 10 p. m. to 3 a. m. every night for eight months for the princely sum of 3s 8d per night between them! The last entry on the record of that meeting is "voted that the affair Concerning the french be referred till the Town Meeting in May next."

This, of course, refers to the Acadians who had been despoiled of their homes and removed from their own country, and distributed among the various communities in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. As to those assigned to Nantucket one can only judge about them by occasional indefinite statements in the Records. They are again referred to in the record of a meeting held August 13, 1766, the May meeting having passed without any mention of them. At that August meeting it was voted—"that the Representatives for the Town lay it before the House of Representatives to get the former order for removing the French from this Island to be Confirmed." "Voted that Richard Coffin, Timothy Folger & Francis Macy be a Committee to give proper Instructions to our Representative in behalf of the Town respecting the above affair Concerning the French." In the record of that August meeting appears another ambiguous statement in which it was voted that "Instructions be given to our Representative, in behalf of the Towns & he is hereby Instructed for Restitution to be made to Several Gentlemen in Boston for Damages done to them in August last out of the Publick Treasury."

At the meeting of February 7, 1767, the committee to settle the accounts of the late Treasurer Richard Coffin was instructed to allow his estate "5 per cent for his commission."

At the Annual Meeting of March 18, 1767, the Collector was required to give bonds for the performance of his duties. The Committee appointed to audit the accounts of Richard Coffin, late Town Treasurer, reported that there was due to him £219. lawful money. The Town approved the report.

Because of some alleged illegality respecting the choice of a Collector at the Annual Meeting, another meeting was held a week later at which it was formally voted that the Town would choose a Collector of Taxes for the year, and that the Collector so chosen shall give bonds for the faithful discharge of his duties. Joseph Barnard was elected and allowed 3½ per cent for collecting.

The Town must have made commendable improvement in morals for in the fall of 1767, it voted to employ only two men from October until March and then four until the following May.

At a Town Meeting held January 13, 1768, the Town voted to employ a Town Solicitor. The vote as passed was "that the Town will chuse an agent for this Town to sue and Defend if need so require." John Gardner 2d, was chosen.

At the Annual Meeting of March 2d, 1768,* it was voted

*On page 128 of the Records appears what seems to be a revision of the record of the meeting of March 18, 1767, in the matter of the
(See next page)

"that a Highway be made through the Folger Land to the westward of Jethro Folgers of Two rods wide and that the Town will make the fence on each side of said Highway and the Selectmen are chosen to see the same done and accomplished as soon as may be. The Selectmen viewing the Ground laid out an Highway thro the Folgers lot aforesaid of one Rod and a half wide; they Judging that to be sufficient for the Use of the Town.

Attest FREDERICK FOLGER Town Clerk."

On March 23, 1768, it was voted "that the Town will Grant fifty Pounds lawful Money towards Defraying the charges of erecting a fulling mill and putting the same in order for Dressing of Cloth."

June 8, 1768, it was voted that the old Prison be repaired and a new one built near it of such bigness and Dimensions as the Committee appointed shall think fit with a Yard round it if they shall think proper." Benjamin Tupper, Reuben Folger, William Coffin, Edward Starbuck, and Grafton Gardner Esq., were the committee selected "to repair the Prison and build a New one if they think proper and to carry on the whole affair." At the same meeting the Town voted "that the House Thomas Ellis lives in be appropriated for a work house for the Use of the Town," and that Edward Starbuck, Joseph Marshall and Frederick Folger shall be overseers of the work-house.

"At a Legal Meeting at Sherborn Sept. 24th, 1768, Caleb Bunker Esq., is chosen Moderator for this Meeting. Voted that one Man be chosen to Join the committee in Convention at Faneuil Hall in Boston to act in Concert for the good and welfare of the Province. Voted that Stephen Hussey be the Man to serve the Town in the Committee of Convention at Faneuil Hall in Boston and to repair thither as soon as conveniently may be."* Evidently there was a feeling immediately after this action that the Town might have been a bit precipitate for on October 5, at a meeting evidently called solely to consider this matter further the Town voted "that the votes that passed the last Town Meeting be reconsidered" and further voted "that Joseph Marshall, Frederick Folger & Chris't'r Starbuck together with the Selectmen of the Town be a Committee to write to the Selectmen of Boston in answer to a Requisition of theirs of Sept'r 14th last to the Selectmen of this Town Concerning a Committee of Convention to meet in Faneuil Hall. What the purport of that answer was is now a mere matter of guesswork.

November 9, 1768, the Town voted to "send a petition to the Commissioners of his Majesties' Customs to desire them to send a Collector of Duties to this Town."

The Records of December 14, 1768, state that at a Town Meeting of that date "James Coffin is chosen by a Major vote to be

election of Collector. It shows that Joseph Barnard was elected at a salary of 3¾ per cent. Benjamin Tupper and David Gardner dissent on the ground that the vote is not legal though the Records do not state why. They go on then to say that Thomas Arthur be Collector for 3¾ per cent "he giving bonds sufficient."

*This would appear to have been one of the meetings called to protest the Stamp Tax and other acts of English misrule.

Register of Deeds for the County of Nantucket in the Room of Nathan Coffin lately Deceased.”*

By 1769, the sum to be raised for the Town’s use had increased to £700 lawful money. At a meeting on February 8th of that year a committee was chosen to assist the Town Treasurer “to settle accounts with the Collector of Taxes for this Town.” The same meeting voted that £10 old tenor per annum “be allowed to James Gardner for his services in collecting the Taxes in the year 1745 and 1746.”†

The Dog annoyance, like history, repeated itself and the Records for September 4, 1769, show that the Town again called for their complete extinction.

December 22, 1769, the Town voted that “the Town will buy another large Engine to Extinguish fire. Voted that the Selectmen be a Committee in behalf of the town to send for an Engine to London as soon as may be of the value of £60 Sterling. Voted that the Selectmen Provide five Dozen Leather Buckets for the Use of the town and Purchase as cheep as may be. Voted that the Selectmen Provide Six Ladders for the use of the Town. Voted that Edward Cary be Captain of the large Engine and Shubel Barnard Captain of the small Engine and that Thomas Bunker, Francis Brown, Shubel Pinkham, Francis Macy, Joseph Coffin, Tho’s Jenkins, Chris’t Hussey & Samuel Starbuck be assistants to the firewards in Case of fire. Voted that the Gun Powder be forthwith removed out of the body of the Town and that Nath’ll Coffin & Nath’ll Coffin 2d be chosen to see that the Powder is removed and procure a suitable place for the Reception of the same and that no man be allowed to keep more than Six Pounds of Powder in his House or Store at one time and that to be kept in a tin Cannister.”

At a Town Meeting held January 10, 1770, Frederick Folger, Christopher Starbuck and Richard Coffin were chosen a Committee to draw up a petition to the General Court “to build a Light House on the end of Sandy Point of Nantucket at the Charge of the Province.” At the same meeting the Town for some reason not quite clear refused to raise any money for the Town’s use for the year. A week later, January 17, the Town voted to reconsider its vote regarding the Light House, and voted instead “that the Representative use his Influence in the General Court to get a Light House on our Point according to his own Discretion.”‡ The

*Mr. Coffin was elected Feby. 21, 1753, to succeed Eleazer Folger, deceased.

†There seems to have been no Collector in those years. James Gardner was a Constable and probably collected taxes in that capacity. though why settlement with him should have been deferred 22 years does not seem clear.

‡The General Court passed the following order (Mass. Archives Maritime, Vol. 61, p. 644): “Whereas the Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, at their own cost and charge, have att Different times Erected Light houses upon Brant point, at the Entrance of the Harbor of Nantucket, the first of which was Destroy’d by fire and the second by a Violent gust of Wind the third is now Standing and is Absolutely Necessary for all Vessels Coming in and going out of Said Harbour but the Inhabitants of s’d Island have hitherto been att the Charge of Erecting and maintaining the s’d Light House which Burthen ought in Equity to be born by all Vessels, receiving Advantage from that Light Belonging to Strangers as well as to the said Inhabitants who have humbly Petitioned this Court for Relief”—All Vessels after Aug. 1, 1774, of 15 Tons or more Burthen were subject to charge of six
(See next page)

Treasurer was "authorized and Impowered to pay Bills already taxed by the Court of Sessions for County charges. It is a little difficult to reconcile the action of the two meetings, unless, in the matter of the light house it was believed that a little quiet lobbying by the Representative would be more efficacious than a formal petition; and in the matter of the appropriation of money, it would be necessary to meet the charges imposed by the Court under any circumstances, and there were funds in the Treasury that could be used for that purpose.

At the Annual Meeting, held March 7, 1770, Benjamin Coffin 2d, Thomas Bunker and John Coleman 2d "be Clerks of the Markets for this year." A committee was chosen "to inspect into the late Collector's Books* and assist him to collect the Outstanding Taxes and make returns to the Next Meeting of their Proceedings therein." This Committee reported March 24 and the report was ordered "lodged in the Town Clerk's office."

May 23, 1770, the Town voted to "build a work House for the Use of the Town of thirty three feet long, Sixteen feet wide & ten feet High the Posts as soon as may be" and appointed a Committee to select a suitable site, apply to the Propriety for it and superintend the erection of the building.

That the Town Treasurers of the day were not well versed in modern finance is shown by the fact that in settling the accounts of four of them who appear to have died in office the Town was indebted to their estates for considerable sums.

October 17, 1770, it was voted to dispense with the night watch.

By the record of a Town meeting held June 16, 1770,† John Gardner, 2d, had been chosen to "collect the outstanding Taxes committed to Thomas Arthur and Delinquent Collector." Arthur does not appear to have surrendered his books and a Committee was chosen to accompany Gardner and procure them. The meeting adjourned until "Saturday next at 2 o'clock afternoon." In the meantime legal proceedings must have been taken against Arthur for the Committee made the following report:

Nantucket 1 mo. 19, 1771.

We the Subscribers being appointed at the Last Town Meeting the 16th Instant to go with John Gardner 2d to receive the former Rate Books of Thomas Arthur in Case he will deliver the same have accordingly attended that service & do receive for answer from the said Thomas Arthur that he is not willing to Deliver said Books or an Extract of the same while under Confinement.

JOSIAH BARKER
CHRIS'T STARBUCK
STEPHEN HUSSEY."

shillings at the time of their first coming or going said fee to be paid but once in 12 months. No vessel was to be allowed to enter or clear without making this payment to the Inspecting officer at Nantucket—said sum to go to support the Light House.

*Andrew Worth was elected Collector at the meeting vice John Gardner 2d.

†Arthur was elected collector in 1766 and re-elected in 1767. His collections were made on a percentage.

June 6, 1771, a Committee was chosen consisting of Abishai Folger Esq., Zaccheus Macy, Frederick Folger, Josiah Barker and Timothy Folger in "conjunction with the Selectmen" to draw up and forward to the General Court a petition "to Desire and Request that the Islands of Muskekit and Gravelly Island may be annexed to this County."*

At a meeting held September 11, 1771, it was voted "that a Remonstrance be sent to the Governor to lay the State of Inoculation before him in a true light and to desire him to sign a Bill to annex Muskeket and Gravelly Island to this County by a Majority of 114 voices against 4. Voted that Francis Macy, Joseph Marshall, Frederick Folger, Samuel Starbuck, Wm. Rotch, Stephen Hussey in conjunction with the Selectmen of the Town be a Committee to prepare the said Remonstrance and send the same to the Governor. Voted that Stephen Hussey be the Man to carry said Remonstrance to Boston & present the same to his Excellency."

By the year 1772, either the collection of taxes had become a little more difficult or the job seemed worth more for some other reason for the pay of the Collector had been advanced to 7 per cent. A goodly number of Fire Wards seem to have been thought essential and the Town elected Joseph Coffin, John Coleman, William Morton, Edward Cary, Timothy Coffin, Reuben Folger, Thomas Bunker, Shubael Barnard, Stephen Paddack, Joseph Heath, Thomas Jenkins, Benjamin Bunker, Jonathan Folger Jr., Peleg Bunker, Francis Joy, George Hussey 2d, Walter Folger, George Pollard, Richard Pinkham, Christopher Worth, Nathaniel Coffin 2d, Joseph Nichols, James Gardner 2d, and Samuel Starbuck, quite a respectable sized fire department of themselves. Edward Cary was appointed Captain and Thomas Jenkins Mate "of the large Engine; Reuben Folger Captain and Joseph Coffin Mate" of 2'd Engine; and Timothy Coffin Captain and Stephen Paddack Mate "of small Engine." Overseers of the Poor as such were elected for the first time this year—Edward Starbuck, Joseph Barnard, Timothy Folger, Zaccheus Macy, and George Hussey 2d being chosen.

At a Town Meeting held June 24., 1772, it was voted "that the Town will purchase Doctor Samuel Gilston's buildings on Gravelly Island at a Reasonable Rate if he be disposed to sell the same," and a Committee of five was chosen to interview the Doctor and open negotiations and report at an adjourned meeting to be held the following Tuesday. Just what the Committee reported

*The General Court passed the following order—"In Council July 2, 1771. Upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town of Sherburn in the County of Nantucket representing themselves in imminent danger of having the small Pox to spread amongst them without the interposition of this Court. Resolved and ordered that the Petitioners of Edgartown & Doct Samuel Gelston be served with a copy of Petition that they may show cause on the second Wednesday of the next sitting of this court if any they have why the Prayer should not be granted. And that in meantime every Person is hereby strictly prohibited from inoculating or removing any person that may be inoculated for the Small Pox from either of the Islands in s'd Petition prayed for to be annexed to the said town of Sherburn." The order was approved by Gov. Hutchinson. At the session of the Court in April 1772 a committee was appointed to consider the matter and it eventually ended with the transfer of the jurisdiction of the islands to Nantucket county.

then does not appear but evidently the negotiations were favorable for a Committee was chosen "to represent the town in the affair relating to Dr. Sam Gelstons Building at Gravelly Island and settle the same finally in behalf of the Town."

January 13, 1773, it was voted "that the Town House be repaired in the place it now stands at the Town's Expense," and a Committee was chosen to see that it "be repaired at as little charge as may be." At the same meeting it was put to vote to see "whether the Town will pay to Samuel Cartwright a small Ballance due to him" evidently for keeping one of the Town's poor and "it passed in the negative." No reason is alleged.

November 17, 1773, the Town voted "to build or buy a Convenient House for a work house" and chose a Committee of five to carry out that purpose and "to see that a good yard be erected round said House under a Strong Lock & Key & Provide a Keeper or Master for said House and all to be done at the charge of the Town and at as small Expense as Conveniently may be."

At a Town Meeting held March 23, 1774, it was voted "that the Town will build a light House on Brant Point. Voted that a wooden Light House be Built on Brant Point as High as the former one that blew down lately."* Voted that the Selectmen of the Town be a Committee to have the charge and care and to see that the Lt House aforesaid be built at the Town's Expense as soon as Conveniently the same can be done. Voted that Timothy Folger Esq, Wm. Rotch & Chris't Starbuck be a committee to draw up a Petition to the General Court and request that Light money may be paid by all the Shipping using this Harbor and lay the same before the May meeting for their approbation." A meeting was held on May 11, at which Stephen Hussey was chosen Representative and the petition as prepared by the Committee was read and approved.

The preliminary events of the Revolution were beginning to be worked out and the distress of the people of Boston appealed to the sympathies of the Islanders. At a Town Meeting held July 27, 1774, Stephen Hussey, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Paddack, John Ramsdell and Benjamin Chase were chosen a "Committee to open and carry on a Subscription for the relief of the Poor of the Town of Boston." That meeting was adjourned to July 30 and again adjourned without action to September 3; and then again adjourned to September 28 at which time "Stephen Hussey was chosen by a great Majority to Represent the Town at the General Court to be holden at Salem on the first of October next."

This brings the Records to the opening days of the Revolution.

*The New Bedford Mercury had a letter from Nantucket dated March 9, 1774 which told of a great gust of wind at 8 a. m. It lasted about a minute, but destroyed the light house, several shops, barns, etc. "Had it continued 15 minutes not more than half the buildings in its track would have stood."

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIANS

In the early days of the civilized occupation of the North American continent the country east of the Mississippi River was peopled by eight, what may be termed grand divisions, of the Indian tribes—that is to say eight tribes, each of which had a language peculiarly its own. These were materially sub-divided and constituted some 30 different tribes. Chief among the larger divisions were the Algonquins, who included the Abenakes, Narragansetts, Pokanokets, Mohegans and Pequods in New England, the Lenni Lenapes, Mantiecoques and Powhattan Confederacy in the Mid-Atlantic States, and the Shawnees, Kickapoos, Powawatames, Miamis, Ottawas, Sacs, Foxes, Menomines and Chippewas in the West. The Pokanokets lived around Mount Hope and assumed to rule over Nantucket, Marthas Vineyard and a part of Cape Cod. From them was King Philip, who during his reign claimed jurisdiction over the Indians of Nantucket.*

The Indians of the Island were by no means unacquainted with the whites prior to the visit of Macy and Starbuck, for the Island had been known to be good for sheep grazing, and in his petition to the Governor of New York in March 1676-7 Peter Folger writes that he has been somewhat familiar with both Marthas Vineyard and Nantucket for thirty years.† That would be as early as 1647, and the Island was deeded to Thomas Mayhew six years previously to that.

Just how large an Indian population there was on Nantucket when it was first settled by whites is not quite clear. Within twenty years of the purchase by Tristram Coffin and his associates the population was given, in a letter urging more efficient defence against real or possible enemies, as about 30 white males capable of bearing arms and 500 or 600 Indian men, with an estimated total of 1500 Indians, including women and children.‡ It may not be unreasonable to estimate the normal Indian population to have been about 1500.

In 1792, Zaccheus Macy, a man well versed in the early history of the settlement of the Island, in a paper published in the "Col-

*Guernsey's Hist. United States.

†Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket. Hough p. 95.

‡Ib. p. 89.

lections" of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1792, gave an interesting and presumably accurate description of the early Indian rights and of the subdivisions of land on the Island. The story as told by Mr. Macy is as follows:

"Wannochmamock was the first Sachem at the southeast part of the Island, when the English first came to Nantucket. Next to him was his son, called Sousoaco, and next to him were his two sons called Cain and Abel. These two agreed to divide the



ABRAM QUARY

The Last Native Having Indian Blood. He Died Nov. 25, 1854,
Aged 82 Yrs., 10 Mos.

sachem-right, two third parts to Cain and one third part to Abel. The said Cain had one daughter, whose name was Jemima, married to James Shaa. From Abel sprang Eben Abel, and from him sprang Benjamin Abel, the last sachem, from whom I bought all his right, title and property that he had on said Island, for and in behalf of the whole English proprietors. All the said Jemima's right was bought by our old proprietors many years before, as may fully appear on our records. Their lands or bounds began at a place

on the south side of the Island, called Toupchue Pond; and ran across to the northward to a brown rock marked on the west side, that lies to the northward of our Washing pond, called Gibbs's Pond, on the west side of Saul's hills and so over towards Podpis swamp, and then to the eastward to a place, Sesacacha Pond by the east sea. At the south-east part of said tract is a high bluff head of land, called Tom Nover's Head; and about two miles to the northward stands our famous fishing stage houses, where our sick people go for their health, called Siasconset: and about a mile still to the northward is a very high cliff of land called Sancota Head, then about a mile still to the northward stands another fishing stage called Sesacacha.

"Next begins the old sachem called Wauwinet; his bounds begin adjoining to the northward of the said Wannochmamock's land and run still along to the northward and take in all Squam, and run onto our long sandy point, called Coetue or Nauma, which in the English is Long Point where our Massachusetts light house now stands, and then to the westward to New Town, then to the southward to a place called Weweder Ponds, which in English signifies a pair of horns, by reason there are two ponds that run to a point next to the sea, and spread apart so as to leave a neck of land, called Long Joseph's Point; which two ponds spread apart so as to resemble a pair of horns. And the said Wauwinet had two sons, the oldest son was named Isaac, but was mostly called Nicornoose, which signifies, in English to suck the fore teat; and his second son was named Wawpordonggo, which in English is white face, for his face was one side white, and the other side brown or Indian color. And the said Nicornoose married, and had one son named Isaac, and one daughter; and then he turned away his proper wife, and took another woman, and had two sons, named Wat and Paul Noose; and when his true son Isaac grew up to be a man, he resented his father's behavior so much, that he went off and left them for the space of near fifty years, it was not known where. And in that time his true sister married to one Daniel Spotsor, and he reigned sachem, by his wife near about forty years: and we made large purchases of the said Spotsors. and then about sixty years past or more, there came an Indian man from Nauset called Great Jethro, and he brought Judah Paddack and one Hause with him, and he challenged the sachem-right by being son to the said true son of Nicornoose; and when they first opened the matter to our old proprietors, they contrived to keep the said Jethro close, until they could send some good committee to find out by our old Indians, whether they ever knew or heard of the said Nicornoose having such a son gone, and they soon found out by the old Indians that he had, but they had not heard what was become of him. So they soon found, they should lose all they had bought of the said Spotsors, then they held a parley with him said Jethro, and agreed to buy all his right, title and property that he owned on said Island, as appears on our records. And the said Nicornoose gave deeds to his two bastard sons, Paul and Wat Noose, forty acres each, a little to the eastward of Podpis village.

"The first sachem at the south-west part of said Island. His bounds were at the said Weweder Ponds, and from thence to the northward to place called Gunsue meadow at Monemoy, where we now call New Town, and from thence westward along to the southward of the hills called Popsquatchet Hills, where our three mills now stand, and so the west sea, Called Tawtemeo, which we call the Hummock Pond. And his name was Autapecot. Next to him was his son called Harry Poritain. Next to him was Peter Mausauquit. Next to him was Isaac Peter. Next to him was lame

Isaac, of whom we bought the last and all that sachem-right; and their habitation was Moyaucomet, which signifies a meeting-place, and their meeting-house they called Moyaucomor. And the said Autapescot was called a great warrior, and got his land by his bow.

"The fourth sachem was at the north-west part, called Potconet and owned all the little island called Tuckernuck, which signifies, in English, a loaf of bread, and his bounds extended from Madaket down eastward to Wesko, which in English is the white stone, and so on to the north side of Autapscot land, all bought of him at the coming of the English, saving some particular tracts that belonged to the Jafets and the Hoights and some others.

"Now I shall give some of the most respectable Indians in Wannochmamock's bounds. There was James Mamack, a minister of the gospel, and justice of the peace, and behaved well in his station. Old Aesop, the weaver, was a school-master; old Saul, a very stern looking old man. Joshua Mamack succeeded in his father James Mamack's place. Richard Nominash and his brother Sampson and little Jethro were all very substantial, and a number more very trusty men.

"The most noted Indians in Autapscot's bounds were Benjamin Tashama, a minister of the gospel, and a schoolmaster to teach the children to read and write. He was a grandson to the old sachem. But there was an old Indian named Zacchary Hoite, a minister before the said Tashama, but he did not behave so well. He told his hearers they must do as he said, but not as he did.

"And there was one Indian man, his name was James Skouel, but was mostly called Corduda. He was justice of the peace, and very sharp with them if they did not behave well. He would fetch them up, when they did not tend their corn well, and order them to have ten stripes on their backs, and for any rogue tricks and getting drunk. And if his own children played any rogue tricks, he would serve them the same sauce. There happened some Englishmen at his court, when a man was brought up for some rogue tricks, and one of these men was named Nathan Coleman, a pretty crank sort of man, and the Indian pleaded for an appeal to Esquire Bunker, and the old judge turned round to said Nathan and spoke in the Indian language thus, 'chaquor keador taddator witche conichau mussoy chauquor,' then said Nathan answered thus, 'martau couetchawidde neconne sassamyste nehotie moche Squire Bunker;' which in the English tongue is thus, 'what do you think about this great business?' then Nathan answered, 'may be you had better whip him first, then let him go to Squire Bunker;' and the old judge took Nathan's advice. And so Nathan answered two purposes, the one was to see the Indian whipped, the other was, he was sure the Indian would not want to go to Esquire Bunker for fear of another whipping.

"I will say something more in recommendation of some of our old Indian natives. They were very solid and sober at their meetings of worship, and carried on in the form of Presbyterians, but in one thing imitated the Friends or Quakers, so called: which was to held meeting on the first day of the week and on the fifth day of the week, and attended their meetings very precisely. I have been at their meetings many times and seen their devotion; and it was remarkably solid; and I could understand the most of what was said; and they always placed us in a suitable seat to sit; and they were not put by, by our coming in, but rather appeared glad to see us come in. And a minister is called cooutaumuchary. And when the meeting was done, they would take their tinder-box and strike fire and light their pipes, and, may be, would draw three or four whiffs and swallow the smoke, and then blow it out of their

noses, and so hand their pipes to their next neighbor. And one pipe of tobacco would serve ten or a dozen of them. And they would say 'tawpoot,' which is, 'I thank ye.' It seemed to be done in a way of kindness to each other.

"And as I said before, they had justices, constables, grand-jurymen, and carried on for a great many years, many of them very well and precisely, and lived in a very good fashion. Some of them were weavers, some good carpenters.

* * * *

"Now I will begin at the west end of the Island, which we call Smith's Point, but the Indians call Nopque, which was called a landing place, when they came from the Vineyard, but they call it Noapx; then eastward about three miles comes the Hummock Pond, where we once had a great number of whale houses with a mast raised for a look-out with holes bored through and sticks put in like a ladder, to go up; then about three miles eastward to the said Weweder Ponds, stood another parcel of whale houses; then about three miles eastward to Nobedeer Pond was where Benjamin Gardner lived formerly; then about three and one-half miles eastward is the aforesaid Tom Never's Head; then two miles to the northward is the famous town or fishing stage called Siasconset; then about one mile northward is the high head of land called Sancoty Head; and the Indians called Naphchecoy, which signifies round the head; then about one mile northward is the aforesaid Sesacacha Pond, where our other fishing stage stands. Then begins the said Squam, and runs northward two miles to the beginning of our said long sandy point called Naauma; and the first is one mile to a place called Causkata Pond, where are some woods and meadow; and four miles northward is where the said Massachusetts lighthouse is, on the north end of said point. Then about one mile to the northward of the entering on of the above said long point, begins another neck or beach, called little Coetue and runs about five miles on about a west by south course till it comes within about one mile of our town called Wesco, which makes the east side of the entering-in of our harbor. Then next to the said Squam, westward, is the village called Podpis Neck, where our fulling-mill stands; then next westward is the famous neck of land called Quaise or Maisquatuck Neck, which in the English signifies the reed land, which was a tract of land given to Thomas Mayhew from one of the old sachems, and was reserved by the said Mayhew to himself when he sold his patent-right to the proprietors; which neck makes the west side of the said Podpis Harbor, now owned by Josiah Barker, Esquire, and Captain Shubael Coffin and Captain Thomas Delano. Then next westward is the Josiah Barker's lot or field, called Show Aucamor, which in English signifies the middle field of land. Then about four miles westward in the town called Wesco; then next westward is a place called Watercomet, which signifies a pond field, which formerly was owned by the old natives called the Hoites. Then next westward is the great pond called Cuppame, where old Tristram Coffin lived, the old grandfather to almost all of us, which was owned by the old families of the natives called the Jafets; then next westward about four miles is called Eel Point; and Madaket Harbor, which is the north-west part of the said Island; and then about two miles westward is the said little island, called Tuckernuck, which signifies, in English, a loaf of bread, for it appears round, and in the middle pretty high; which was bought by the said old Tristram Coffin from the old sachem Potconet, in the year 1659, by virtue of a patent he had from New York."

The early transactions of the whites with the Indians on Nantucket certainly did not show any disposition on the part of the First Purchasers to take any advantage of them. The Indians were paid the prices for their lands which they demanded, and the formal deeds bear their duly attested signatures. There is a tendency to lose sight of the relative values of land and money in those early days, and to judge of prices on the basis of more recent values, but when it is remembered that, so far as Nantucket is concerned, the sums paid between whites for realties compared not at all unfavorably with those paid by the whites to the Indians, it puts the subject in a very different light. The price demanded by Thomas Mayhew for his patent rights in the entire Island of Nantucket was but £30 in money and two beaver hats.

That friction did develop subsequently is unfortunately true, but it does not appear that early purchasers were in any degree fraudulent or that the purchasers manifested any intent to take undue advantage of the aborigines. The sachems whose names were affixed to the deeds do not appear to have made any complaint. Three things seem to have created a real or an apparent distrust among the descendants of the early sachems. The first—and perhaps the principal one was liquor, a contention-breeder anywhere. Second; It would appear that during the time of the so-called "Insurrection" no attempt was made to check the feeling of discontent then beginning to manifest itself. Third; a seeming misunderstanding of what the sachems actually had conveyed to the First Purchasers. Mr. Worth in his "Nantucket Lands and Land Owners"* attributes the friction chiefly to that cause. He says "But the greatest source of perplexity was the force and effect of the English deed of conveyance. The idea that one man could so become entitled to real estate as to prevent others from using it never entered into the notion of the Indian. Land was to him as free as the water or the air. Nobody could have exclusive right to it. So when the white men came and obtained deeds from the sachems, it was merely the admission of the new settlers on equal terms with themselves. It was not that the Indian had ceased to have the right to enjoy the land but that another had become his co-occupant. Hence the idea that an Indian could be guilty of trespass was a strange innovation. Having the same right as the white man he supposed he could use any land, house or building of the Englishmen, or other property without being guilty of crime. When this use was denied and he was held to be guilty of trespass or theft, it was beyond his comprehension." This theory advanced by Mr. Worth, so far as it applied to real estate, seems entirely plausible.

The original claim of the white man to territory already occupied by the Indians many years before the advent of the whites must have surprised them. In the case of the settlement of Nantucket, however, the First Purchasers not only acquired the title which came through Thomas Mayhew, but purchased of the Indians

*Bulletin 1, Vol. 2. Nantucket Historical Association. p. 133.

the title they claimed in the land. There was no design or attempt to crowd the Indians out of their possessions. Even had the first settlers been so disposed, the vast preponderance of Indian inhabitants would have made such a proceeding exceedingly inadvisable.

The first deed obtained from the Indians was the one given for that part of the Island west of Hummoock Pond, and was given by Nickanoose and Nanahuma to Thomas Mayhew.

The First Purchasers, evidently at an early date, realized the need of restrictions on the purchase of land from the natives on individual account, and took measures to prevent it. The records show that at the meeting in February, 1659, at which the original ten purchasers selected their partners,* "it was Mutually and Unanimously agreed upon determined and Concluded, that no man whatsoever shall purchase any Land of any of the Indians upon the said Island for his own private or particular use but whatsoever purchase shall be made shall be for general account of the Twenty owners or purchasers and whatsoever person shall purchas any Land upon any other account it shall be utterly void and null except what is done by Leve from the said owners or purchasers." At a subsequent meeting it was "Debatted and after debatted determed and concluded that the order shall stand Inviolable unalterable, as that which also—as that which is likely necessary to the Continuance of the well-being of the place and the Contuary that which tends to the Confusion and Ruine of the whole and the Subverting of the rules and orders already agreed upon and the depriving of the said owners of their Just rights and Interest."

Much of the legislation of the Town at this period regarding the Indians seems to be of a restrictive nature. On the 3d of the 9th mo., 1664, at a Town meeting "it was agreed on that no Englishman or men shall give any liberty unto any Indian to dwell on Nannack nack or to plant any Indian Corn untill the Town shall se reason to alter this order." October 13, 1664, "At a Town meeting it was agreed and concluded that if any land on any part of the Island be set fire to by any Indian so that the land or grass be Burnt to any considerable value as to a quarter of a mile or more the Indian in whose jurisdiction soever it be shall be fined 20 pounds Except it be in the month of April."†

Sometimes the Indians were called upon for joint improvements in public affairs as at a meeting (probably in 1665) "the Inhabitant agree to Dig a trench to drean the Long pond forthwith with regard to a ware for taking fish and Also for making of Meadow—the work is to be Carr'd on thus, the one half of the work is to be don by the Indians, the other half by the English Inhabitant or owners, the Indians to have half the Fish so long as they attend to the weare cearfully.'

*The meetings prior to May, 1661, seem to have been held at Salisbury. This meeting was held "at the house of Benjamin Cambell."

†At an early period the Indians of Nantucket declared allegiance to the King of England. The record says "October 10th 1665. At a publick Meeting of the Town Attaychat signified that himself with all the Tomokommoth Indians doth subject to the English Government of Nantucket, do owne themselves subjects to King Charles the Second—this was don in the presence of Molocon, alias Philip Sâchem of Mount Hope." King Philip had visited Nantucket to induce the natives to join his federation against the English.

As early as the 16th of the 8th month, 1662, it was determined that any Indian or Indians who stayed "on the Land and made use of the same after the 14 day of October 1662 shall pay to the English 5s per Week, the fine to be taken out at the end of every Week they stay on the Land or otherwise as they see occasion." In February, 1663, the dogs belonging to the Indians evidently had become somewhat of a nuisance to the whites and a warning was issued to them to kill the animals. Controlling his nomadic life and limiting the number of dogs he was allowed to keep were serious matters to the Indians, but they seem to have shown no marked feeling of resentment.

A similar order regarding dogs was passed in February, 1667, and two Englishmen (Nathaniel Barnard and Isaac Coleman,) and two Indians (Washaman and Obadiah,) were appointed to see that the order was complied with, or that the fine for non-compliance was collected.

August 3, 1668, the disputed line between the territory of Wanackmamack and Sposto was determined to be "on the North side the Spring at Shimmo Devides at the Southeast and at the South sea one third part by Measure from Napamak to the pond Seanakonkonit is allowed to Spotso and two-thirds East was allotted to Wanackmamack—a stright line from Mark to Mark as aforementioned Division between them."*

June 18, 1668, fines were assessed against the Indians who persisted in living on Powquomok Neck.

May 10, 1669, an order was passed forbidding any Indian who was dwelling on Mattaket from hunting or driving the cattle from that land or that part of the Common. To this order Tristram Coffin is recorded as dissenting, but the record does not say why. He may have thought the Indians were too strictly ruled against.

June 29, 1669, the troubles arising from the overbreeding of horses still continuing "it was ordered and concluded that no man shall sell a Liveing horse mare or colt to any Indian on the Island upon the penalty of five pound."

December 17, 1669, both English and Indians were ordered to give notice to the proper authority of any wrecked goods discovered on the shore. "If any English or Indian shall find any sich goods as before mentioned and Conseal the same if the goods be found in his hands he shall pay the double or if he hath disposed thereof without giving any Acct he shall pay fourfold."

At a meeting on the 20th 11 mo., 1669, "It was agreed that from time to time the three prudentiall men are chosen to manage the government among the Indians with two others that shall from time to time be chosen by the Town to Joine with them, this present year Mr. Coffin and Mr. Starbuck are chosen."

On the 6th 12 mo., 1669, it was "Voted by the Town that the case between Nickanoose and the Town shall be heard on Tuesday next being the Court Day according to Nickanooses Desire

*Spotso was married to Askommopoo, daughter of Nicormoose and granddaughter of Wauwinit.

notwithstanding anything to the contray formerly acted by the Town."*

It would seem as though in 1670 there must have arisen some inconvenience from runaway servants for, on the 7th 8 mo., of that year, the Town ordered that "if any person English or Indian shall at any time carry in any Vessell any Indian servent to any English on the Island whosoever shall carry any such person of the Island without orders from his master shall be fined twenty shilling."

On the 30th 11 mo., 1670, the Town voted "that any of the English Inhabitant on the Island shall after the date hereof put any Swine or cause to be put upon the Indian Land shall forfeit the price thereof on half to the English and the other half to the Indians."

On the 16th 8 mo., 1671, "John Swain, Nat Starbuck and Eleazer Folger war chosen by the Town to go among the Indians and se what stroy there is Don in their Corn by the English Cattle and to agree with them in point of Sattisfaction if they can." On the 1st 1 mo., 1672, the Town again took action to prevent similar trespass and voted that "all the house lots between Cuppame Harbour and the Southermost lot beyond Richard Swain butting upon the playn or Common shall be fenced by the last of May next with sufficient fence to keep our greate Cattle from going over the pond to destroy the Indian Corn upon the penalty of Two Shillings and sixpence a Rod for every rod that is not so fenced by the Day aforesaid * * * also it is ordered by the Town that all those that have any Interest in Lands and Common on the Island besides those concerned in the order abovesaid are to pay four pound a year towards the hireing som one to keep the Cattle from going up the Island to destroy the Indian Corn."

There seemed to be a definite purpose on the part of the English settlers to be as careful about preventing trespass on the Indian property as they were not to permit the Indians or their beasts to trespass upon the English property, for there were many votes passed in restraint of their cattle and horses and to compel the English owners to maintain suitable fences.

There also seemed to be much danger of overstocking for many votes were passed forbidding indiscriminate sales of cattle, horses and sheep to the Indians, as well as to prevent their running at large, or their importation. It is fair to say in this connection also that the early settlers applied the same rules regarding cattle to themselves that they did to the aborigines. The following vote will illustrate the spirit in which the laws seem to have been made and enforced: "Sharborn the 7 month 1692, the Town takeing into consideration the grate Increse of the Indians, horses and cattle beyond their proportioned Liberty or Right reserved to the grate Damage of the cattle the Land being over stocked, do therefore order that any Indian haveing horses or cattle more than he or she hath Liberty for shall pay the same penalty for horses or best or sheep as by order for any Englishman

*It is not clear from the Records what action the Town had previously taken.

Comanors or non-Comanors* and William Worth John Swain and Nathaniel Starbuck and Stephen Coffin are Desired to prosecute this Order, and it is further Ordered that all persons that shall either neglect or refuse to pay for the being overstockd according to order formerly made in that behalf their horses and cattle or sheep shall be Taken up Destres and Sold for payment as aforesaid and the rest or overplus return'd if any be, and this order to Extend to either English or Indian."

It is unfortunate that the early Court records that were in the hands of Peter Folger at the time of the Insurrection, disappeared completely at that time and, so far as is known never have been seen since, so that whatever complaints were made by the Indians against the whites or by the whites against the Indians prior to that time have been consigned to oblivion, save in a very few sporadic cases, which were otherwise recorded.

The earliest recorded case in the Court seems to be Indian vs. Indian. Peteson, Mr. Larry Ahkeramo, Obadiah and George Nanahuma, complained that the sachems had sold the lands they formerly lived on to the English and refused to allow them to live on the land which was unsold. The Court thereupon after duly considering the matter ordered that Sachem Wanackmamack and Sachem Nickanoose "shall allow to the said gentlemen† as follows: Peteson and George Nanahuma‡ 20 acres apiece in the bounds of Nickanoose, and to Mr. Larry Ahkeramo and Obadiah shall have 20 acres apiece in the bounds of Wanackmamack without paying any tribute to said sachems. But wood they shall have anywhere not generally prohibited." This order of the Court seemed entirely proper and the "parties declared themselves well satisfied and contented therewith." The order was also given that all the other Indians who formerly resided at the west end of the Island shall be allowed by the sachems to live on the land remaining unsold "as the Indians and common people do within their precincts.

On June 20, 1672, some question having evidently been raised as to the status of the Indians on their unsold land, the Court, on the petition of Larry Ahkeramo, for himself and other Indians, ordered that they should have convenient places for habitation upon the land yet unsold, which places they should hold with the same rights and privileges under which they held their former lands. For the year then ensuing they were to live under the government of the sachems without being subject to any tribute. The sachems were allowed to produce evidence, if they so desired, before the next General Court that at the time of the coming of the English they had the right to receive such tribute. The lands assigned to them were never to be sold from them or their heirs, unless with the consent of themselves and their sachem.

Wauwinet and his father Nickanoose, for some reason, raised a question as to the ownership of Pakamaquok, and the record states that "At a General Court held at Nantucket July 19th, 1673,

*That is having shares in the common and undivided land or not.

†This indicates that they were petty sachems.

‡George Nanahuma, alias Cowpohanet.

The Town Complaines against Wauwinnit and his Father Nick-anoose for Defameing the Title of the English to the Nack called Pakamaquock—the Case was heard and Witnesses Examined with the Deeds all being duly examined that and duly considered the Sentance of the Court, that the Title of the Land is good—with the Cost of Court.”

Occasionally there was an Indian whose ideas of his marital obligations were far from orthodox and the Court was called to bring him to a realizing sense of his delinquencies. Thus, at the same session as that in which the title to Pakamaquok was validated occurs the following record—“the Sentance of the Court is that Nakattactonnit must take again his wife that he Last put away and live loveingly with her or else he shall be severly whipped. Also the Sentance of the Court is that Nahkaquetan the woman that the aforesaid Indian hath kept Company withall as his wife shall be whipt Ten Stripe for Abusing of the Wif of said man.”

Some of the Court entries regarding Indian affairs are self-explanatory, and show that in general the laws were administered to the Indians as fairly and justly as to the English. In July, 1673, an Indian made a complaint that he had not been granted land as he should have been. The record says: “Whereas Yawpasha called David Complained for Land the Court concluded that the said David had no right to any Division of Land, but as a Gentleman in an Indian way, Spotso who is the Sachem must accomodate the said David sufficient for his use.” At the same session the Court ordered that “that the Rack or Drift Whales in that bounds of the beach upon the plains from the pond of Richard Swain* to Smiths point shall be Divided Into Eight Shares—Washaman, Womhommin, Massaquat, Wapskowit, Wanaquin, Kanpakanit, Wequakesoo, Obadiah.”

On April 21, 1674, Obadiah having complained that Spotso would neither divide or sell a part of the land they owned jointly, the Court finding in the plaintiff's favor gave Spotso three weeks in which to make a proper division; failing to do so the Court will make it. It is evident that Spotso for some reason did not comply with the Court's order, for on the 12th of May, the Court made the following division, which is useful as showing the relation of the land to other holdings: “the bounds is thus bounded At the East with the Spring at Shimmoo from thence unto the Cartway at the South end of Monomoy that Layeth in a little valley there, and on the North and West with the Harbour, and from the cartway of Monomoy aforesaid unto Wakataquage Pond that part of it as is half way between the brook Runing unto the said pond a little to the Southward of the House of Edward Starbuck and the Beach at the south sea, and so Joining in the north unto the English bounds. it is further agreed that Spotso hath Still Liberty to Devide the aforesaid Land that was in partnership between them within one Month unto four equal parts, and Obadiah Liberty to Chuse which of them four parts he will.”

*Mr. Worth says that Richard Swain's house lot was “both sides of the cove formed by the northwesterly extension of Hummock Pond.” (Land and Land Owners p. 16.)

December 29, 1675, the Court ordered Joseph Coleman to pay Samuel, an Indian who was his servant, forty shillings. At the same Court Wauwinnitt was ordered to pay Jesper ten shillings for damage done to Jesper's corn by Wawinnitt's horse.

At the Court in September of the same year "Nanayape an Indian complained against John Coffin for taking away four bushels of Whet from him without his order, the Sentance of the Court is that John Coffin shall return to the Indian his whet and his charge in Loss of time about his complaint—also he is to pay a fine of Twenty Shillings of Contempt of Athority."*

At the same Court a complaint was brought by Mr. Henry (Harry) "against Spotso and Massaqua for taking away or Disposeing of his share of whale without his order." Evidently the Court took this matter under advisement for there was no decision at that time but at the next session of record, June 27, 1676, 'it is ordered that no Rack whale that comes a Shore in any Sachems bounds shall be cut up untill all the Masters of the shore that belongs to that whale do come together upon the penalty of twenty shilling fine to any that shall cut up and Despose of any part contrary to the Order aforesaid—and Also if any Master be off the Island and leve no man to act for him he is to lose his share of whale for that time"

The order seems to have been made solely to secure fair play and justice among the Indians one with another.

Marital infelicities continue to have been by no means monopolized by the whites. A case which came before the Court of Session on the 27th of March, 1677, while somewhat obscure in its origin and nature, evidently had an ending not anticipated by the complainant. "Qush's wife," says the record, "complains against her husband, the Court findeth her guilty—the sentance of the Court is to give her an Admonish and that hence forward the Indian Court is to take cognisence of her—Qush sued to the Court for a Disavowance and it is granted and the woman that was his wife is fined twenty shillings to him In regrd to his Troble—"

Stephen Hussey seems to have won something of a reputation of being a persistent litigant. A goodly number of cases in the Court are where he is the plaintiff and sundry Indians are defendants, generally in suits for debt.

Obadiah, who seems to have had considerable trouble first and last, was summonsed before the Court June 26, 1677, "charged with Resisting the Authority of the Indian Court at Nantucket—in that he came with several persons with him and Endeavored to Resque one that was to be whipt acording to the Sentance of the Court away out of the Constables hands the person to be punished but Fought with Apalel useing Reviling Speeches and speaking opprobrious words against the members of the Court there present And being Charged and a reson Demanded of his so behaving him-

*It is not unlikely that there might be a question raised in this case as to the strict impartiality of the Court in this case as it was at a time when there was no surplusage of love between the Gardner party then in control and the Coffins. John might, too, have felt a contempt for the Court which he failed to conceal.

self Denied not the substance of the Charge and manefesting the Reason why he so carried himself not only with regard to the present but other of Like nature as because the Magestrates are not right or do not that which is Just, but could make out nothing against them, but said they do not Love him* and the like—the Sentance of the Court is that he be fined three pound and be Whipt Twenty Stripes and to pay the Charge of Court.”

During the same month Will the Cowkeeper and Jack Never were each fined nine bushels of Indian corn and twenty-two shillings and Sixpence for “breaking open Mr. Coffin’s ware House at Wesco and Stealing Cloth.” At the same session Hope “being complained of for speaking contemtis words against the Indian General Court” was sentenced to pay twenty shillings or “make such an acknowledgment as shall be Satisfactory to the Court.”

Nor did the Court encourage the plan of married couples living apart, for at the same term, Dave and his wife were “charged by the Court that they Live together, and if they do not, the Indian General Court shall take Cognicence of them and deal with them according to their Demerit.”

In several cases where appeals were taken from the decisions of the Indian General Court, the findings were upheld. The vital principle of the administration of English law, that an accused man should be tried by a jury of his peers, was exemplified at a Court held on the 7th of the 11 month, 1677, at which “Cosaeyen Alias Charles being Indited for striking mortal blowes upon the Body of Wappamoage and we finding the Cause vary doughful we ajorne the Court for a fuller Examination untill the 11th of this Instance.” “At the Court of agornment held the 11th 11 mo. and the matter about Cosaeyen was heard and a Jury of Indians found him clear.”

Several cases appear in the Court involving the rights of Indian sachems in stranded whales and they seem to have been settled with careful regard to the validity of the claims. Usually the cases in dispute were among the Indians themselves, but on the 24th, 2 mo., 1679, the record states “Mussaquat complained against Eleazur Folger for taking away his whale. the Court found for the defendant and Mussaquat appealed to the General Court.” The case was tried before a jury of six who found for the plaintiff with the costs of Court. “The Court do adjudge the said defendant to pay for the whale the sum of 4 pounds in goods at the usual price of trading, and do allow his charge of 6s.” William Worth and William Gayer testified against the defendant.† It would seem as though the Indians had more faith in the English Court than in their own.

*Obediah seemed very friendly towards Mr. Gardner and followed in his footsteps.

†Mr. Worth states that the jury was composed of Marthas Vineyard men. In April 1678, Waquakeso, Nickanoose, Spotso and Mussaquat were authorized to select 10 men as a committee to determine the particular rights in whales of all their men and report to the Court, the report to go to the General Court for confirmation. Any one who felt wronged would be given a hearing.

Naturally in a community like Nantucket, with the Indians apparently willing to sell and the English quite as willing to purchase, there were many transfers of real estate. The early settlers bought of Thomas Mayhew such rights as were lawfully his in the islands, but they recognized the fact that the Indians could not be arbitrarily dispossessed of their lands, and there are many deeds of purchase on record.

The earliest Indian deed on record was executed by Nickanoose and Nanahuma and reads as follows:

"This doth witness that we Nickanoose of Nantucket, Sachem, and Nanahuma of Nantucket, Sachem, have sold unto Thomas Mayhew of the Vineyard the plain at the west end of Nantucket that is according to the figure under written, to him and his heirs and assigns forever. In consideration whereof we have received by earnest of the said Thomas Mayhew the sum of twelve pounds. Also the said Sachems have sold the said Mayhew of the Vineyard the use of the meadow and to take wood for the use of him, the said Mayhew, his heirs and assigns forever.

In witness hereof, we the Sachems aforesaid have hereunto set our hands this 20th day of June, 1659.

The said Acamy lyeth north and by east, and south by west or near it."

NICKANOOSE (his + mark)

NANAHUMA (his × mark)

Witness hereunto

MR. HARRY
JOHN COLEMAN
THOMAS MACY
TRISTRAM COFFIN.

When Thomas Mayhew sold the Island to the First Purchasers he naturally sold only those rights of which he was possessed by virtue of his patent. The Purchasers lost little time in acquiring the Indian rights. It was necessary, as well as honest and advisable, to do so.

The earliest Indian deed on the Town Records was drawn in 1660 and was worded as follows:

"These presents witnesseth May the tenth sixteen hundred and sixty that we Wanackmamack and Nickanoose had sachems of Nantucket Island do give grant bargain and sell unto Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Martins Vineyard Tristram Coffin Sen'r Thomas Macy Christopher Hussey Richard Swain Peter Coffin Stephen greenieafe Thomas Barnard John Swain and William Pile all the Land, Meadows, Marshes, Timber and Wood and all appurtenances thereto belonging and being and lying from the West end of the Island of Nantucket unto the Pond called by the Indians wagutuquab and from the had of that pond upon a stright line unto the pond situated by Monomoy harbor or creek now called Wherfore Creek and so from the Northeast corner to the said Pond to the sea that is to say all the Right that we the aforesaid Sachems have in the sd tract of Land confirmed that none of the Indians Inhabitant

in or about the Wood Land or whatsoever Indians Inhabit within the last Purchase of Land from the head of the Pond to Monomoy Harbour shall be removed without full satisfaction and we the aforesaid Sachems do give, grant, bargain and sell the one half of the Remainder of the Meadows and Marshes upon all other parts of the Island. and also that the English People shall have what grass they shall need for to mowe out of the Remainder of the Meadows and Marshes on the Island so Long as the English Remain upon the Island. and Also free Liberty for timber and wood on any part of the Island within the Jurisdiction. and Also that the aforesaid Sachems do fully grant free Liberty to the English for the feeding of all sorts of cattle on any part of the Island after Indian harvest is ended untill Planting time or untill the first day of May from year to year forever for and in Consideration of twelve pounds allready paid and fourteen Pounds to be paid within three Months after the date hereof—to have and to hold the aforesaid Purchase of Land and other appurtenances as aforementioned to them Mr. Thomas Macy Ttristram Coffin Thomas Mayhew and the Rest aforementioned and their heirs and assigns forever. in Witness whereof we the aforesaid Sachems have hereunto set our hands & seals the Day and year above written.

The sign of WANACKMAMACK O

The sign of NICKANOOSE X

Signed, sealed and Delivered in

presents of us.

PETER FOLGER

FELIX KUTTASHAMAQUAT

EDWARD STARBUCK

I do witness this Deed to be a true Deed according to the Interpretation of the Interpreter also I hard Wanackmamack but two weeks ago that the sale of Nick and he do say that he will do so whatever coms of it. Witness my hand this 17th 1 mo. 1664.

PETER FOLGER

Witness

MARY STARBUCK

JOHN COFFIN.

The Indian deeds as recorded in the Town Book of Records do not follow any regular order in their notation of land transfers, but doubtless occur in the Book in the order of recording. In some cases several years seem to elapse between the transfer and the recording of it. Or it may be in transcribing the Records that there was some carelessness shown regarding their order of succession. The record of the doings at Town Meetings, in the same book, seems to follow very closely its proper order but the deeds that are interspersed among them follow no system.

On January 5, 1660, Nickanoose of his own "Voluntary good will" gave to "Edward Starbuck all that parcel of Land called Coretue with all the privileges or Benefits as doth or may arise from the said Land above said with all the Timber, woods, marshes Ponds beeches and whatever appurtenances doth thereunto belong this the said Nickanoose to give the said Edward Starbuck him his heirs Executors and Administrators and assigns forever peceably to Injoie out of my free Voluntary Love to the said Edward Starbuck. This deed was witnessed by Jane and Richard Swain.*

*This land appears to have been held by Edward Starbuck until August 30, 1663, when he assigned it "to the whole Company the Pur-
(See next page)

June 22, 1662, Wanackmamack, "Chiefe Sachem of Nantucket," sold to Tritstram Coffin and Thomas Macy "that whole Nack of Land called by the Indians Pacummohquah" the consideration being £5, to be paid in English goods or otherwise as the grantor may choose. This deed was witnessed by Peter Folger and Wawimesit" whose English name is Amas."

July 7, 1664, "Pakapenesaa being Impowered by Nanahuma and by the Consent and agreement of Jonas Kimmo and Harey the son of Wapskowet also greeing thereto" sold "unto the English Company belonging to Nantucket all the Old Fields belonging to the Neck commonly called Nanahumas Neck, with all the Interest on the Neck if any be for and in consideration of the sume of twenty five pounds to be paid in English goods at a Moderate or Reasonable price to be paid at two 'Several payments' the first half to be made in the first week in November next ensuing and the second half before November 1 of the following year. The grantors "engage that all the Indians shall be removed of the Neck aforesaid before the first day of November" and agree "to make good the sale against all the Indians."

August 11, 1664, Tequanomany and Mekowakim sold to "the Englishmen belonging to Nantucket all that Broken up Land being from Wannacomet to Wepttaquage and from thence to Monomoy all within the English Bounds." in consideration "of Ten pounds alreddy Receiped of Thomas Macy and Five pounds at this present by Tristram Coffin and John Bishop." The witnesses were Francis Sachem Amos and Sarah Macy.

chasers." The original deed, which is in the Collection of the Nantucket Historical Association and was formerly owned by Mrs. Eliza Barney, varies in several particulars from the recorded copy and leads one to wonder if such inaccuracy was common. The following is a copy of the original deed:

"Know all men by these presence that wee wamuchmack Nickanuse and Naedotant of our free and uolantarey willes doe giue freely to Edward Starbuck all that tract of land called by the indians coweightuet and by the inglish the northest point of nantucket to him his heirs executeres and assignss foreuer to inioy and quietly to poses and doe by this our deed under all our hands and Seals as fully confirmed it to the said Edward Starbuck and make it his as it is our owne with all the timber marsh and beeches and pondes or what so ever priueleges doeth or may belonge theire unto in witness whereunto wee her unto set our hands and seales this third of Januarey 1660

Signed sealed and delivered

in the presence of
the mark R of
RICHARD SWAIN
JANE SWAIN

the mark of
WAMUCKMAMUCK Q
NICANOOS his Mark D

WAMOCHMAMUCK NICANOOS
acknowledge the above written to
be their act and Deed in presence
of the generall court as attest
MATT: MAYHEW SECRET

June 12, 1677

USA SUMMOO or JOHN GIBES

The deed I Assign vnto the whole company the purchasers of Nantucket witness my hand this 30 of Agust 1663

EDWARD STARBUCK

Entered, und'r the letter N: in the office of Records
for Mart Viny'rd - Nantucket June 14, 1677

per me MATT: MAYHEW, SECRET.

The earliest signs of any discontent among the Indians as to the English occupation which have been considered worth recording seem to have been coincident with the so-called "Insurrection" of the Half Shares men.* The circumstances and their development appear to suggest that the Insurrectionists, if not actually encouraging the discontent, did little to allay it. In the practice of the Courts at Nantucket, so far as the records show, there seems to be little, if any, distinction made between the English and the Indians; the law seems to have been administered impartially. The English were admonished to use moderation towards the Indians and not to exasperate them. Ordinary prudence would have dictated such a course, even had the early settlers been otherwise disposed, for the Indians outnumbered the whites forty to one, and in case of a revolt outside help was far removed. So satisfactorily had local matters been carried on, that when King Philip visited Nantucket in 1665 to secure the assistance of the native Indians in his war against the whites, he was met by a refusal, and at a Town Meeting, on October 10th of that year, Attaychat (Autopscot, son-in-law of Sachem Wawinnit) "signified that himself with all the Tomokommoth Indians subject to the English Government in Nantucket, acknowledge subjection to King Charles the Second. This was done in the presence of Metacomet, alias Philip, Sachem of Mount Hop."†

Under the orders of the authorities at New York, the aborigines were to have their own Constables who were to keep them "in Awe and good Ord'r, as is practized with good Success amongst ye Indians at the East End of Long Island."‡ In his letter of instructions to Mr. Mayhew, Gov. Lovelace said, "And in regard at this Distance, and ye Unacquaintedness of the Inclinacons and Dispositions of ye Indiyans, I cannot pr'scribe you any Rules that may be most proper for them. I shall therefore recommend that Affair wholly to yo'r prudent Managem't only you may acquaint them, that haveing now taken them into his Royall Highness particular Protection, I shall be very carefull to Assist them in all Extremities; expecting from them noe other Returne, but that they live quietly and peaceably; w'th true Submission to that Authority, w'ch now is sett over them."** The principal Sachems were to repair to New York and pay homage to the authorities.

So far as is shown by the records, all was reasonably harmonious up to the year 1676. In that year Peter Folger, who had been imprisoned for contemptuous treatment of the Court, in his letter of complaint to the Governor,†† represents the Indians as indignant over the treatment that he is receiving and over the fact

*In July, 1673, a complaint was brought against Nickanoose and his son Isaac Wawinnet for "defaming the title of the English to the Neck called Pokamquoh," but after a critical examination of witnesses and deeds the Court declared the title was clear.

†Town Records.

‡Hough's Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, p. 30.

**Papers relating to Nantucket, pp. 39-40.

††Papers relating to Nantucket, p. 89.

that those whom he refers to as "young" men are in authority on the Island so that they are in doubt whether justice is shown them or not. Similarly, at the same time, John Gardner also a Half Shares man and an Insurrectionist, says in a letter to the Governor—"Amongst the Indians, there has ben Great Disturbence of late," and he also attributes the trouble to the "young Magistrates," albeit they compared very well in years with those who denounced them.

Among the Indians who were most uneasy was Obadiah, who, in 1674, had complained that Spotso, the son-in-law of Sachem Nicornoose, would neither divide nor set-off the land that was in partnership between them, and whose complaint had been patiently heard and adjudicated as he desired.* Obadiah was doubtless a man of rank among the Indians, because in the order for his award the Court refers to him and his associates as "the said gentlemen." It is well to note that prior to the "Insurrection" there had been no complaint from Obadiah as against the English, his complaints of injustice from his own Sachems had been settled to his admitted satisfaction, and the principal deeds prior to the rupture with the Half Shares men had received, to all intents and purposes the approval of Peter Folger, who acted as interpreter.

In a letter to the Governor, dated March 23, 1676-7, Mr. Gardner writes—"May it please your Honor; this Indian Obadia Aboue mesuer Impertunes me to signifi his busnes in wrighting: and he not haueing A Interpreter wherby he might speak to your Honor: the Indian Languish hear and with you much desering has mad mee willing but espestially the seruic and duty I owe vnto your Honor binds mee: and now Right Honorable his Complaynt is that his Land is wrongfully sold from him by other Indian sachems that had nothing to do with it; and he turned out and his Land now Enioyed by the English without Aney satesfaction ether to himself or his Ansesters: that is the sum of his Complaint: and as to the Justnes or truth of it I Can say thus much that I haue heard so much of it that I beleave there is much of truth in it: and the case being examened by your Honor or Any other Emparshall Judges hom your Honor shall Apoynt it will Appear so to bee; with many other Complaynts of Lik nature: I Judge to hav to Answered by Aney Judges vpon ether of thes Ilands I Am suer it will never be to the Indians satesfaction: and it being A hard thing for men to be Judges in ther One Case: the truth is ther is Great want of your Honors presence Amongst vs. If it wear but on day or tow: if it might be your Honovrs plesuer so to do as we Are enformed it is: though I * * * * * we are not worthy to Enjoy that fauor."†

Under date of May 31, 1677, Capt. Gardner wrote again to the Governor. From the contents of the second letter it would

*June 5, 1667, Obadiah Peteson, Larry Ahkerams and George Nanahuma complained that the Sachems had sold the land they lived on to the English and refused them a place on the unsold land, and each had been awarded 20 acres, without having to pay tribute to the Sachems and the complainants had declared themselves satisfied. The award was confirmed June 20, 1672, and their property was never to be sold unless by consent of themselves and the Sachems.

†New York Records.

seem that the former one was sent by an Indian who was expected to add his evidence in support of the charges, but the vessel they were in was driven ashore on Rhode Island by a storm and the messenger returned, bringing the letters with him. Capt. Gardner sends the same letters again, as, he says, there is "nothing but truth on them." He says further "ther is on thing mor I would Enforme your Honor of which is that the deade ov Indian purchas which Mr. Mayhew brought to yourk when he reciueued the patent for the town of Gouvernor Lauelas: and now stands on Record at yourk is A false thing as will apear it being nether signed nor sealed. I sepose it was of mr mayhews one making being much moar in it then was ever brought as will Aboundandly Apeare but mr Mayhew sayth it is the Copy of A dead that was procuered of the Indians to preuent others from purchasing: but now it is Aserted to be An onest thing and as I vnderstand thay intend to mayntain it to be a true thing: as yet the Indians vnderstand it not of it but should thay before it be Rectyified as I dout not but it will when your Tonor haue the hearge of it it might be the Ocation of Envolving vs in blod with our naybors and the hole Coloney enuolued in much trobell at present. I haue the paper that was Recorded and Am Resolued not to deliver it except to your Honor or your Honors spetial Order for nothing but it seluef can prove it falce: Could they but Get it I question not but it would be quickly destroyed."

Capt. Gardner concludes his letter by saying that a General Court is about to be held in Nantucket and that he expects to be imprisoned with Peter Folger. In a postscript he asks for directions concerning his recovery of his rum "Mr. Cofing haueing Acknoledged befor your Honor hee had it."*

It is a little difficult to determine just what Capt. Gardner refers to when he writes to the Governor about a "false deed." On page 264 of the Records at Edgartown appears this entry† "The deed of Nicanoose which he gave to Wawinnit. First this Wawinnit has all the right to this land and nobody else before shall have or else had of Nicanoos since gave to him his right my son Wawinnit has all the right of this land and nobody else before shall have it none else can dispose or divide this land if not willing Wawinnit to the disposing of it forever disposed Nicanoosoo and Pakepanessoo and Thomas Mayhew; afterwards to all his children Nicanoosoo only Wawinnit great and nobody else To this agreement Thomas Mayhew witness, Katninanut, and Kistummik, and Kunwootammanmoo, Ponnantuckkowsa: and to be the chief Sachem Wawinnit. In

*Papers relating to Nantucket. Hough p. 107.

†The records at Edgartown show that June 5, 1677, Nicornoose Conveyed to his brothers Kealtohquen and Wohwaninwat, "his land, and with all the fruits of the land at Nantucket everie roots or trees or grass and all that is therein; aye and the stones shall be theirs. And if the whale shall happen to come shore, that shall be theirs also; and all that is belongs therein shall belong to his heirs or assigns forever, after him." (Page 206) Thomas Mayhew certifies that the deed was given before him. The witnesses are Pakepanessoo, Wanauteoh quantam and Kestumun. On the same day Wawinnit certified that he approved of the deed of his father Nicanoosoo and "I willingly set to my hand this 5th of June 1677."

witness whereof I do to this record set my hand this 16th of June 1679.

NICANOOSE (his O mark)

Entered and signed by Nicanoose this 16th of June at attest
MATT. MAYHEW, Secretary.

A certificate from Thomas Mayhew follows, to the effect that the foregoing "writing was made before the English came to Nantucket to dwell but how long I know not." This affidavit of Mr. Mayhew's was recorded September 3d. 1680.*

There can hardly be any question but all was regular in the sales of land from the Indians to the whites. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, M. D. L. L. D. made a careful study of Indian affairs connected with the early settlement of the Island by the English and touching this phase he says: "The Provincial Governor of New York in 1671 (Lord Lovelace), thought it desirable to obtain a new deed from the Sachems, attesting the legality of the land sales, and an assurance that the stipulated terms had been duly complied with, before issuing a new patent. The necessary proofs were furnished in that year by Wanackmamack the Chief Sachem."†

It was after the cession of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard to the Massachusetts Bay Colony that the complaints of the Indians assumed definite form. In 1694, the following petition was presented to the General Court:‡—"To the great & Generall Court now assembled in Boston &c.

The Humble Petition of Indians inhabiting in ye Island of Nantucket to yo'r Hon'rs

Humbly Sheweth

That wheras yo'r poore Petitioners under their last Sachem did Injoy Certaine Priviledges by a Certaine Contract made with ye English Inhabitants of that they should haue ye liberty of rearing stock planting provisions & vsing any Lawfull measures to procure & provide for themselves an honest liuelyhood & yt by their agreem't ye English weare obliged to maintaine a fence to preuent ye Petitioners Cattle or Stock as a fores'd to trespass or breake in to ye English libertyes or Bounds soe Sett pr agreement & also y't yo'r Petioners had likewise ye liberty of maintaining Cattle in the Pasturage or Common of said Island free as the English had; as also for felling of Timber Now Contrary to said agreement yo'r Petioners Bing debared from Said Priveledges & for Euery Cow that Grases in said Common is forced to pay ten shillings & for Euery horse fifteen shillings & for Every tree of timber five Shillings which to yo'r Petioners Seems to bee an agrievance & hopes that yo'r Hon'rs will please take into yo'r Consideration that thereby they may haue redress. Hopeing y't yo'r Petioners by their Deportment shall neuer merit otherwise than to haue yo'r hon'rs

*It is difficult to tell whether this deed is or is not the one referred to by Capt. Gardner and the right of Wauwinnit to convey land under it questioned.

†Lithgoe's Nantucket p. 76. See also Lovelace's patent. Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket Note pp. 129, 130, 131.

‡Massachusetts Archives, Indians Vol 1-30. p. 363.

favo'r Beestowed on them & then as in duty Bound they shall Euer bee obliged for yo'r hon'rs Prosperity for Euer to Pray.

NEN GILLES

"By the Lieu't Governour & Council—Ordered That Capt. John Gardner of Nantucket & Major Matthew Mayhew & Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Marthas Vineyard be a committee to inquire into the matters of complaint mentioned in ye within Petition and to make their Report thereon Unto this Board.

Boston 13th of March 1694-5."

What report the Committee made to the Council does not appear. So far as the action of the Town is recorded it does not appear that there was any discrimination between the Indians and the English. There was continually a tendency on the part of the Indians to overstock beyond the capacity of their land to provide for, and the English were debarred from being contributory to such conditions by selling them horses, or cattle or sheep, but the same laws limited whites as well as Indians.

Soon after the transmission of the complaint of Gilles to the Council, Seikinnou and Daniel Spotso sent the following petition to the authorities in Boston:*

"To His Excellency Richard Earl of Bellamont, Baron of Colony, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, and the Honorable Council and Representatives in General Court Assembled:

The humble petition of Seiknow and Daniel Spotso, Indian inhabitants of the Island called Nantucket, within the said Province, humbly sheweth:

That whereas your poor petitioners, being Indians of Nantucket Island within this Province, said Island being peopled in part with the English who making divers purchases on said Island have claimed such interest in the herbage of the whole that they have on pretence of trespass done them by our cattle taken divers of them sold them and converted them to their own use notwithstanding our pretense of right to feed and pasture, in doing whereof they pretend law and to have done the same by authority thereof. If it please your Lordship and your Honors we humbly pray that in respect to the said English inhabitants and such as are their judges or concerned or that have been concerned in taking away our cattle and forcing us to pay for using our own lands and pasturing our own rights become therein judges of their own cause, judge and execute what they call a trespass to themselves which cannot be avoided since they all claim a common right or share lying in common; every Englishman's case, as to such cases, is the pretended interest of both judges and people and ourselves being low in parts and poor in estate, not versed in English law yet taught our wrong by the light of Nature, humbly pray that your Lordship and Honors would please in honor to justice and pity to our distress to afford such relief as to your Lordship and to your Honors in wisdom may seem meet to your petitioners. Shall always pray as in duty bound."

*Mr. Worth expresses the opinion (Nantucket Lands and Land Owners p. 144) that this petition was sent to the Governor between May, 1699, and July, 1700.

The petition goes on to mention specific cases of late occurrence. Seikinow alleges that "some time this spring "Constable John Coleman took two of his cows, ostensibly on an order from Capt. John Gardner, it being alleged that the cattle were trespassers by feeding on lands which belonged to himself and purchasers or the Town. Seikinow claimed that he had put them there in conformity with his own rights.*

Spotso apparently committed no overt act, but claimed to be debarred from his right of pasturage because of ignorance of the English law and the fear of meeting a similar fate to that of his fellow petitioner.

It is a little singular that the complaint should be made against Capt. Gardner, who about twenty-five years before had made himself the champion of the Indians against Mayhew, Coffin and Macy.

The petition is skilfully worded and was well calculated to attract attention from the Governor and Council. Governor Bellamont, who was waited upon by James Coffin in regard to it, said---

"The Representative that served for Nantucket. (one Ma. Coffin), came to solicit me and the Council to pass an act to restrain the Indians on that Island from trading with Rhode Island; the Indians had complained to me how hardly they were used by the English, and Mr. Coffin owned the whole matter there that the English had bargained with the Indians that half of the Island should be for the use of the Indians to sow Indian wheat on, but that while the crop is off the land the grass on that land is to belong wholly to the English; so that these Indians now that they would keep cattle are not suffered to do so. This is such a circumvention and fraud as ought not to be suffered, and so I told Mr. Coffin before the Council and I declared I would not give assent to any bill that should put a further hardship on those Indians."†

Even a somewhat superficial study of the deeds by which the the Indians conveyed their lands on the Island of Nantucket to the English, deeds that in some cases were carefully explained to the grantors and doubtless in all cases were understood by them, as well as the recorded acts of the Town, will show that Gov. Bellamont seriously misunderstood the position of Mr. Coffin.‡

It would seem that the Indians failed to get the satisfaction they sought for soon after the accession of Lord Dudley they addressed the following petition to him:

*Capt. Gardner was Town Treasurer at the time, and held a commission as a Justice of the Peace.

†New York Archives. Mr. Lithgow and Mr. Worth agree that "Nickanoose signed deeds only of territory belonging to some other Sachem, the fact is true of Wanackmanack. Neither signed a deed of any portion of the territory under his direct control. The Sachem Atapchat (Autopscot) as far as has been found never signed any deed." Lithgoe's Nantucket, p. 75.

‡H. B. Worth says (Nantucket Lands and Land Owners p. 147.) "It would seem from this account that there must have been a misunderstanding on the part of the Governor of the statements made by Mr. Coffin, for it is not possible that he could have made the admissions stated by Lord Bellamont."

"To His Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over her Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay and to the honorable Her Majesty's Council for the said Province:

The humble petition of Daniel Spotso, Abel Cain, and Peter Massaquet, all Sachems, belonging to the Island of Nantucket, sheweth—

That whereas your petitioners are very much wronged and oppressed by several of the English inhabitants of the Island aforesaid, who did very much overreach your petitioner's forefathers, in the purchase of lands and tillage. And also, in carrying away all their wood that grew upon and under ground, to the great grief and damage of your petitioners, and who will be forced in a short time to leave their habitations, and be utterly ruined unless some remedy be applied for their relief. And whereas your petitioners are utterly without remedy, and cannot possibly recover their rights by law at home both Judges and Jurors being all parties in the cause for which reason your petitioners have been feign several times to address the authority of this Province but as yet without redress.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that a special Court of Oyer and Terminer may be constituted and commissioned to hear and determine all causes that shall be brought before them in behalf of your Petitioners according to law.

And your petitioners shall pray, etc.,

DANIEL SPOOSPOTSWA

PETER R. MASSAQUAT

ABLE 1

2 CAIN"*

Mr. Worth thinks that the above petition must have been drawn by Stephen Hussey,† basing his judgment on a similarity in the Indian petition to one drawn by Mr Hussey in his own behalf in June 1702, in which he claims that he cannot get justice in his own cases since the judges and Major part of ye jury will be the principal p'sons y'r petitioners brings his action against;" but the petition for the Indians, while making the same objection regarding jurisdiction, appears to have been drawn by a person more highly educated than Mr. Hussey and more adroit in stating his case.‡

The petition was referred to a committee which subsequently made the following report: "We the subscribers, being Five of the Committee appointed by the General Court at their last Session in Boston in June last past being met at Barnstable on ye 18th day of August Instant to hear the Claims of sundry Indians to Lands on Nantucket, Marthas vineyard, Assowomsett, Titticut &c** and having before Notified on both sides duly considered the Indians Deeds, Wills & Papers presented to us some of which were rendered in English & others then Interpreted to us, by persons well

*Abel and Cain were sons of Saucauso or Jeptha.

†Nantucket Lands and Landowners p. 147.

‡This was by no means the first time the question of the interest the people had directly in the complaints on which they were called to decide.

**There seems to have been quite an epidemic of Indian complaints.

knowing in ye Ind'n Tongue, do make this our Report accordingly.*
 * * *. *5 And Concerning the Contest between the Sachems & English on Nantucket ab't feed of Cattle. It Appears to us by Deeds that ye English have purchased the Herbage of Jephtha Spotso and Wawinnett Sachems there, and that the Will or Writing produced by the Indians to prove the former Conveyance of it to them by their Sachems, we Inquired into the Truth of it, and found by the Confession of the Scribe that wrote it & by other ye Witnesses that they did not Agree neith'r to the time nor place where it was writt (togeth'r w'th oth'r of their papers) w'ch gives us Cause to believe that they were not true but forged & false.

BARNABAS LOTHROP
 JOHN THACHER
 STEPH'N SKIFFE
 JNO OTIS
 WM. BASSETT."

Barnstable, Aug't 27, 1703.

This report was read in the House June 7, 1704 and sent up for concurrence. It must have been returned without action for June 5, 1705 it was again read and endorsed "Ordered That it be Sent up, with a Motion to ye Board to Pass upon it first."† And there the matter seemed to rest.

Naturally this condition was not satisfactory to the people of Nantucket and in May, 1708, James Coffin, Esq., of Nantucket petitioned Governor Dudley and the General Court in behalf of the English inhabitants of the Island to have the report taken up and accepted.

The petition was read in the Council June 14, 1708, and sent down. June 25, 1708 it was read in the House and it was ordered that the prayer be granted, and it was returned to the Council for Concurrence; and there the record seems to end.

In November, 1716, the Indians again appealed to the General Court complaining that they were unable to obtain justice in Nantucket, and praying for relief and on November 14 of that year the following order passed both branches of the Court:

"Upon Reading a Petition of John Punker Indian Inhabitant of the Island of Nantuckett in Behalf of himself & the other Indians of the said Island Setting forth That they suffer great Injustice & Oppression from some of their English Neighbors, Praying this Court to appoint them a Guardian And that the said Island may no longer continue a County by itself, but be annex'd to some other County:

"Ordered, that the Petitioners serve the Inhabitants of Nantuckett with a Copy of this Petition that they may be heard before ye Court on the second Fryday of the Sessions in May next in answer to ye Complaints therein, & show Reason if any they have Why the Prayer of the Petition should not be Granted: and Peter Thacher Esq'r & Mr. Benjamin are desired & appointed to go to the said Island & enquire into ye matters of Greivance complained of & more especially their Whaling & Assist the Inhabitants in making

*The matter omitted had no reference to Nantucket.

†Archives of Mass. Towns II, p. 437.

a proper Representation thereof to ye Court, And Mr. Experience Mayhew is appointed with the other Persons above named to inquire into the Affair afores'd."

The subject came before the Court again on June 13, 1717, and it was "Resolved that the Island of Nantucket be annex'd to ye County of Suffolk." The House of Representatives however, declined to concur and on June 22 took the following action: "The House of Represent'ves having Non-Concur'd the Resolve of the Council annexing the Island of Nantuckett to the County of Suffolk:

Voted as follows: viz, Inasmuch as we apprehend the Indians will not be benefited thereby, but will comply with those that sue them to great Loss, rather than to be at the heavy charge of transporting themselves to Boston in answering them: Voted that his Excellency & the Council be desired to Constitute & Appoint one or two proper Persons from the Main to be of the Judges of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas & General Sessions of the Peace from Time to Time on the said Island." This solution seemed satisfactory; the Council concurred and the Governor assented to the arrangement. John Otis, William Bassett and Peter Thatcher, Esquires Justices for the Indians within the County of Barnstable or any two of them at one time with two of the Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas on the Island of Nantuckett "& no more be and hereby are impowered & appointed from Time to Time to be Justices of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas & General Sessions of the Peace to hear & determine all Causes & Matters of Difference between the English & Indians & Indians & Indians on the s'd Island."

But the Indians still remained dissatisfied, and the Records of the General Court, under date of November 17, 1718, say: "A Complaint of the Indians of Nantucket Importing that their English Neighbors allow them but half Price for their Whaling, that they have pulled down the Indian Houses & built on their Land, that they plow across the Indians & plant in their Land, & take away their Horses & Cattle to prevent their Plowing: That if the Indians sue the English, the Judges, Jury, Sheriff & Clerk are the Defendants, and Praying that they may have equal & impartial Trials, This being their fourth Complaint" was read in the Council.* Joseph Coffin, Representative of Nantucket in the General Court, in answer to the Complaint, which was signed by John Bunker and Saul in behalf of the Indians, showed that "as to what they alledge of being paid half Price for their service they have no reason to Complain, they being allowed according to the Custom of the Island, one Half, the other being allowed for the Boat & Craft which is a proportion as is allowed to white Men, that they owe the English a great Deal, who have often trusted & relieved them in their Necessities. That the English have never pulled down their Houses, but when they have built upon the English Land. That they have no other Ground to complain of the English taking away their Horses & Cattle but their being impounded, when they are taken in the English Pastures. That Titles of Land between the English & Indians are never tried on the Island of Nantucket.

That in all other Causes between them Justice has been impartially administered; and they have been often Favoured in the Judgment of their Court. That the English Inhabitants are willing

*It would seem as though the legislation ordered in November, 1717, had not been made effective.

& desirous that the Debts contracted by the Indians for the last five years may be fairly stated, & that the Records of their Court or otherwise anything unjust or unreasonable appears in their Dealings they shall be glad to be regulated." The replication was read in the Council and as no further action seemed to have been taken it may be assumed to have been satisfactory.

There seems to be no reasonable hypothesis on which to base the continued unrest of the Indians in these complaints, save the one advanced by Mr. Worth quoted previously, inability to comprehend the English laws regarding real estate transfers, and it may without doubt be deemed probable that there were white men who assisted in keeping alive the discontent.

On June 6, 1723, the Records of the General Court report "A Petition of the Indians of Nantucket Complaining of many Injuries & Abuses practiced on them by the English Inhabitants of that Island by Impounding and taking away their Horses & Cattle, Hindering them from the Use of their own Lands & making them pay rent for that which they plant on &c &c, praying Redress from this Court & that they may have a hearing of those matters. That so they may prove the truth of the things they alledge. In the House of Representatives, Read & Ordered, that the Inhabitants of the Town of Sherbourne on Nantuckett be Served with a Copy of this petition & that a hearing be held thereon before this Court on ye Second Wednesday of the Fall Session." The Council concurred with the Order and the Governor approved it.*

Again the Indians were held aloof but a short time.† The records of the Province Council for June 22, 1727 state that "In Consideration of the Complaints of lately made by the Indians of Nantucket of Injuries Rec'd from the English Inhabitants there (as they Suggest,) which is still lying before this Court,‡ and no Determination made thereon; Ordered that Nathan'll Byfield & Elisha Cook Esqrs with such as shall be appointed by the Hon'ble House of Represent'ves be fully Authorized and Impowered to Repair to

*The Town Records do not show that anything was done about this hearing.

†Under date of Boston, Oct. 12, 1722, Chief Justice Samuel Sewall addressed the following letter to Jethro Starbuck, at that time one of the Selectmen:

Sir—" am informed that there is an Indian Man dwelling on your Island, whose name is Pekenny, that he is the Owner of Twenty Acres of Land there, lying in comon with the English; That he is a sober industrious Man, keeps a Team, and helps himself, and his Neighbors. Now notwithstanding all this, I hear there is an Unwillingness in the English that this Pekenny should pasture in common with his English Neighbors; which they manifest by pounding his Cattell altho'h he turns in to feed a very modest Proportion. So far as I kno, if the matter of fact be truly stated, the Indian is hardly and unjustly dealt by. The English are many, and potent; but that should make them more careful to keep themselves far from being in the least injurious to those that desire to live peaceably with them. I write this to desire you to use your Interest in favour of Pekenny, that the English may carry it towards him with that candor which becomes Christians, especially since one main errand of Englishmen into America, was to allure and persuade Indians to become Christians. Praying God to prosper the English and Indians in their just Rights, I am, sir, your friend and servant

SAMUEL SEWALL."

Accept the inclosed sermon.

There seems to be nothing to justify the inference that Pekenny was unfairly used.

‡The General Court did not appear to have faith that injustice had been done.

Nantucket, and Call all parties before them & make full Inquiry into ye matters of ye s'd Complaint & Report the same to this Court & what they shall judge proper & necessary to be done thereon; & that his Hon'r the Lieut. Govern'r be desired to Grant a Commission to the s'd Gent: accordingly

Sent down for Concurrence

J. WILLARD SEC'Y.

There does not appear to have been any action on record carrying out this order, and so far as we know matters were fairly quiet for several years. Whether any local action was taken to satisfy the Indians, whether they became satisfied that they had no real grievance, or whether they got discouraged at their lack of success does not appear.

From 1741 to 1755, however, ample compensation was made for lost time and complaints were numerous. In 1741, the Indians sent another complaint to the General Court,* setting forth as follows: "Then Cam to Pass That we Sakedan Town Indians at Nantucket meet with Great Drouble by the Beniamin abel for Seling our land from us to the English men which we all had sheir in and then we Town Indians at our place Counsel together and we all Greed as one to Pot down the foresaid Benjamin Abel not to be sachim ouer us any more and after we had so Greed together then we Town Indians Appointed Fast to Pray to our God to Put us in a way which we should take. the church People and Town people weare together that Day and afther this all our Elders in our Town Tellus we may Put down Benjamin Abel from being Sachim in our Place and we may Chose another man to be Sachim ouer us. And we went to New York and Boston to Ask these Two Governouers and they tell us that we may Put Benjamin Abel down frome being Sachim ourer us from doing that he should not done may Chouse another man which fear God becose this Beniamen Abel had no other Power but only what he had from us we Town Indians as to do only thing in our Town and then we had liberty to Chose another man which shall Stan for us In our Town and for our Land. This was done at Nantucket Sakedan Indian Town In the fifth month 1741. In this year and time we the Sakedan Town Indians Chose this men John Quaap to be for our helpe and sachim In our Town. and Place and ouer us. we chose him becose our fathers and our Good old mans In our place tell us If euer we Chose another Sachim in our Town we should Chose this man and now we hope this a man which feare God for what he did to help the Town People In our Place concerning of our land before he was Chose so to do and after he was Desire to helpe to the Town People in what he seeth it is Good for Town People and will Defent our Enemys from us English and Indians for they are our Enemys in all they do to hurt us and from Indians of our Town to do Take our land away from us and in all maner try to hurt us but this men has ben our helpe and we fint no fault in him And we hope he is a men it has true fear of God and now you John Quaap you are the man which we Chose to be for our Sachim ouer Sakedon Town Indians and to be our helpe when you see we meet of it Concerning of our Land and we shall be your straik I John Quaap are Poor men. i haue nothing. if pleas God to spare me my life and Giue stralk† and wisdom and

*Mass. Archives, Indians, 31, p. 390.

†Just what is meant is somewhat obscure. It would seem to be strength.

understanding knowledge you shall haue your desier of me the Sakedan Town Indians Take and Chose this John to be our Sachim and helpe.

I OLD SAUL QUALKNIT (Mark)	PAUL QUAAP (Mark)
JOHN JETHRO (Mark)	ESAU COOK (Mark)
RICHARD NAPMILK (Mark)	SOLOMON ZACHARIAH (Mark)
JOHN ESOP (Mark)	JOHN SAUL (Mark)
THOMAS CAUNTEY (Mark)	THOMAS TASTER (Mark)
JOHN TALKMIN (Mark)	YOUK JOHN TASHMEN (Mark)
JAMES ESAP (Mark)	TITUS MOMACK (Mark)
JOSHUA MOMACK (Mark)	JOHN ARON (Mark)
GEORGE PECCOME (Mark)	ZACHARIAH BAHKOMBAEID
NANISH GRACHUS (Mark)	(Mark)

"In the yeare 1741-2 on the 11th month.

Then we the Indians of Sakdan Nantuckket meett with hurtt by the English of Nantuckket for daking away our Creddors from us and also from our fathers but we now spake for our seuels for we know whad haue dook* away from us In time pas." Then follows a schedule of what they say they had taken. John Quaab had a horse taken which cost him 8 pounds; Jonathan Quaab a horse he got no compensation for; James Asab a horse from his pasture which cost him 4 pounds; John Tashamen, two horses—one cost him 3 pounds "In silver" and the other 10 pounds: John Jethro, three horses which cost him 27 pounds 10 shillings, and out of the cost he got 5 pounds 13 shillings (the complaint does not say what became of the remainder); Joshua Mamock had a horse taken from him that cost him 12 pounds, and his father also had a horse taken; Paul Quaab had two horses taken that cost him 25 pounds and he received 3 pounds; Esau Cook's father lost a horse that cost him 12 pounds; Richard Napanah lost a heifer; Solomon Zachariah's father Naush Grachas and Abel Nanohoo also lost horses. Continuing, the complaint further alleges that "James Asal and John Asal make complaineth against English men of Nantuckked for their father Asal for they daken from him 12 cows and oxun In his day. this was done more 40 years ago and we Indians of Sakedan Sum of us haue hosis and we haue pastering for our hoses hyer of Einglishmen, they ask us 3 pounds friest, 4 pounds, and now they ask us 5 pounds.

And the year 1741 Einglish mens creaturs eat our corn most all up and sum they eat all up. John Quaab had anaker corn aboud half Eat op by Einglish mens Cattel and he had not neare half as much as he expeeck he should haue of that aker—and Solomon Zachariah had half anaker of corn all eat up by Einglishmen cattels.

John Jethro had half anaker Rye all eat up by Einglishmen cattel and had wequam house brock down and Einglish nauer Giue him nothing for it. John tashame had half anaker Corn all Eat op by Einglishmens cattell and had nothing for it. Esau cook had two akers corn all Eat op and had nothing for it. these Einglish men daken our creatures away from us makes other Town Indians come in uppon us daken away our wood away from our land. these Indians as there is no Einglish men to friend these Sakedan Town Indians—they care not whad hurt do unto us. Chief of those Indians is Barnabas Spotso, James papamoo and his son.

And these Einglishmen of Nantuckket they neuer dake there sheep Early In the Spring Years but let them lone there the month

*took.

of may come in and after ther sheep done sum hurt to our plandations then they dake there sheep from our land—and after they will let go there sheep dwo soon In yeare. they let them go to our land sum times last of August then they let go there sheep to go to our land to eat up our corn and. . . and ponckence then they should pay us for hurt there creatures done In our land but they neuer did and there creatures hurt us so this Eight years.”

The complaints were referred to a committee who reported in March, 1741, as follows:—*

The committee to whome was Referr'd the Comp't of John Wequaet et al's Indians of Nantucket Having heard ye Complainants & Considered thereon Are of Opinion That Inasmuch as John Masy and Tristrum Starbuck have Purchased of Benj'a Abel ye sachem The land mentioned in s'd Compl't at Secatan & a full understanding of ye matters Complained of Cannot be had without hearing the Complainants & the Sachems & s'd John & Trustrum, which with Little Charge may be Done at Falmouth in ye County of Barnstable That Therefore Some Suitable persons be appointed by this Court to hear all parties Concerned at Falmouth afores'd Giving proper notice thereof and make Report what they think fitt for this Court to Doe thereon. All of which is Humbly Submitted,

BY JNO CUSHING PER ORDER.

In Council Mar: 24—1741. Read & Accepted & Silvanus Bourn & David Crocker Esqrs & Mr. John Sumner (or any two of them) are appointed a Com'tee for the purpose above mentioned.

J. WILLARD SEC'Y.

Sent down for Concurrence

In the House of Representatives March 24, 1741. Read and concur'd

J. HOBSON, SPKR.

Consented to

W. SHIRLEY

Just what resulted from the appointment of this committee is not shown in the record. The Town Records of this period show that, in the regulations promulgated from time to time, no distinction whatever was made; the rules, clearly necessary applied just as forcibly to the English as to the Indians. About this period two Indian jurymen were chosen annually to try Indian causes or to act jointly with the whites.†

In 1743, however, the authorities on Nantucket, who seem to have been the guardians of the Indians, filed an answer to the complaints, by which it would appear that the matter of refutation was finally referred to them. Their reply is addressed “To his Excellency William Shirley Esq'r Captain Generall and Governor in Chief in and over his majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay and to the Honourable the Councill and Representatives in General Court Assembled at Boston May ye 25, 1743,” and set forth—“May it Plese your Excellency and Honours we haveing received a Copy from the Secretary of your order on a pition put into the Great and Generall Court March ye 31: 1743 by Paul Quaab, John Quaab and Abram Tashame for themselves and the Rest of the Indians of Nantuckett

*Mass State Archives. Indians Vol. 31, p. 390.

†Town Records.

s'd Petition sets forth that when said Indians Sue for their Just Debts of the English People on Nantucket they cannot Recover them in the Law, and their Lands are taken from them by said English people So that they will not be able to Raise Corn this Year for their Subsistence. this Seems to be the Complaint of s'd Indians. In obedience to your order or Desire we have Diligently Enquired into the Grounds and Occations of said Indian Complaint. Touching the first Article in their Complaint that they cannot recover their Just Debts of the English people, upon a Diligent Enquirey we could not find one single Indian of the Same. upon which we went to John Quaab and Read the copy of s'd petition and order thereon (s'd Quaab being the head man that preferred s'd Petition to s'd Court) and Desired him to mention one Instance wherein they were not able to Recover their Just Debts of the English, upon Which said John Quaab answered that they never Put in any such Complaint into the s'd Court against the English on Nantuckett and Touching their Lands being taken from them &c being the other Article in s'd Petition that they Complained of we have Diligently Enquired into and we find that John Quaab, who is the head complainant and John Tashame (who is father to Abram Tashame, s'd Abram Representing his father) and a great part of the Rest of the Indians have this Year Let out a great Many acors of Planting Land to the English people and do the Same Yearly. we find s'd Indians have one Tract of Land on Nantucket that Contains more than one thousand of acors on which there lives not above twenty eight or thirty families which they have the sole Planting of without the Least Molestation from the English, besides s'd Tract the Indians Plant their fields where they live throughout Nantuckett unmolested by the English People, From Which we Cannot find that said Indians have any Grounds at all for s'd Complaints but on ye Contrary they have had more land than they wanted to Plant Yearly.

JOHN COFFIN
ABISHAI FOLGER.*

Again the matter appears to have slumbered without any special Legislative action. It remained quiet, however, only a brief time and in 1745-6, Banquo's ghost appeared again at the feast as the following complaint shows—"Nanducked, February 1745-6, there is another Drouble we poor Indians meet with. In all our places at nondukkind† of those Einglish men we are much Droubled‡ for what they do we se what they do and we know it is not Good—they go out the Town to go to the Indian Towns on the Sabbath day to look for there men on * * * we to not * * they all do so but sum of the Grate men—and on this Spring Year and all the spring seasoness they go out there Town to cut up the whales on the sabboth day and also wash out there fish and lay im out to be dry this they often do on the sabbath day and if there sheep die they will go and skin them on the sabbath day and we poor Indians In all our places are much at last of what English * * * in our Towns and this is the Reason that there is no more people come to our meeting on the sabbath days if masters of those Indians have nothing for them to do on the sabbath days then these Indians Rather go to se there friends on the Sabbath days then to come to meeting that day.

Reason we poor Indians Remember when Mr. John Garner and Mr. James Coffin and Mr. Eben Cofen ware liveing Indians did not

*State Archives. Indians, Vol. 31, p. 452.

†Nantucket. It is not always clear what is meant.

‡Troubled.

do so In those days because those Justises let us have Indian Justises In our Towns so when Indians did anything it was unlawfull we punish them for what they do, for these Justises is Now will not let us no Indian Justises nowhere in all our Towns and now we cannot punish one another for our unlawful deeds."* The complaint seems some what in the nature of a memorandum and is unsigned.

The Court took cognizance of it, however, as is shown by the following entry—

"In Council Mar. 5, 1746. Whereas this with two other Papers relating to the Indians of Nantucket bearing date the 10th of Febry last containing complaints of their Grievances were delivered to the Secretary to be laid befor the Court:

Ordered that Francis Foxcroft, Ebenezer Burrill & Joseph Wilder Esqrs, with such as the Hon'ble House shall join be a committee to consider & report what they judge proper for this Court to do thereon.

Sent down for Concurrence

J. WILLARD, SEC'Y.

To the above named Committee the House, on the following day, joined Major Cushing, Mr. Powell, Col'o Heath and Mr. Hall. The Committee appear to have reported back immediately and to have recommended "that some suitable Person or Persons be appointed to repair to Nantucket and inquire into the matter of Grievance and report a true state thereof to this Court at the next May session." The report was accepted and the Council appointed Joseph Wilder Esq and the House appointed Col'o Richards for that Committee, with authority" to send for such Persons & Papers as they shall judge necessary in order to gain Light in the affair." Mr. Wilder declining to serve Thomas Foster was appointed in his stead.

The papers referred to in the order of March 5 read as follows:†

February 10th 1746/7

and here is other pesiness which is made by these Two Indians Barnabas Hahtussa and Joseph Koskuhtuquen they and of others Indian blood yet they come from hence to our Island to dagh‡ our wood away and our Stuffs they haue nothing to do there In and we the Sagkdan Indians make our complainth against these two Indians for haue done so In Sagkedan Indian closed this six years—and here is two poor Indions he is paul quaomb and John aran make there complaineth against the English men at nantuckeit for killing there creders** without Reason done In December 1746 and we make our complaineth to the honoureth Gournour altho to not se what he say to it.

To the Honoureth Gournor Sir, these men which is to be Judges our us they are no wayes like Christions. Ii our blaces they will not let us have no Indion Justeses In our Town that is the Reason that Indions is slake coming to meeting on the Sabboth days they go to se there friends on the Sabboth days for they know there is no Justeses to punnish them for not coming to meeting Sab-

*Several times they had Indian jurymen and they had one or more Indian justices, who seemed more strict with them than the English justices were.

†Mass. State Archives. Indians, Vol 31, p. 534.

‡take.

**creatures.

both days after Sabbath days and these English Judges they go to the Indions houses on the Sabbath days and to the work on the Sabbath days and go to se how to dake our money away from us for nothing. and now we comit our pesiness In your hans and we pray you to Return us Good anser and help us and stand up for us that we may not be huthd* by our Enemies."

February 10th 1746-7.

Then we the Indions of Saghedan hat our wood taken away and our stuffs and daken away by the English men on Nantucket. and this is what they do In all Indion placeis ad nantuckket they will not let us haue no Good Ground to bland† but they take the best of our land to make pastors for there creders, this what they do all Times.

and we the East end Indions of nantuckkit are Turneth away from our land by the English men of nantuckkit and they Turn to the Sagh Indion blasce‡ to dake away there blanding Ground from them and also there wood and stuffs. this was done In the Yeare 1746 and to the Honoured Gouvernor atd Boston and to the Counsel also thy poor Indion seruans at nantuckkit blasce called in Sagkedan Desire this fauer if you Blease that we may haue the Judgmet Crelounsed** for us In Times basse†† of our land saghedon at nantuckket bee Desire it may fillished at Boston for we se there is no man will com to nantuckkit to do anly thing for us uppon the Judgmend you made for us for what these English men do only magk us Dituer‡‡ with us friends and English concerning of our land for there is all against us, no Judge will do anly thing for us so we pray to your honours that this Judgmend may be fillished at Boston for se and know that you sent your men to come and when them come they do nothing for us and we Desire the Judgmend may be fillished here and if there be anly thing for us then we shall Receued and if not then we must be contented."

May 6, 1747, probably while consideration of the matter was still pending, the Indians supplemented their complaint with the following:*** "This what it was done at Nantuckket sakedan Indion Town that I paul quaab is much abusit by these English men and they henter me that I may not be preparing for our court peusinesses which is to be In Nantuckket by the order of the honouredt Gouvernour at Boston. Mr. James Gase sent write by the Constable to be serued uppon me and which constable dit at my house and I was going to say sumthing to him but he would not care what I said to him but he laid hans on me boolst me out my house then I Remembered the writing I had from General Court at Boston to daketh with me that men maid se that I had peusiness at Court and he call helbe and come two Einglish men to helbe constable to carre me away and they carre me neare a mile and they bind me with line and they fasten me on hoses neck, this they do to sent me out whaling that I should not be at home when the Court sit and should haue not time to make any Raternes for the Court. James Gasc sent write by constable to be served upon me when I was no ways obliged to him by any account or bromes to go whaling so long time or I neuer bromesth. Ebene Carnashaw longe I

*hurt.

†plant.

‡place.

**the meaning is obscure.

††past.

‡‡The poor penmanship and dialect spelling of the Indians sometimes makes their meaning very obscure.

***State Archives. Indians, Vol. 31, p. 546.

would go whaling for him but when constable had me before Josiah Coffen the Judge he passet sentance uppon me to pay for Court charges which is one pound fifteen shillings—and now I paul quaab make my complaineth to this court against these English men and I Desire this Honourable court to se whether Justely serued or not.

The honourabeth Judges of this Court, Sir I am fard that these Justises In Nantuckket do not do * * * with me In all times for I should be Glad if you would look In my case and if you Gentlemen Se I must loos my case shall be all well for I cannot put any trust In them."

"June the 1st 1747 then I Paul quaab haue seen so much of some of these Good men of Nantukket. one Ebene Ganar* he nauer would mak op our accounts In three year . . . but when he was mad with me then we must mak op our accounts bedwen he and I and I know his harth was not rithd me then any In our maken op our accounts. I se how he did he Reckoneth op for him things which I payeth for before, and here is another which Eben Garnar did. he want that I should go to Boston for him and he was to Giue me twenty five pounds In money and he was let me money to buy mete and drink going and comeing and he let me six pounds In money and old chaketh and New Suth and pare houes and he chargeth me Seventeen Pounds for all these things he let me haue. heare is another pesiness to this honourable court which is to be at Nantuckket that I paul quaab was sent by the Town Indions of Sakedan to go and for Bid Barnabas Spatsoo from daking our wood and stufts any more from our land. we sakedan Town Indions and as I spoke to the said Barnabas Spahsoo In the behalf of Sakedon Town Indions Desire laid my hand to dak him away from Giting any more wood from our land—and this barnabas Spahsoo he go and git writ for me and make his complaineth that I hidde in and constable come for me with writ and when I come before the Judge Josiah Coffen I se there was no witness ony one boy there to be a witness against me, which was fourthteen years of auge. the Judge Coffen never asketh him of what he knew of the said case ony what constable asketh him In time going to the Court and no more and I paul quaab was Judgmend passeth by Josiah Coffen and also nathan foulger giue sum Derektions In the said case and I was to be whip'd or to pay Ten shillings and which I payeth with my own money and also pay for court charges and which money was payeth by my master Ebene Garner he payeth for me sume of two pounds and 12 s—s and I paul quaab make my complaineth against the Judgemend was passeth uppon me to the honourable court to se whether it is Rite or not."

"I Salomon Zechariah was at that corld sam time and there was no other witness appear agains paul quabb that time ony the said boy and the Judge neuer ask him of what he know of the complaint was made against paul quaab by barnabas Spatsoo, but the Judge made paul quaab pay Two pound—12s—and Ten shillings more he payeth for whipping. this I sai is true where of I witnesseth with my own hand mark.

SALOMON ZACHERIAH, his mark"

"I John Titus can cay the same of what Solomen Zachariah says of the case for I was at that corld same time I heare all and se all. this is true whereof I witnesseth with my own hand mark.

JOHN TITUS, his mark"

"nen paul quaab nosooquoh whonk."

*Eben Gardner.

To the foregoing complaints the Selectmen of Nantucket sent the following reply:

“To His Excellency William Shirley Esq Captain Generall and Governor in Chief of the Province of the massachusetts Bay in New England and to the Honourable Council and House of Representatives in Generall Court assembled May ye 27: 1747 and by adjournment to August the 12th following:—

May it please your Excellency and Honours, haveing been served with a Copy of a Petition or Memorial Put into the Generall Court in February Last by Paul Quaab in behalf of himself and sundry Other Indians of Nantucket s'd Petition Setting forth sundry Abuses that they received from the English People there; that is thay have their wood taken from them and the best of their Land taken from them to plant and for pastures for Our Cattle and other Indians turned on their Land to plant & cut wood. may it please Your Excellency and Honours, the said Complaints are altogether false and Groundless for we have not molested nor hindred them from planting for they Yearly plant as much land as they want and have let part of their Land this Year to both English and Indians, even the Complainants themselves and it is so far from being true as to taking their wood from them that we have allow'd the Complainants and others hitherto to cut what wood and stumps they have occasion to burn upon Our Land that we have Purchased of their Avowed Sachems and other owners for which we have good Deeds for and what occationed their Complaints Concerning Wood was because we allowed the Indians from other parts of the Island that had no wood to cut wood on Our Lands above mentioned and their is not any among us that had any particular Tract of Land fm the Sachems but Enjoys it unmolested by us, nor have these any share in Paul Quaabs Complamt. the said Paul Quaab and his Complainants they nor their Ancestors Never had nor were allowed any other Land by the Sachems but a planting Right and that they payd the Sachems an acknowledgement yearly for which we alow in full (haveing purchast of the Sachems) without any acknowledgement or gratuity neither have we pastured our cattle on any land but what we have purchas'd as above mentioned. and touching the killing their Creatures in the Year 1746 their hath not a Creature of theirs been killed except a few unruly dogs they had which we killed for the more safety of Our sheep which the province laws seemed to support us in. we have Great Reason to think that s'd Paul's Petition or Complaint was first formed by some Evil minded persons among us that makes a trade of supplying the Indians with Rum and have had the produce of their Land and Labour for little or no value and from the reasons above mentioned pray that y'r Excellency and Honours in your Wisdom would Dismiss said Paul's Complaint and as in Duty bound shall ever pray

THOMAS MACY
MATTHEW JENKINS
RICHARD COFFIN
PAUL STARBUCK
NATHAN COFFIN
GRAFTON GARDNER”*

} Selectmen
of the Town
of Sherbourne

John Bunker of the Selectmen did not sign the remonstrance for some reason.

*State Archives. Indians, Vol. 31, p. 538.

At about the same time the following petition was presented to the General Court:

"To His Excelency William Shirley Esq'r Captain Generall and Governour in chief in and over his majesties Province of the massachusetts Bay in New England and Honourable his Majesties Councill and house of Representatives in General Court Assembled May ye 27: 1747.

the Petition of Abashai Folger in behalf of the Town of Sherborn on Nantuckett—

May it plesse Your Excellency and hounours there was a Complaint put into the great and generall Court in february 1746 by Paul Quawb an Indian of Nantuckett setting forth Sundry abuses that s'd paul and other Indians received from the Inhabitants and Authorities in Sherborn aforesaid upon which the s'd grt and generall Court ordered a Committ'e to Repair to Nantuckett and to Enquire into the Grounds of the abovesid Complaint.

With Submission to yo'r Excellency and hounours What yo'r Petitioner hath to ofer is this when s'd Complaint was put into s'd Court the Town of Sherborn had no Representative in Court to make answer to s'd Complaint. If it had been Otherwise y'r Petitioner is of Opinion that the s'd Complaint would have been Dismissed.

Y'r Petitioner in behalf of his said Town* Prays that y'r excellency Hounours would Reconsider s'd Vote or order of Court and Grant that s'd Town of Sharborn may be Notifed with a Copy of s'd Paul's Complaint and that they make their answer in Some reasonable time which y'r Petitioner thinks would be means of Saveing a Considerable Charge for y'r Petioner is well Acquainted with the affairs amoung the Indians at Nantuckett and thinks the Abovesaid Complaint altogether Groundless and y'r Petitioner as in Duty bound shall forever pray.

ABISHAI FOLGER"

In the House of Rep'tives June 5, 1747

Read and Ordered that the Pet'r serve the Town of Sherburne with a Copy of this Pet'n and the Pet'n of Paul Quaban within refer'd to

And the further Consideration of said Pet'n is refer'd till the first fryday of the next Sitting of this Court and all Proceedings with respect to the Committee appt'd to repair to Nantucket are suspended in the mean time.

Sent up for concurrence

T. HUTCHINSON SPK'R.

In Council June 6, 1747.

Read and Concurr'd

J. WILLARD SECY.

Consented to

W. SHIRLEY."

But the Indians were persistent with their complaints and under date of July 14th drew up the following:†

"Then This written Instrumend was mad at the place called Sakkedan Indion Town at Nantuckket. This is whad These Einglish men haue done onto us the poor Indions at Nantuckket when the Einglishmen dak us out whaling with Them to Sea they will let us

*Mr. Folger was the Representative of Nantucket in the General Court.

†State Archives. Indians, Vol. 31, p. 542.

no time to Rest on the sabbath days if they see whal or whales then we must Row after them if it be on the sabbath day all day long, we must be Rowing after whal or whales or be killing whal that sabbath day. This is what Nantuckket Einglish men do onto us we poor Indions of Nantuckket and now we heare they say at Genald corte that the Indions of Nantuckket are no ways like christions and the Gouvernour at Boston and the Counsel know nothing of whad these men do, how can we be any ways be like christians when we should be praying to God on the Sabbath day morning then we must be Rowing after whal or killing whal or cutting up whal on Sabbath day when we should be at rest on that day and do no worly labour only to do sum holy duties to draw near to God and when on land then we have no time to go to the meeting and then we are call to go away again to sea whaling. how can we serve God or to worship him on the Sabbath days or at any time when our masters lead us to darkness and not In light and these young Indions which are brought op by the Einglish of Nantuckket they dak no notice of the sabbath day if they be at meting house they will go away again to see there Friends and there is Indion In our Town which are willing to worship God or to Serve God In all times if they can and I hope there is some of us Indions which haue true fear of God. it is we it was brought op by our own parants and had see our fond Fathers ways to worship God. we are all will to do what we can to serue God but these Einglishmen henter us from being more Constand to serueing God, and we Indions say by these Einglish as they say by us they are no ways like Christions for if they was they would go by Rules of the Gospel and should be In true fear of God, now we Indions on Sakkedan Town make our complaineth of these Einglish men of Nantuckket to this Honourable Genald Courld at Boston—and we old Fathers make complaineth with these Town Indions concerning our children. the names of these old men is Saul quaskenit and old Stauel caleb and old daster and James pocknit.

and we are the men this Sakkedan Town Indions we will dak the consel of these old men it makes the complaineth to this courld* the Names of these men is John quaab, and James Asal and Israel akailka."

This was followed on August 4 by still another complaint. The seeming frivolity of some of the Indian complaints, viewed from the English standpoint would make them of minor interest, but viewed from the standpoint of their apparent inability to fully comprehend a law which allowed even their sachems to dispossess them of rights in lands they and their ancestors had enjoyed from time immemorial, as suggested by Henry B. Worth, Esq., they seem invested with much importance to them.

The complaint of August 4 alleges† "Then this written Instru-mend was made for all the Nantuckket Indion places of there complaineds against the Einglish of Nantuckket, now the Est end of Nantuckket Indions make these Complaind against the Einglish for taking there hay away from them which they cut of there mattrest‡ and when the Einglish tak Indion whalman out our place to go to the sea whaling if there be any whal or whales to be seen on the Sabbath day Indions must go and Row after them and if whal be killed then it must be cut op if it can be; so, too, if it be on Sab-

*This word wherever used means Court.

†Mass. Archives, Indians, Vol. 31, p. 544.

‡Probably meadows is intended.

bath day this is knowing by whalmen, it comes from Barnstable Einglish and Indions they sent done and the owners of these vessels know that the masters of there vessels will kill whal on Sabbath day if they can yet they say nothing to them. this is true no lye. we will tell no lyes concerning these Nantuckket whaleman for we no ways angry with these men. to they will let us no time to Read our Books on Sabbath days but we are sore when we see these things done by these men—and nantuckket Einglish men say nantuckket Indions are no christions. it is true we cannot be a true Christions for we haue no Books that we may haue under standing by them but we are willing to do what we can to serve God In all times Especially on the Sabbath days—

These Einglish of Nantuckket tell you that we are no christions. These men tell you so that you Gread men at Boston that you will leaue us In there hans, to do what they will with us and our land—and these men Desire no peace with us we poor Indions. if they are for peace they would not henter the chosen men from coming on Nantuckket to see how the case is between them and us—

And we poor Indions pray the Honoureth Gouvernour at Boston and the Honoureth Counsel also to be our helpe where you see it is Good for us we poor Indions.

And we Desire more Fauer of your Honours to Giue us the Indion Books that we may learn our Children to Read and say there Catechis that may haue learning to know God and know how serue God in true fear—

John Quaab is the chief in this concearn to all Indions In Nantuckket chord with him In this consearn and the names of these Indions are heare written—Titus Ezekil, Amsiah manoras, James pockinit, Joseph Pocknit, Abram toalyu, Eben Kain, John Titus, Samuel Papomoo.”

Another petition dated August 9, 1747* sets forth that the Indians have had all their land at S'kwam taken away and threatened that their houses would be moved; that they are deprived of land of which they have deeds that have been recorded and from which 509 loads of hay have been taken. The English are driving them to the west end of the Island where no corn can grow. Eight “dayes past they mad a General Call among we poor Indions to Com and hear the paper that Gouvernor Sharle had sent and we went the munday falling and heard it Red by Abisha folger and Johnathan Coffin and Richard Coffin and they Rad we was to plant as much as they Likt apeas three men thought fit and where they Liked. thay Will Giue Liberty and without thare consent wee shall do nothing and that we should Let no Land to aney pour man thay Neead not Giueing that Charge We Cant Git it to plant our one because they Ceep it out of our hands and I pray you to take it in consideration and Assist us and I pray that God mit be of our side and be your Gide and do the thing that is Jest. we want not B folger nor no other man that is Liueing on the Island to be ouer us for all thay that are Liueing on hear that are Concerned in Comens, there Sperits are of the diuel and thay cant do nothing that is Good or Jest concearning us. all we want is our Land in witch is Colled Skwarn for us to make use of as we haue all our dayes past tell thay haue Euen as taken it by fose it away. We desire to haue it Returned to be our one our Life time and for Euer and not to be destorbed from our Comfort in this world. I dont

*Mass. Archives. Indians, Vol. 36, p. 545.

under sand why thare should not be Jestes for us and why our Names may be oap out

ISAACK NOOSSE ouat
APRAN NORSEKOV ouat

The Council considered these complaints, as in duty bound to do, and on August 15, 1747, took the following action—"Read and Ordered that Samuel Watts, Ezekiel Cheever & James Minot Esqrs with such as the hon'ble House shall join be a Committee to hear the Parties now attending & report what they judge proper for this Court to do thereon." On August 18 the House concurred with the order and joined Major White, Mr. Rice, Mr. Millen and Captain Wilder.

The records would seem to imply that there was something in the nature of the filing of affidavits by Paul Quaab and others.* Quaab alleged that he was carried by a constable before Judge Coffin and by him committed to prison not, as he states, for any offence he had committed but because "I liued In the house which belongeth to we Town Indions and This house was made by our fore Fathers and also our own Fathers this Town Indions made this house for the Towns use or for their Saichem to liue Ineth and our fathers took care to mend the hous and to seteth where they all Greed to set there houses and no Town Indions do the same to mend the said house and to seteth where we shall all Gue to Seteth."

Paul goes on to state that he told Judge Coffin that he would be glad to have the General Court settle the question about the house and asserts that the Judge told that neither the Governor nor counsel should hinder him from settling any case brought before him. He also alleges that the constable (Micah Coffin) told him that no authority at Boston could remove him from his (the constable's) custody. Paul therefore calls those two men enemies and asserts an unwillingness to be judged by them. He names to prove his case Stephen Caleb, who is nearly 100 years old, and Saul Quahnit nearly as old. Their statements over their own signatures (or marks) are appended. Other affidavits of a similar nature are signed (by marks) by Amsiahmanuas Abel Nannohoo and others.

It must be that the investigation halted badly or was not pushed at all for in 1749, the subject is again brought to the attention of the Court—this time by the Guardians of the Indians, in the following report.†

"To the Honourable Spencer Phips Esq'r Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and the Representatives in Generall Court assembled on the Twenty-second of November, 1749.

May it Plese your Honours:

Pursuant to the order of the Great and Generall Court in the may sessions last we the subscribers Guardians for the Indians on Nantuckett have Enquired in to the Grounds of Poul Quaabs Complaint set forth in his Petition in June last Setting forth that

*Mass. Archives. Indians, Vol. 31, p. 546.

†Mass. State Archives, Indians, Vol. 31, p. 658.

the English take away all the best of their Lands at Nantucket—we find the said Complaint all-together Groundless and no foundation for the same for the Village of Indians where the said Complainant us'd to live which seems to be the Place he aims at there is about twenty five familys of Indians which have the Yearly choice of above twenty-five Hundred Acres of Land where they Live to Plant unmolested and a great part of the same as good Planting Lands as any on the Island of Nantuckett, neither do they yearly plant one quarter part of the same that is in good order for Planting tho unmolested by the English, and as Touching the Complainants setting forth that they cannot have their Accompts made up with the English people we haveing diligently Enquired into the same—cannot find one Single Instance and are therefore of Opinion that the whole of the Complaints are without any foundation of truth.

JONATHAN COFFIN	Guardians
RICHARD COFFIN	for the
ABISHAI FOLGER	Indians

The General Court seemed entirely satisfied with the statement of the Guardians and the report was ordered accepted by the Council December 8, 1749. The House concurred on January 1 following and the proceedings were at once consented to by Governor Phips.

The settlement, however, was only a brief one for under date of July 23, 1754, another petition was sent to the General Court by the Indians setting forth that they were wrongfully deprived of their lands and that the English repeatedly trespassed on their property and they could obtain no remedy. They petitioned that the question of titles be adjudicated in some other County. This petition was signed by Issac Woosoo, Titas Ezechorta, Amssi, Issak Joel, Jo Samsun, Atunnenapass, John Napass, Sambopomas, Rogkcabe, John Titas, Tam Sass, John Bakin, Nanjomu Isnooey, Nenoben Cain, Bangeman Jo, Ruben Kunoo, Ruben Job, Appaum Sam.*

Following this complaint is a peculiar and interesting series of documents. The first is a complaint purporting to be drawn by Benjamin, John Quaab and Ben Joab and endorsed "This Englished by me. Exp. Mayhew" and dated July 6, 1751.† The second purports to be the will of Sachem "Neekonuso" devising to his sons Puttumpantanum Noosoo, What Nooso, James Nooso and Paul Nooso certain lands "The first Bounds in Mashquttoohk or Read River and as far as Apaqunuminnohkite and as far as Aqunoonogquesit (or the hole Where a stone stands) and Then as far as Hashkinuitchaocket Westward of ye hill from thence as far as Mashquapomtit, Quite to ye River."‡ This is dated January 9, 1668. The third is a statement purporting to be under the hand and seal of Wawinit, Tatahquamomoy, Keostahkaw, Wunaoa-uohquen, me Themanum and Benj'a Joab Yompasham alleging their right to the land, which right is also attested by Peter Tup-

*Mass. Archives, Indians, Vol. 32.

†Mass. Archives. Indians, Vol. 32, p. 167.

‡Ib. 168.

hose, Peleg Tuphose and Benj'a Joab Yompashom. This also purports to be translated by Experience Mayhew, is endorsed as recorded July 23, 1745 and the copy made by Enoch Coffin. Register April 20, 1750.* The fourth purports to be a copy of the record of the General Court at Edgartown made by Enoch Coffin ordering certain lands, rights and privileges set apart for the Indians perpetually. The record is alleged to bear the date of June 20, 1672. The fifth purports to be a copy of a deed given June 5, 1677, by Nicornoosoo to his brothers, Keattohquen and Wohuauinwat of certain lands on Nantucket with all the priveleges on and in.† It reads as follows: "The Deed of Niconoosoo Which he Gave To his Brothers In Before this General Cort at Nantuckett This fifth of June 1677 Then This Keattohquen and Wohwauinwat These Two have full Commission To Use of all Niconoosoo his Land and With all ye fruits of The Land at Nantuckett Every Roots or trees or Grass and all That is There in aye and the Stones Shall Be theirs and If ye Whale Shall happen to come Shore That Shall be theirs also and all that Is Belongs There in Shall Belong to his heirs & Assigns for Ever: after him This Deed was Given Before me Tho's Mayhew. Witness Pakepanossoo and Wananicoh-quantum and Restuumm This is a True Coppie of a Deed of Niconoosoo Gave to my own Borthers—Keatohauen and Wohwaninwat. They Shall Inherit it for Ever as Well as I and Niconossoo and all our Children for Ever In witness whereof I Do to this Before Generall Cort Sett To my hand This fifth of June 1677—

NICONOOSSOO × his mark."

This interesting document bore the following indorsements

"I Wauwinit Like my father's Deed and I willingly sett to my hand This 5th of June 1677.

WAUWANIT his mark. ✓"

"This Wrighting Was made in Before This Generall Cort at Nantuckett This fifth of June 1677

BY NICONOOSSOO

and WAUWENIT

(Seal)

me THO'S MAYHEW Witness by my hand.

Enter'd June 6th, 1677

Enter'd June 6th 1747.

A True Coppie of on the Records

MATT MAYHEW

this 6th September 1689.

A True Coppie of yt on ye Record of Land Evidence for Dukes County in Book ye 1st folio 38.

Compear'd Sept'r 25th 1749

pr. ENOCH COFFIN Reg'tr."

Still another complaint seems to have been sent to the General Court at or about the same session, which alleges‡—"Thus It is concerning Land at onkawoam. There were Certainly Two Sa-

*Ib. 168.

†Ib. 170.

The phraseology ascribed in the indorsements to Thomas Mayhew bears little resemblance to what one might expect from him.

‡Mass. Archives. Indians, Voi. 32, p. 273.

chims: I, David Yompashom Do Say Lame Sachim and Wunnonchumaomog ware the Sachims at Onkawom and These Were both Children of one Man and one Woman. They were brothers. Wherefore one had one half ye other had The other half of ye Land of onkawam. I David Yompashom Do Say that Nakedco-tonnit Was The first Born after him was Born Wunnonchumanog.—Wunnonchumnomog had a Son Called Soosooahquekhat. I David Yompashum had for my Grandfather nakadootuannit Who was owner of the Land Which I David Yompashum Do own. I first Sought it at The hands of Able Soosooahquakhut and Kain Soosooahquakhut and Before Their Greate men and I say I found or obtained it from their hands who all said David Yompashon Did Speak True That There was but Two Sachims at onkawoam: and David Yompashom Speaks True That Nakadtooaamit was his Grandfather and wunnauchumaamog who were Brothers Nakadtootnanmit or Lame Sachim was the first Born. after him was Born Wunnanchumaomog. Therefore I say I David Yompashom am ye owner of half Onkawom Because Nakodtataonnit Was my Grandfather and he Did Not Sell Land as Long as he Lived. I David Yompashom say this is Certainly True. God is my Witness.”

This statement is also sworn to by Askamosoo (March 4, 1719), by Sosawapin William and by Wullontoonckin. And Yompashom continues—“I David Yompasham Sought this Land at Boston and with me the Partner Daniel Spotsoo and a True man Micah Peemy and I found or obtained it Before the Sachims There at Boston Daniel Spotsoo and Micah Peem and Ebn'r Coffin was There before the Boston Sachims who ordered s'd Coffin that when he Came to Nantucket he Should Measure it to me Because he said David Yompashom speak True but after they came to Nantucket Yompashom Went to Ebn'r Coffin Desireing him To Measure his Land to him but said Coffin Then bid him Go to Boston for a Commission for him to Do it Thus much Being Don David Yompashom Died.” The concluding part appears to be the affidavit of Banj'n Yompashum, that he is heir to the land through his father who never sold it. He says further that he is “the Last Alive of that Race or family.” The marks of Titus Judah, Nat Oypahchamuk, Titus Haranus and James Panahtohkut are appended as witnesses and are followed by this affidavit: “The Within Written is a True Coppie Taken from Old Papers by ye Request of Benj'n Joab.

Taken by me
ENOCH COFFIN.”*

Still another petition appears from the Indians to the General Court † setting forth substantially but more briefly the same story of oppression by the English who for the past forty years have taken horses and cattle alleging that the Indians had no right to keep them and claiming that they (the Indians) could obtain no remedy at law. The English also deprived them of their planting land. They petitioned that their cases might be tried in some other county. This petition is dated December 2d, 1734, and is appended to the other papers. It is signed by:

ISACKEOOSOO
TITAS JUTAS

BONCHEMON JOAB
AMSIAS

*Of Martha's Vineyard.

†State Archives. Indians, Vol. 32, p. 274.

PAUIL WUBASOEKE	EBEN CAIN
SAMME BOPAMOO	SAMUEL AUTCKE
JOSIAH ARUTUSBEKEN	ANTM NABER
JEMUS MOLES	RICHOT ASBATAMUK
BELUK TITUS	BELUK SHAE
JOHN SAMSUN	ISACK JOEL
SAM BAN JAME	ROBEN ASSATEAMAK
JOHN BOUKEN	ABKIL JO
JUNATAN BEPAMOS	EBEN ROBEN
BUTAS JUTAS	MICAH SMEK
JOHN TITUS	PATESMER
POM SAUL	JOSEB SAMSUN
JOHN KUTUS.*	

These matters were considered by the Council, December, 28, 1751, and Jacob Wendell, Samuel Danforth and Andrew Oliver, Esqs., on the part of the Council were joined with Mr. Oliver, Capt. Livermore, Maj. Lawrence and Capt. Fry on the part of the House "to take this petition into Consideration and Report thereon as soon as may be."

The Committee made the following report:

"The Committee appointed to consider the Petition of a number of Indians, Inhabitants of Nantucket, have met & heard two of said Indians thereupon who farther alleged that they are Owners of one half of said Island, altho the English set up a Claim to a greater proportion in consequence of a late Indian deed.

The Committee are therefore humbly of opinion that the Guardians of said Indians be served with copies of their Petition & of the Evidence brought to support it, and that the s'd Guardians notify the English Inhabitants who may be affected thereby, that so they may make answer thereto as soon as may be. And that the said Guardians be directed likewise to make a representation of Facts relating to this affair at the same time, that so the Court may give the necessary Order about it. And in the meantime that the said Guardians be directed to take effectual care that the Indians be supported & protected in the enjoyment of their wonted Priviledges & Improvements."

The Council accepted this report and added an order "that the English Inhabitants of Nantucket concerned in the Affair within mentioned give in their Answer to the Indians' Complaint, & the Guardians of the Indians their Representation of ye Facts, on the first Fryday of the next Sitting of this Court."

The House concurred with the Council order and Lt. Gov. Phips gave it his approval.

To this order the Guardians made the following reply:†

"To his Honour Spencer Phips Esq'r. Lieut. Governour of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England and the Honour-

*It is difficult to tell just what their names are. We can define Bonchemon as Benjamin; Jutas as Judas; Samme as Samuel; Richot as Richard; Samsun as Samson; but it is not always so easy to distinguish what is meant.

†Mass. Archives. Indians, Vol. 32, p. 271.

able his Majesties Council and house of Representatives in Generall Court Assembled:

May it Plese Your Honours we the Subscribers Guardians of the Indians at Nantuckett having Served with Copys of a Petition and Other papers put into the Great and General Court in December last by Ben Job and other Indians of Nantuckett and with a Copy of the order of Your Honours we have notified the English Proprietors of Nantuckett with Copys of Said Petition the Indian Testimony and Said order of Court thereon.

And as to the Abuses of the English towards the Indians as the Indians set forth in said Petition the first is that the English people for fourty years past have taken Away all their Horses & Cattle, which is false and a Groundless Complaint for every Indian on Nantuckett that have Right to keep them Enjoys that Priviledge now unmolested which is Many and the Principall Complaint Ben Job hath a Right for to keep two horses which he had of the Occowaw* Sachem which he hath Always Enjoyed without the least molestation by the English and in the Deeds of Purchase which the English had of several Sachems originally they Reserv'd a Considerable Number of Rights for Keeping horses for themselves and other Indians which they peaceably Enjoy and always have Except what they have since Sold, and as to their planting land which they say the English people have taken away not Suffering them to plant any in peace is as manifestly false as their other Complaint for there is many of them that had Considerable Tracts of land given them and bounded heretofore by the severall Sachems which they have always Enjoyed Clear from molestation by the English and those Indians that had no particular Tracts of land allotted them by the Sachems are all of them Allowed to plant yearly as much as they want and have large tracts to choose out of and Yearly plant more than they hoe after it is planted & they have Hundreds of Acors to Choose out of for planting So that they are not Confin'd to poor land and notwithstanding the Good and wholesome law of the Province they frequently for the Sake of strong Drink let Some of the Ill minded English plant the best of their land and plant poorer themselves and If they Own the whole Island we are Humbly of the opinion they'd wast and destroy most of the profits of the Same notwithstanding all the laws that are in favour of them they are so universally given to Strong Drink to Such a great Degree which we think together with the advice of Some Ill minded persons for Interests Sake is the Only motive of their uneasiness and pretended Complaints and as farther touching their planting notwithstanding the Miserable Care that they take of their Corn after it is planted so that they have not above Half a Crop of Corn in a general way Yet they have So little Regard to their own wellfare that as Soon as their Corn is Ripe the Greater part of them for the Sake of Rum begin to make sale of it So that they are Out of Corn before the winter is past and by the Spring of Year that the English are obliged to supply them with Corn on Credit or they would go Nigh to perrish with Hunger.

And the said Benjamin Job Claims a Tract of land by Virtue of a Writeing said to be Given by Nekanusoo bearing date 1668. we have taken Considerable pains in Searching into that Writeing

*Obed Macy in some unpublished manuscript spells this name Ochorwaw and says it was located near the east end of Gibbs Swamp. It was a considerable Indian village containing one of their meeting houses.

and it seems to be self Evident to be a piece of Forgery for it appeared Originally writ in Indian Translated into English by Mr. Experience Mayhew whereas the Year that said Writeing bears date there was not an Indian on Nantuckett that understood One letter in the Alphabett neither did there ever Appear to be such a Writeing untill about the time that it Crept on the Records of Marthas Vineyard which was in the year 1745, they nor their fathers before all their lifetimes never pretended or laid any Claim to any Such Right neither doth said pretended deed Carry any Evidence with it to prove its Validity so but that any Indians at any time may forge a number of Such papers and Date them far Enough back and If they must be held Valid and of any forse they will Destroy all the most Authentick Deeds that have been upon Record for Sixty years or more past. If they do but mind to date them far enough back from which no man can be sure of his property or Safe in that Case, whereas John Swain late of Nantuckett obtained a Deed of Purchase in 1680 of Wawinit the then avowed Sachem and Son and Heir unto the said Neckanosoo for the bigger part of the same tract of land beginning at the same bound Specified in the Indian Writeing and Running on the Same Courses untill it Comprised the greater part of s'd Indian tract mentioned in their Writeing and s'd John Swain made Conveyance of s'd purchase unto the proprietors of Nantuckett who Immediately built Sundry Houses thereon and Improved the whole for Above Sixty years peaceably in the lives of the now Claimers Ancestors who never demur'd with them or laid any Claim of any such Right knowing the same to be Honestly and legally sold as seems to Appear.

And farther the s'd Benjamin Job Complains of a fence being lately set up which is prejudicial to them in their planting, the English have a Large Tract of land there of Some Thousands of Acors which was so Over Ran with Rubage and Bryars that it was almost Destroyed as to its Profit and the motive that Induced the English to be at such a great Expense was that the Stock Creatures might destroy the rubbage and make the land fitter for Other Improvements again and for no other Reason. s'd fence takes in a Small part of the Land that Ben Job Claims by s'd Writeing which makes him mention that. there is some few Indians that have Some Planting fields within said fence in the Room of which the English have Allowed them what land they want without the fence which they have planted to their satissfaction.

And Ben Job farther Intimated that he Owns half Occowa Sachemship by Virtue Some former Indian Sachem there he Calls a lame Sachem and by All that we Can find there Never was any such lame Sachem at Occowa or ever any pretence before for neither the oldest English man nor Indian on Nantuckett. Never heard of any such Sachem there and the tribe Indians that lives there are Ready to destroy him for makeing any such pretence.

The English People when they first Came on Nantuckett found that Wannuchmaymock was the Avowed Sachem and lord of the s'd Occowaw Sachemship and it has Remained in the hands of him and his Successors unto this day without the least demur and who the English always Purchased of and s'd wannunchmay was Always the Allowed Sachem while we were under New York by said Government for Occawwa And as Touching the Sachems the other Indians yearly paid their acknowledgements for their planting which as soon as the English Purchased Sachems lost their profits that way which was some benefit to the Common Indians.

The English have always in favour to the Indians fenced their planting land for them Otherwise they would have had no Corn

which the English people were not Obligated to do. the above as to us the subscribers Seems the Real facts as they now stand.

RICHARD COFFIN

ABISHAI FOLGER.

Guardians unto the Indians of Nantuckett.

The Proprietors also filed a reply which was as follows:*

To the Honourable Spencer Phips Esq'r, Lieutenant Governour & Commander in Chief in and Over his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay, &c. And to the Honourable, his Majesties Council and the Honourable House of Representatives in General Court Assembled the second day of April 1752: May it Please your Honours:—

The Propriety of the Town of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket at a Meeting Legally Warned and Met together on the 19th Day of February, 1752. Made choice of a Committee to Draw up an Answer to a Petition of sundry Indians of Nantucket Preferred to your Honours in December last Past: And we having Weighed the Matter fully are Humbly of the Opinion that the said Petition is altogether Groundless their Complaint being Exhibited against the s'd Proprietors for greatly oppressing them under sundry Heads, viz't. about Forty Years ago the s'd Proprietors took away all their Horses and have continued so to do ever since which Assertion we find to be false for the said Proprietors do not appear by any Record to have Impounded any Horses or other Beast belonging to the Indians for many Years last past. And we find in fact that the Complainants Forty years past and down to this Day ever since did peaceably Enjoy the Pasturing of many Horses and Cattle and even Benjamin Joab Yom-pau-sha the very Head of this Faction doth at this Time and hath for divers years past quietly Enjoyed the Pasturage of Two Horses being a Right derived from the Onk-a-wo-om Sachem by Deed and so do all others of the Indians who by any means have obtained liberty from either of the Sachems for Pasturing of Horses or Cattle. All others tis true the said Proprietors have from time to time Impounded and the Indians have often compained thereof to the Great & General Court unto whom the s'd Proprietors have as often shown the Justice of their Proceeding and defended their Cause to the satisfaction of that August Assembly and in no ways despair of doing the same again .By reason that all the Rights they Hold they Purchased of the Sachems who then subsisted (when the English first Settled this Island of Nantucket in the Years 1660 & 61) And were by the Indian Inhabitants Unanimously owned & acknowledged to be such. Who were then in Number viz. Ne-con-noo-soo-, Wan-nunch-man-mog & At-ta-pe-hot, of whom & of their Descendants (By virtue of a Grant from the Government of New York to whom we were then Subject and since upon Our being annexed to this Province was Ratified by this Court) they Purchased all the Lands & Pasturage they Enjoy or claim And no other Sachem was then known or Acknowledged, Altho Benjamin Joab Yum-pau-sha claims half the Onk-a-woom sachemship under his great Grandfather Neka-do-ton-net an elder Brother as he saith to Wan-nunch-mau-mog neither Man, Name nor Claim ever heard of (as we can find) before now even by the oldest People divers of whom exceed Fourscore years. It is a very Ancient Claim for Wan-nunch-mau-mog if he had to this Time lived would have been 150 years old & upwards for he

*State Archives, Vol. 32, p. 271. This reply is a fine piece of penmanship.

was a Man in Years when the Island was first settled and Dy'd beyond the memory of Man.

And as to their Planting Land where anyone hath obtain'd from the Sachem any particular Tract of Land the said Propriety hath in no Wise interrupted them in the Peaceable Enjoyment thereof And it hath ever been and still is their Practice to Indulge them in the Choice of any Piece or Parcel of Land throughout a very large part of s'd Island containing many Hundreds of Acres to plant in and the Quantity without Controul or limitation and a great Part of that which they Plant they never Hoe to Effect but Destroy our Interest and their owne too. And as to others (who desired it) the Propriety have allotted certain Tracts of Lands by Meets and Bounds more than a sufficiency for their owne Planting And even more than they have Occasion of or desire to make Use of so that though it was Assigned to their Use only they nevertheless often Hire it out to the Non proprietors for the sake of Rum of which their Desires are Insatiate And for which (if not Restrained) they would Hire out the whole Island which would fall far short of sufficing them.

And as to the Land Inclosed in the absence of the Complainant We find that they had no Design of the advantage of his Absence For the setting up of that Fence was many Months before Determined by the Proprietors Legally Warned and Met on that Occasion. And Furthermore the Complainants have Planted no Land in that Tract for many Years Past under any Pretext of a Planting Right whatsoever But the Proprietors have made use of it for Meadow land which for lack of Summer feeding is over run with Briars and other Rubbish which Renders it less Profitable to the Owners, to suppress which the Proprietors by a Vote legally Passed in the propriety have Determined to Pasture and Feed the same with Sheep Cattle & Horses without the least Design of Prejudice to the Indians. And we Humbly Conceive it can be no Damagae to the Complainants.

And as to the Complainants Petitioning for the Removal of Tryals in Real Estate to some other County for that both Judges and Jurors are all Interested we Answer Tis fact as to the Justices but not as to the Jurors for we have a sufficiency of Disinterested Persons to compleat divers Juries if Occasion offers nor hath it been the Parctice of our Courts to Proceed otherwise And since our Court is not finally Decisive But Our Appeals in all civil Causes are to the County of Suffolk we Humbly conceive Your Honours will not Deprive us of the Privileges Granted to us by the afores'd Government of New York and since Confirmed to us by the Great & General Court of this Province since we have done Nothing to Render us Unworthy of the same.

May it Plese your Honours:

We are Humbly of the Opinion that the Complaints are not Grounded on any Misusage or Injustice offered by the said Proprietors to the Complainants But rather sprang from the Instability of that Nation easily Influenced by the Instigation of Evil-minded Persons Who for some sinister Ends stir them up to Mischief Even to Perjuries & frequent Forgeries sundry of which have been self Evidently so Others by clear Evidence have been Proved to be so. And the Deed that Accompanies this Complaint doubtless is one of that sort. And Unquestionably will so appear to your Honours when your Honours Reflect on Mr. Thomas Mayhew's Fashion of Witnessing the same Who was a Merchant bred and President of the Court in Dukes County But he appears in said Deed to sign (Mr. Thomas Mayhew this my Hand) Which Deed is said to be Given by Ne-con-noo-soo in the year 1668 Written in the Indian Tongue long before any Indian on this Island of Nan-

tucket knew one Letter in the Alphabet and Pretended to be Granted to Pe-te-pon-tum-Noo-soo, Wat-Noo-soo, James Noo-soo & Paul-Noo-so the Four Sons of the s'd Ne-con-noo-soo And the Mark of Wan-win-net (amongst others) is set thereto as a Witness who was son & Heir to the s'd Ne-con-noo-soo And in the Year 1686 Conveyed by Deed the same Lands beginning at the same Bounds to One of the English Proprietors on s'd Island Which Deed was then Recorded And a great Part of the Lands Granted was then Entered into & Fenced by the said Proprietors Even in the lifetime of the said Pet-te-pon-tum-Noo-so, Wat-Noo-soo, James Noo-soo & Paul-Noo-Soo,, Who never Claim'd Challeng'd or Demanded the same or any Part thereof nor their Successors after their Decease by Virtue of any Title by their s'd pretended Deed Notwithstanding it was but 18 years after that was pretended to be given to them by their s'd Father Ne-con-noo-soo's Deed which Deed was never Recorded till the Year 1745 at which time it Jumpt into the Record of Dukes County Knight arrant like or rather stole in where it lay conceal'd till about Two years Past then it appeared privately abroad and now in Publick but from whence it came or by whom made we know not.

And Finally we knowing the Assertians to be true which we have herein Represented are Humbly of the Opinion that your Honours wil see Cause to dismiss s'd Petition

JER'H GARDNER

JOSIAH COFFIN"

The General Court does not appear to have taken any further record action on this matter until the following June when the Council adopted the following:*

"In Council June 5, 1753. Read & Ordered that Zaccheus Warren Esq & Dr. Mathew Mayhew of Marthas Vineyard be & hereby are appointed & impouered to repair to the Island of Nantucket as soon as may be & there make Inquiery into the Grievances suggested & complained of by the Indians in this Petition & other Papers accompanying the same & all other matters of complaint now subsisting. That the above mentioned Gentlemen have Power to send for Persons & Papers as occasion may be. That they endeavour an accomodation of those Differences between the English & Indians & make Report to this Court of their doings therein &

*Still another petition bearing date Sept. 11, 1752 is on record worded in the peculiar dialect used by the Indians and setting forth very much the same story of alleged wrongs. They complain that the English have taken away from them their English hay which the Indians have usually mowed and carried off about ten "Clash" (calash or cart) loads. "These Ronge Doings Begin in the ten Day of July 1752. Now we poor Indians we humble pray you Gentlemen be please to Consider and see how the English Dealt by the poor Indians At Nantucket and English Keping ther on Cattle In our Land which the land Belongs to All the Town Indians. And another trouble we have because the English take away our Rods and Oake brush and swamp brush so we think this Contrary to Justice. by that Reason we humble pray You Gentleman be please to Consider for us and help us In the honourable General Court we are Desire your help Couse we want If you can found an Indian should haue any land to do be make hast leat us haue it or Received In our hand to make use out amongst our Selves because English too heard for us. Another trouble we haue the English at Nantucket they haue great many sheep but they never keep them well In the Summer times now In the Years 1752 Sheeps eat up great many Acors of Corn from Indians." Several instances of such trespass are alleged—John Saul, Esrel Agrikah, James Esop, Amossiah, John Quaab and others. They complained also that if Indian whalemén died the English took their property from the widows. John Quaab seems to be the leading spirit in the complaints. Mass. Archives. Indians, Vol. 32, p. 287.

of what they shall judge proper for this Court to do further therein.

Sent down for Concurrence

J. WILLARD, SECY."

"In the House of Rep'tives June 8, 1753. Read and Nonconcurrent and Ordered that Mr. Welles with such as the Hon'ble Board shall Joyne be a Com'ee to hear the Parties now in Trouble and report thereon as soon as may be.

Sent up for Concurrence."

T. HUBBARD SPKR."

"In Council June 8, 1753. Read & Concurred and Ezekiel Cheever Esq. is joined in the Affair

THOS. CLARK DEP'Y SECY."

That Committee made the following report."*

"On the Petition of the Indians of Nantucket:

The Committee appointed to Consider the Petition of a Number of the Indians of Nantucket having met and heard the said Indians Report as their Opinion that Roland Cotton and David Crocker Esqrs. with such as the H'on'ble Board shall join be a Committee appointed and impowered to repair to the Island of Nantucket and make enquiry into the Grievances suggested and Complain'd of by the Indians in their Petition and other Papers accompanying the Same and all other matters of Complaint now subsisting. That the Committee have Power to send for Persons and Papers as Occasion may be that they endeavor an Accomodation of these Differences between the English and Indians and make Report to this Court of their doings therein and of what they shall judge proper for this Court to do further thereon.

EZEKIEL CHEEVER PR ORDER"

"In Council June 13, 1753 Read and Ordered that this Report be Accepted.

Sent down for Concurrence

THOS. CLARK. DEP'Y SECY."

"In the House of Representatives June 14, 1753. Read & Concur'd & Zaccheus Mayhew Esq is joined in the affair.

T. HUBBARD SPKR.

Consented to S. PHIPS."†

The Indians made one more effort to obtain favorable action by the General Court. In October. 1754. they sent the following petition.‡

"To His Excellency William Shirley Esq Cap. General and Governor in Chief In and Over his majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in new England And to the Honour'ble the Council and House of Representatives In General Court Assembled October 17, 1754—

Humbly sheweth We subscribers Indian natives and Inhabitants of the Island of Nantuckett That we must once more Pray your Excelency and Honours to learn Our Distressed Circumstances and that you will be Pleased to Take Some Effectual measures that

*Mass. Archives. Indians, Vol. 32, p. 382.

†There does not seem to be any further report of the doings of this Committee either at Nantucket or elsewhere. Mr. Worth says (Nantucket Land and Land Owners, p. 178) "there is no record that the committee ever went."

‡Mass. Archives, Vol. 32, p. 551. The Indians seem to have abandoned their vernacular and to have employed counsel.

we be Relieved and Extricated Out of Our Difficulties which are as followeth, viz. We are at this Day the Rightfull Owners of a Considerable Part of the valuable Lands On the Said Island of Nantuckett But as we are there On said Island and none to take Our Part the English Proprietors there have Taken Our Lands From us and Improve them and allow us no more Preveledges then Only Enough to sett an House upon and a small Garden: We Cant Keep a Cow Horse nor Sheep unless we will submit to hire the Preveledge of the English and when we offer to keep any Creatures Other ways they Impound then and Putt us to near as much Costs as the Creatures are Worth. One Or Two Instances We Beg Leave to mention John Tashama In January 1753 who as he supposes has the Preveledge Right to keep a Cow and an Horse . . . and feed on the Island had his Cow taken up at that Time In the Year by Zephaniah Coffin and Able Gardiner and Impounded and he was Obligated to Pay Two Pounds twelve Shillings Lawfull money Befour he Could have his Cow Out of Pound Or Go to Law with them which he was In no Capacity to Do and has Ever since been Obligated to keep his Cow tied up to Prevent a second Impounding. 2dly Some of Our said Lands Particularly at the West End of said Island by the Court held at Edgartown June 20, 1672, were settled upon Our Predecessors and their Heirs never to be sold Or Alienated from them without the Consent of them Or Heirs and the Sachem which Settlement Remains to this day, and our

to have these very Lands Improved by the English and Ourselves forceably Kept Out of the Improvement of any of them: many mores Instances to Say no case of hard Usage from the English to the Indians might be mentioned but as sundry of them have been Heretofore told of In the Several Petitions that were Lately Preferred to your Excellency and Hon's that have as yet Proved fruitless therefore we would not be further Tedious Or troublesome: But Only Once more to Beg your Excellency and Honours to take Our Distressed Circumstances Into your Wise Consideration to Receive Our former Petitions and take some Effectual Measures that we may have at Least Some Justice Done us as Other of His majestys Good Subjects have Reason always to Expect under your Excellencys and Honours Wise Protection and that you will be Pleased to appoint Some Gentlemen that stand Indifferent to make a Particular Inquiry Into Our Titles and the usage We have Received from the English On said Island from time to time and Report the same to your Excellency & Honours so that we may Be Extricated Out of Our Pressing Difficulties Or Otherwise And as In Duty Bound shall Ever Pray &c.

JOHN (his mark) TASHAMA
 SAMUEL (his mark) HUMPHRY
 JOSEPH (his mark) SKUTQUARY
 BENJAMIN (his mark) TASHAMY
 DANIEL (his mark) PHILLIPS

The petition was accompanied by two documents purporting to be copies of the Records at Edgartown. The first was as follows:—

“Generall Court at Edgartown upon marthas vineyard June 20, 1672:

Ordered by the Court that in Relation & answer to ye Petition of Mr. Harrie in Respect of him self and other Indians formerly Inhabiting the west end of nantuckett that the said Indians shall Have Covenant Plases for habitation upon the Land yet onsold which they shall hold with such Rights and Privileges as they hild

thare former Lands By and for the Present years Insuing they shall live only under ye Government of ye sachems without Paying any tribit and Like wise hereafter unless at the next General Court the Sachames shall show and Prove that they ware accustomed Heretofore when the Inglish Came and had such Right of Reserving Costem or tribit and such Lands as abovesaid shall be held taken Reputed and Be so Properly their owen as never to be sold or alinated from them nor thare heirs for Ever unless by there one & the other Heires Consent.

A true Coppy of that found In ye Booke of Racords for Land Evidences for Dukes County. Compared September 25th 1747. per ENOCH COFFIN REG."*

The second like the one just quoted appears to be a certified copy from the Records of the insular General Court and is as follows:—† "Whereas Petosum Mr. harrie Ahkeraman with Obadiah and George Nanahamoo have maid Complaint to This Cort That Whereas the sachims had Sold ye Land They formerly Lived on unto ye English The s'd sachims would not Entertain Them on the Land unsold The Cort Do order That The Sachims Wamuckmamuck and Nicanoos shall allow to the s'd Gentlemen as follows Petosum and George Nanohumoo Twenty acors apeace In the bounds of Niconoos: and Mr. Harrie Ahkeiaman and Obadiah shall Twenty Acors apeace in The bounds of Wamuchmamuck Without Paying of any Tribut To ye Sachims but Wood They shall have any Where Not Generally Prohibited The Parties Declare Themselves Satisfy'd and Contented herewith—and That all the Indians Who formerly Inhabited The West End of the Island The s'd Sachims Shall Entertain Them To Live on the Land unsold as the Indians and Comon People Do Within Their Precincts.

A True Coppie of that on ye Records of Land Evidence for Dukes County Compared June ye 6, 1747. Pr. ENOCH COFFIN. Reg."‡

August 29, 1757 the Council and House of Representatives appointed a Committee to "go to Nantucket to investigate complaints of some years' standing, hear the parties, and report what they judge proper for the Court to do therein; the several committees formerly appointed for that purpose not having been able to attend to that service."**

The Records of the General Court do not seem to show any further report of this matter but Mr Macy in his History seems to indicate that some one did. His narration of the series of events appears to be largely traditionary and like many traditions is only partially correct.††

*Mass. Archives, Vol. 32, p. 552.

†Ibid. p. 553.

‡This accrds with the record of the Town as shown and dated June 5, 1667. The record in regard to their perpetual rights in the lands unless sold by consent of themselves and Sachems is under date of June 20, 1672.

**The Town Records make no mention of any meeting called or any act performed regarding the complaints. It is quite likely that Abishai Folger who represented the Town in the General Court was so proficient in explaining the situation that the trip to the Island seemed unnecessary. If he did that would also account for the "great unanimity" with which he was elected year after year.

††See Worth's Land and Land Owners pp. 180, 181, 182.

Mr. Macy says: (page 47): "One occurence respecting the natives ought not to be omitted. It was frequent for some of them to murmur and find fault with the English, charging them with having unfairly purchased their lands. The English endeavored to satisfy them (See next page)

He says, referring to a petition for a change of court jurisdiction for such complaints signed by Daniel Spootspotswa, Peter R. Massaquit, and Abel Cain, which was sent to the Governor and Council about 1702,—“It was not till several years after this, that the petition was attended to.” As quoted in the order passed by the Council in 1757 previous committees for a variety of reasons, probably, had not “been able to attend to that service.” While the Records of the General Court seem to reveal no indication of action at this time and the Records of the Town have scarcely a word to say on the Indian controversies after 1700, there seems to be an indication in Mr. Macy’s History that the last named committee did in whole or in part go to Nantucket and gave a hearing. Mr. Macy writes:—*

“Accordingly, in the year 1753, the deputed Judge arrived and convened the parties in the meetinghouse, the court-house not being sufficiently large for the accommodation of the people. It was a subject of great magnitude, and drew together a large concourse of spectators.”

The parties, by their deputies, were heard, the records, and other evidence adduced, and the cause ably argued on both sides. The trial lasted three or four days. and when the parties had concluded, the judge addressed them in a long and ingenious speech, wherein he explained to the Indians, clearly and explicitly, that the English had clearly and legally purchased their lands; that they had produced good and lawful records to prove the same; that these records appeared without fraud, or intention to wrong them; that they were the best records of purchases of land of natives he had ever met with; and that it was his judgment that they should be satisfied therewith, and quietly repair to their homes. On this conclusion the court rose the Indians withdrew, and, though not satisfied with the decision, were never very troublesome about it afterwards.

Mr. Worth in “Nantucket Land and Land-owners”† points out

by appealing to the records and stating to them of whom the purchases were made; that the sachems had a good right to sell, and that their descendants ought to be satisfied therewith. These reasonings quieted them for a series of years, and always would have sufficed, had they kept clear of rum; for they seldom called this subject into view, unless they were in some degree intoxicated. At length they became so bold as to threaten the English with total extermination, if they refused any longer to listen to their complaints. Whether they intended to carry their threats into execution, and whether they had any settled plan of action to this intent, is uncertain. Intimation was however given to the whites, that the Indians had entered into a conspiracy to rise upon them, on a certain night, and to massacre men, women and children. At the appointed time, agreeably with the information, the high sheriff, with fifty well armed men, issued out of the town to reconnoitre the settlements of the natives, and ascertain whether they were making any hostile movements. They found all quiet; it was harvest time, and the Indians were merrily husking their corn. Although their fears, for present security, were allayed, prudence dictated that the English should take some measure against future danger. They knew the natives to be quite incapable of acting for themselves in any legal process, and, therefore, lent them their aid to bring the subject before the supreme court, in Boston.”

*History of Nantucket, p. 49.

†P. 181. Mr. Macy was born in 1762.

what seem to be errors in Mr. Macy's account of this concluding phase. Mr. Worth's conclusions are: 1, That some kind of a tribunal visited Nantucket; 2, that there being no Supreme Court at that time and the petition, as quoted by Mr. Macy, not being in form for a court of law the General Court was what was intended; 3. Mr. Macy is in error about the decision of the authorities being on the controversy of 1702, for that had long before been settled; 4, that Mr. Macy must be in error about the English bringing about the petition, since they had no reason to do so, the decisions having been favorable to them; 5. that the date of 1753 is doubtless incorrect and that what really occurred was in all probability a hearing was held before a committee of the General Court.

There can be no doubt about the general conclusions of Mr. Worth. The order of August 29, 1757, designating a committee to go to Nantucket expressly states that action was taken on account of "the several Committees formerly appointed for that purpose not having been able to attend to that service." It is not unreasonable to conclude that the hearing was held in 1758 and that a carelessly written 8 might have taken to be a 3.

This, however, was the last of the controversy between the English and the Indians so far as the records show.

The following abstract of Indian deeds additional to those already quoted, is from Mr. Worth's "Lands and Land Owners."*

July 7, 1664: Pakapessa, Jonas Harry and Lemmo sell to the English company all the fields belonging to Namahuma's Neck for £25.

Aug. 11. 1664: Tequamomany and Mekowakim sell to the English for £15, all the broken land lying between Wanacomet and Waquitaquay, and from thence to Monomoy, all within the English-bounds.

June 5, 1667: Peteson, Mr. Larry Ahkeramo, Obadiah and George Nanahuma complained that the sachems had sold the land they formerly lived on to the English and would not entertain them on land that was unsold. The Court ordered Wanackmamack and Nickanoose to allow Peteson and George Nanahumo 20 acres apiece

*Mr. Worth makes the following preliminary comment: It is doubtful if the territory of Potcomet, or Pottacohannet extended beyond the small islands west of Nantucket. The deed of Nanahuma indicates that he was sachem over the west end of Nantucket and no other Indian deed has been found covering that section. The three sachems who controlled the remainder of the Island were—Attapehat, who died before 1689; Nicornoose, who died between 1677 and 1684; and Wanackmamack, who died before 1684. Attapehat (otherwise Autopcat and Autopscot) had a son Masauquet, who had a son Harry Poritan (alias Beretan), who had a son who was named Isaac Masauquet. Nickornoose had four sons—Isaac Wauwinet, Wat Noose, Paul Noose and Joshua Jethro, and a daughter who married Spotso. Wanackmamack had a son Saucoauso (alias Jephtha), who had two sons Cain and Abel the former had Jemina, wife of James Shea, and Abel had two sons, Ben, Abel and Eben Abel. In all probability Nickornoose died before 1677 as that is the date of the earliest deed of his son Isaac and no deed has been found signed by him since that date. Nickornoose signed deeds only of territory belonging to some other sachem, and the same statement applies to Wanackmamack. Attapechat apparently never signed any deed.

in the bounds of Nickanoose, and to Mr. Larry. Ahkeramo and Obadiah shall have 20 acres apiece in the bounds of Wanackmamack without paying any tribute to the said sachems. Wood they shall have anywhere not generally prohibited. The parties declared themselves well satisfied. The sachems shall entertain to live in the land unsold as the Indians and common people do within their precincts, all the other Indians who formerly inhabited the west end of the Island.

June 20. 1672: Mr. Larry and other Indians formerly inhabiting the west end of the Island, having petitioned for convenient places for habitation on land yet unsold and which they shall hold with such rights and privileges as they held their former lands the Court so ordeed: also that for the ensuing year they shall pay no tribute unless it be proven at the next General Court that they were accustomed to before the coming of the English. The lands awarded to them shall be taken reputed and be so properly their own as never to be sold from them nor their heirs forever unless by their own and the sachem's consent.

1673: Wequakesuk, sachem, to John and Richard Gardner, upland and meadow east of creek called Shawkemo. and on the south by the Reed spring.

1674. Wauwinnet, son of Nickanoose one-half creek stuff west of Masquatuck to Stephen Hussey.

1674: Wauwinnet, to William Worth for Inhabitants four acres at Coatue.

April 21. 1674: Obadiah complained that Spotso would neither divide the land they owned jointly nor set off his portion. The Court found in his favor, that he had a right to one quarter-part-, and gave Spotso three weeks time to set it off "and if he doth not then the Court will appoint it out." Three weeks from that date. Spotso not having acted, the Court divided the land as follows: Bounded at the east with the spring at Shimmo; from thence unto the cartway at the south end at Monomoy that lies in a little valley there; and on the north and west with the harbor; and from the cartway at Monomoy aforesaid unto Wakataaquage Pond, that part of it as is halfe way between the brook running into said pond a little to the southward of the house of Edward Starbuck and the beach at the south sea; and so joining on the north unto the English bounds. Spotso still had liberty to divide, within a month, the land that was between them into four equal parts, and Obadiah to choose which of the four he will. Mr. Worth says* Obadiah sold his part to the Town.

Jan. 15. 1678: Sossockque or Jephtha to the Town—the tract bounded on the north by the Great Harbor, on the east by a line drawn from a tree now the bounds of Pocomack, and from thence to the old bounds of Pocomak lying by the Great Harbor.

1686: Soccoch or Jephtha to Stephen Hussey, the island in Gibb's

*Lands and Landowners p. 120.

Pond between the house of James Cowkeeper and the house of John Dequaine.

June 5. 1677: Nickanoose to his two brothers, Heattohanen and Wohwaninwot all his lands and drift whales.

June 1678: At a General Court: Ordered that whereas at the last General Court holden at Nantucket June 5, 1677, certain of the lands unsold by the Indian sachems was to be partly occupied and partly put into the possession of sundry Indians in said order expressed, and if said Indians with the sachems can come to no agreement therein, then Mr. Tristram Coffin, Mr. Thomas Macy, Mr. William Worth and Mr. John Coffin have full power and authority to view and lay out convenient tracts of land and deliver the same to the persons interested therein respectively according to said order.

Ordered—that Moosaquit shall have the like privilege of government within his precincts as the other sachems have in theirs yet so far as to be subject to the English government.

Dec. 1678: Wauwinnet to Edward Cartwright one-half an acre, near the Cartwright house.

June 24. 1678: George Nanahuma alias Cowpohanet to the English all his interest in the west plains and to the Neck or long woods.

Dec. 28. 1678: Wat Noose to Edward Cartwright one-half acre of marsh.

Oct. 14, 1676: Wat Noose to Edward Cartwright one acre near the Run.

April 6. 1679: Wauwinnet to Edward Cartwright a piece of swampy land to the southward of Cartwright's house, lying in a straight line from John Swain's bridge to the corner of the ditch at Pompasson's land as may appear by the marks and from the said corner of the ditch on a straight line to the run of water in the swamp to the northward.

1682. The sachems granted one acre of land to Richard Gardner "Where his stage now standeth at Sisickechar, at John Swain's stage."

1684: Jephtha and Wauwinnet, sachems ruling the east end of the Island, agreed with the English as to the bounds of the English lands, preliminary to the issuing of the Dongan patent. The bounds were as follows:*

Soosoah and Wauwinnet, Sachems, acknowledge that the English owned as follows, and the acknowledgement was witnessed by John Gardner, William Worth, William Bunker, John Macy, Eleazer Folger, and Matthew Mayhew:

First: From the head of Wauquittaquage Pond or Mr. Starbuck's Pond, and from there by a pond to Monomoy or Mr. Macy's meadow: with all the woods to the westward of said Pond, and north, and then northward to the English's aforesaid.

Secondly: From the head or spring of Shawkimo and from thence by a straight line or by a path unto Shawkenes or the snake place all the lands to the northward and eastward to the river and to the English's.

*Lands and Land Owners p. 122.

Thirdly: All the neck of land called Poncammooncoe, being bounded from the head of the creek at Poatpos or at Watt's bounds; and by a straight line to the bounds on the north side by the river as 'tis now bounded with all the land to the southward and westward.

Fourthly: All the neck of land called Coatuet being the north-east point of Nantucket and bounded on the south at the nearest distance from the sea unto the head of the great harbor and the great harbor on the west and south and the sea on the north and east and inclusively according to the bounds we Soawcoe and Wauwinnet do acknowledge to belong unto the English aforesaid except what dead whales shall be cast on shore, that to belong to the Indians according to former custom.

Further we do acknowledge to one half of all the rest of the meadows on the Island to have been sold and do belong to the English on any part of the Island belonging unto us as also further that there is liberty for the winter feeding on the whole Island for all sorts of cattle from the end of the Indian Harvest unto planting time on the first of May.

1687: Spotso sold to Stephen Hussey, a certain tract of land called by the Indians Aquidnose and is bounded by a hill all along from the head of the westernmost branch of the creek that goeth in or towards Shimmo over to the shore which faces the harbor, and so down to low water mark, which said hill fronting the harbor cometh a little to the southward of a valley called by the Indians Cocyeania, having on said hills several holes dug from the head of said creek to the water side over the neck against the harbor. It contained 18 acres.

1687: Sasapana Will to Stephen Hussey—Land on the south side of the Run as you go through Pocomo toward Coatu called by the Indians Masquopect at the water side or south of said creek, and goeth up said Creek to the cart path and so up to a swamp. 1560 acres.

May 1690: Spotso to the Town, a tract of land on the south by the sea on the west with land of Mosawquet, that is to say, from the middle of the south end of Weeweder Pond on a straight line to a pit in the ground about eight paces from the Town gate; on the north by the harbor except 20 acres of Coddude at Mamre. (This is a strip between the South Shore and the harbor south-east of the Town.)

Feb. 1692: Spotso to the Town—A tract the first bound at Monomoy a hole 20 rods from the bank westward on the English line and from said hole on a straight line unto the well on Mana and from thence on a straight line to the west-ward side of Mattaquichame Pond to the sea, and on the east by Jephtha's bounds; on the south and north by the sea. This tract will be recognized as a section from the Harbor to the South Shore west of Saul's Hills.

Apr. 29. 1701: Henry Britten, Sachem, to the Inhabitants: a tract on the east by Myacommet Pond from the sea or beech to the wading place; from thence by a swamp lying north-easterly 80 poles to a ditch, and from thence to Mycomet bars, and from thence by the Town fence until you come to the English bounds near the Town

gate: on the south by the sea and on the west and northwest by the English.

Apr. 1702: Henry Britten sells to the Town other land at Myacomet.

July 1 1690: Jephtha to the Town; a tract on the west by the land of Spotso, being from the spring at Shimmo unto the bounds agreed on by Jephtha and Spotso, near unto Mattaquatcham on the south by the sea, on the east from the westward end of the great valley at Chappapemesset* called Pasocha and from thence on a straight line unto a swampy slue or pond by the highway near Masquatuck.

Nov. 3. 1691: Jephtha alias Saucauoco; a tract to the Town on the south and south-west to a great stone lying and being at old Siasconsett and 20 rods from the clift and north to Sanckotuck.†

Jan. 20. 1708; Askammopoo, widow of Spotso to her son Josiah, all interest in the Island.

Sept. 2. 1709: Eastor, an Indian woman, wife of Jephtha to Stephen Hussey, for the Freeholders all interest in lands of her husband.

1709: Spotso to Eleazer Folger one horse commons.

Mar. 1. 1709: Askammopoo, sister and heir of Wauwinnet to her natural son Josiah Spotso, three-quarters of all the land which came from Wauwinnet.

1715: Daniel Spotso to Inhabitants; The first bound a spring to the northward of Joseph Meeder's house by the meadow; thence on a straight line to Sasapana Will's old cellar; from thence straight to Kestokas field: from thence to John Swain's gate by the creek and so along by the creek to the first bound. This must have been a tract near Podpis.

1717; Spotso to Samuel Coffin—pasturage.

1722: Spotso to the Freeholders; this tract near the east end of the Island; from a rock at the English bounds at a place called Kestokas field on a straight line to a place called Aquitnet Point where the fishing house of William Worth now stands; on the west by the English bounds and by Pocomo, on the north by the harbor, and east by the sea.

1723: Daniel Spotso to the Inhabitants; a tract in the section now called Squam.

Silas an Indian to Thomas Macy: 16 acres of land near Squam Pond.

1726: Spotso to the trustees; A strip of land from Potpis to the sea near Aquitnet.

1739: James Shay to Ebenezer Gardner for the Town.

(This statement is appended "Whereas, I was married to Jemima, the daughter and heir of Cain, a sachem, and she having died, I hereby sell all interest in her land.")

*Between Surf Side and Tom Nevers Head.

†Sankoty.

1741: Daniel Spotso having died his son Barney sells to the proprietors all his interests in the land of his father.

Ben Abel, a sachem, sells to the proprietors two-thirds of all land in the territory of Wanackmamack. ("In consequence of this deed the Indians in his tribe repudiated him as their sachem, and a revolt took place." (Worth 127) The Indians made a vigorous and united effort to regain the land but a thorough investigation failed to invalidate the title.)

1742: Esau Cook, an Indian, to Samuel Coffin, for the proprietors, land at the South Shore.

March 2. 1744: Isaac Mussaquat to proprietors, land between Weeweeder Pond and Myacomet Pond, 240 rods north and south.

Oct. 9. 1744: Mussaquat had died and his wife had married James Robbin. They sell to the proprietors all interest in Isaac's land.

1744: James Shay to proprietors one horse common.

1745: Isaac Woosco to Paul Pease; land near Sasagachah Pond.

1747: Samuel Chegin to Chapman Swaine "My English built dwelling house at Squam where my father lived."

1748: Eben Abel to proprietors; certain land at east end of Island.

March 8, 1758: Eben Cain to proprietors; all land that he had inherited from Ezeky.

July 14, 1762: Titus Zekey to proprietors: ten acres at Squam.

July 20, 1730: Joshua Jethro to the proprietors; all his interest in land inherited from his father Nickanoose. He made claim to this land, much of which had been purchased by the Town from the Spotsos and other descendants of Nickanoose. His absence from the Island for over 50 years led to the inference that he had died, and when he appeared the land owners consulted their old men and they found that there had been such an Indian mentioned in the records March 25, 1674, in which he complained against Nickanoose for denying his title or interest in his land, and Nickanoose in open Court owned Jethro's title after the death of Nickanoose equally with Wauwinnet.

1771: Benjamin Abel sells to the proprietors all his interest in Nantucket.

1772: Abigail Jethro to proprietors—part of a horse common.

1774: John Jethro to proprietors one sheep's common.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

Immediately preceding the War of the Revolution business at Nantucket was in the full tide of success. The Islanders were recovering from the depredations of French and Spanish privateers as well as from the unfriendly legislation of English parliaments. During the period from 1771 to 1775, there fitted annually from Nantucket for the northern whale fishery 65 vessels, aggregating 4875 tons, and for the southern whale fishery 85 vessels, aggregating 10,200 tons, the whole manned by 2025 men, and producing on the average 26,000 barrels of sperm oil and 4,000 barrels of right whale oil. This was practically one-half the number of vessels and more than one-half the tonnage engaged in the business in the entire Colony of Massachusetts Bay.* On all sides there was the hurry and bustle of business. Every trade allied to that of whaling was flourishing and prosperous. Merchants, blacksmiths, coopers, boat-builders, riggers, sailmakers, oil and candle manufacturers, rope-makers, seamen, all were interchanging occupations and all shared in the general prosperity. The early acts of the Provincial Congress, from its first assembling at Salem, in September, 1774, had not seemed to disturb the Islanders. The acts of the British Parliaments, up to this time, hostile though they were intended to be, and designed to foster the whale-fishery from English ports at the expense of the Colonies, had only served to stimulate the hardy fishermen of New England to even greater exertions. At first dismayed, they were by no means discouraged, and ere many years they had regained their former supremacy.

*Port of equipment	Vessels fitted annually for north- ern fishery	Their Ton- age	Vessels fitted annually for south- ern fishery	Their Ton- age	Seamen Em- ploy'd	Barrels of Sper- maceti oil taken annually	Barrels of Whale oil tak- en an- nually
Nantucket	65	4,875	85	10,200	2,025	26,000	4,000
Wellfleet	20	1,600	10	1,000	420	2,250	1,250
Dartmouth	60	4,500	20	2,000	1,040	7,200	1,400
Lynn	1	75	1	120	28	200	100
Martha's Vineyard	12	720	0	0	156	900	300
Barnstable	2	150	0	0	26	240	0
Boston	15	1,300	5	700	260	1,800	600
Falmouth, Barnstable Co ..	4	300	0	0	52	400	0
Swansey	4	300	0	0	52	400	0
Total	183	13,820	121	14,020	4,059	39,390	7,650

Report of Thomas Jefferson on the State of the Whale Fishery
in Massachusetts 1771-1775.

The repeated aggressions of the English king had finally stirred the colonists to the point of active resistance. As Massachusetts seemed particularly to be discriminated against, so the Bay Colony was naturally the one which was most restive. The open rupture between the General Court which met at Salem, October 5th, 1774,* and Governor Gage, and which led to the immediate organization of a Provincial Congress, under whose authority measures were adopted looking to the resistance to further aggressions by meeting force with force if necessary, had put Massachusetts in the fore-front in apparent opposition to King George, and drew upon the inhabitants of the Colony the especial displeasure of the King and Parliament.

The first industry towards which was directed the disciplining force of Great Britain was the fisheries. Massachusetts seemed to be the nucleus of the insurrectionary movement, ergo, the way to repress the insurrection was to repress the fisheries; hence Massachusetts must be the first to experience the power of the mother country.†

In pursuance of this policy on the 10th of February, 1775, the English ministry introduced into Parliament a bill restricting the trade and commerce of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island to Great Britain, Ireland and the British West India islands, and prohibiting the Colonies from carrying on any fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland or any other part of the North American coast.‡ Says Bancroft: "The best shipbuilders in the world were at Boston, and their yards had been closed; the New England fishermen were now to be restrained from a toil in which they excelled the world. Thus the joint right to the fisheries was made a part of the great American struggle."**

The opposition to this Restraining Bill, though small in numbers, was able and determined, both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The British Ministry asserted that the fisheries were the property of England, and it was within the rights of the British government to do with them as it pleased. To that claim Johnston replied, "God and nature have given that fishery to New England, and not to Old."†† The friends of America further argued that if the American fishery was destroyed England would not be benefited but the occupation must inevitably fall into the hands of Great Britain's natural rivals. At every possible stage the forlorn hope attacked the positions

*September 28th, 1774, "Stephen Hussey was chosen by a great majority to Represent the Town at the General Court to be holden at Salem on the first of October next." It does not appear that he took his seat, nor did the Town revoke his election.

†"The first step toward inspiring terror was to declare Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, and to pledge the Parliament and the whole force of Great Britain to its reduction; the next, by prohibiting the American fisheries, to starve New England; the next to incite servile insurrection." Bancroft's Hist. United States, Vol VII, p. 222.

‡English Annual Register 1775, p. 78.

**United States, VII, p. 239.

††Bancroft's United States, VII, p. 239.

of the government only to be repeatedly defeated. The merchants and traders of London petitioned against the passage of the Act, and American merchants secured the services of David Barclay* to conduct for them the examination of those called upon to testify regarding the effects of the bill.

Much evidence was given tending to show the importance of the colonial trade. It appeared that in 1764 New England employed in the fisheries 45,880 tons of shipping and 6,002 men, the product amounting to £322,220,16s.3d. sterling in foreign markets; that all the materials used in the building and equipping of vessels, excepting salt and lumber, were drawn from England,† and the net proceeds were also remitted to that country; that neither the whale nor cod fishery could be so successfully carried on from Newfoundland or Great Britain as from North America, for the natural advantages of America could neither be counteracted nor supplied; that, if the fishery was transferred to Nova Scotia or Quebec, government would have to furnish the capital, for they had neither vessels nor men, and these must come from New England; that it must take time to make the change, and the trade would inevitably be lost; and that American fishermen had such an aversion to the military government of Halifax, and "so invincible an aversion to the loose habits and manners of the people, that nothing could induce them to remove thither, even supposing them reduced to the necessity of emigration.‡

"It was said that the cruelty of the bill exceeded the examples of hostile rigour with avowed enemies; that in all the violence of our most dangerous wars it was an established rule in the marine service, to spare the coast-fishing craft of our declared enemies; always considering that we waged war with nations, and not with private individuals."**

The claim was made that by the operation of the bill, if enacted, much hardship must come to many people who already were at sea, and who, by the very nature of their occupations, must be innocent. Said the opponents of the bill: "The case of the inhabitants of Nantucket was particularly hard. This extraordinary people, amounting to between five and six thousand in number, nine-tenths of whom are Quakers, inhabit a barren island, fifteen miles long by three broad, the products of which were scarcely capable of maintaining twenty families. From the only harbour which this sterile island contains, without natural products of any sort, the inhabitants, by an astonishing industry, keep an 140 vessels in constant employment. Of these, eight were employed in the importation of provisions for the island, and the rest in the whale-fishery." The English Quakers, in behalf of their brethren at Nantucket, presented a petition to the government, in which they declared the people of the Island innocent of disloyalty, stated "their industry, the utility of their labours both to themselves and the community, the great hazards that

*Nantucket subsequently had a whaleship named in his honor.

†Under the restrictions of Parliament the Colonies were allowed little or no liberty to manufacture articles they required.

‡English Annual Register.

**English Annual Register, 1775, p. 80.

attended their occupation, and the uncertainty of their gains: and shewed that if the bill passed into a law, they must in a little time be exposed to all dreadful miseries of famine. The singular state and circumstances of these people, occasioned some attention to be paid to them. A gentleman on the side of the administration said, that on a principle of humanity he would move, that a clause should be added to the bill, to prevent the operation from extending to any whale-ships, which sailed before the 1st of March and were at that time the property of the people of Nantucket.”*

Says a writer, of the day, “The bill was attacked on every ground of policy and government; and with the greatest strength for the smallness of their numbers by their zeal and activity. of language and height of colouring.† The minority made amends for the smallness of their numbers by their zeal and activity * * * * Evil principles,” they contended, “were prolific; the Boston Port Bill begot this New England Bill; this will beget a Virginia Bill; and that again will become the progenitor of others, until, one by one, parliament has ruined all its colonies, and rooted up all its commerce; until the statute book becomes nothing but a black and bloody roll of proscriptions; a frightful code of rigour and tyranny; a monstrous digest of acts of penalty and incapacity and general attainder; and that wherever it is opened it will present a title for destroying some trade or ruining some province.”

Among the active and eloquent opponents of this iniquitous measure was Edmund Burke and it was during the prolonged and exhaustive debate on this bill‡ that he uttered those memorable words that became so familiar to the youth of Nantucket. “For some time, Mr. Speaker,” said Burke, “has the Old World been fed from the New. The scarcity which you have felt would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age,—if America,—with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent. Turning from the agricultural resources of the Colonies, consider the wealth which they have drawn from the sea by their fisheries. The spirit in which that enterprising employment has been exercised ought to raise your esteem and admiration. Pray, Sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts,

*English Annual Register 1775, p. 85.

†A letter to the Provincial Congress dated London, February 24 1775, says “To my great astonishment, I have before me an act for blocking up the other colonies; and another called the black act; to prevent the fisheries. The whole nation seems to be deeply affected at such an enormous crime, which is supposed to be done at the request of the king and his creatures. God forbid, that you should be intimidated at this iniquitous law, which is calculated to ruin what was a mutual benefit to you and us. This must convince you what you are to expect, if you submit to the most shocking set of men that England can produce. You now see their humanity. * * * * Yesterday, Doct Fothergill and Mr. Barclay were so pressed in spirit, that they went to Lord North, and told him that the bill for prohibiting the fishery, was so horrid and inhuman an act, that the nation would rise and oppose it; and that if it did pass into a law, it would be a scandal to humanity, and perhaps occasion a revolt. They plead two hours with him, but to no purpose.

The bill is to be read a third time on Thursday; so that in five days this horrid bill passes into a law, without any further consideration. Oh, America! Oh, England!

The ministry, in order to quiet the mob, ordered an inflammatory pamphlet to be burnt at Guildhall, which drew off the people, whilst the bill passed in parliament.” Journals Provincial Congress pp 745-746.

‡March 22, 1775. This speech was virtually in support of a petition by English Quakers in behalf of their brethren in Nantucket.

and look at the manner in which the People of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of Polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the Poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not a witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dextrous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent People; a People who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone, of manhood. When I contemplate these things,—when I know that the Colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours,* and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of a watchful and suspicious Government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection,—when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt, and die away within me. My rigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Eloquence, arguments, facts, alike were useless. The Government had the votes, and the oppression became legalized. A minority of fifteen in the House of Lords, combatting the measure as determinedly as it had been opposed in the House of Commons entered their protest against it. There was a slight relenting in-so-far as Nantucket was concerned, and the application of the extremest features was modified in their case.

In the meantime the Continental Congress, which had assembled at Philadelphia, had been active in safeguarding the rights of the Colonies. Non-consumption, non-importation, and non-exportation agreements had been considered, reported and subscribed to by the several delegates.† These agreements vitally affected the people of Nantucket and were of such a nature that it was not possible for the Islanders to carry them out and exist. The distressful condition in which the inhabitants of the town of Boston found themselves through the operation of the Boston Port bill‡ was likely to be much intensified in the case of Nantucket, which was obliged to export its products to get the wherewithal to live and to import its

*A sentiment very similar to that expressed ten years before by Col. Barre to Charles Townsend who was contending for the government for the passage of the Stamp Act. Col. Barre indignantly denied that the English government had given the Colonies either care, nourishment or protection.

†Cont. Congress, Oct. 20, 1774.

‡Journal Mass. Provincial Congress, p 54.

provisions and other necessities of life to prevent distress and starvation. It must be recognized, however, that the Massachusetts Bay Colony showed a commendable leniency regarding Nantucket, and as a rule modified, as much as possible, injurious legislation, and made no attempt to carry into effect those orders which were seriously detrimental to the people of the Island.* Undoubtedly the various directions regarding the organization of minutemen, drilling, organization of militia, etc., were communicated to the many sympathizers with the colonials on the Island, but there is no known record of their execution. The Island was not omitted, however, in the appointment of Committees of Correspondence, for, on April 12, 1775, Josiah Coffin Esq., Grafton Gardner Esq., Josiah Barker, Timothy Folger Esq., and Stephen Hussey were chosen by the Provincial Congress such a committee for the County of Nantucket.† Stephen Hussey was subsequently chosen as the member from the county “to attend the Committee of Safety, and let them know the names of the officers in said counties belonging to the minutemen, and such as are most suitable for officers in the army now raising.”‡

By April 20th the conflicts at Lexington and Concord had already taken place. Of this period Macy says:—** “The long expected period at length arrived; even before spring closed, the first blood was spilt in the battle of Lexington. The news of this action spread rapidly to every part of the colonies; in a few days it arrived at Nantucket.†† The countenances of the people, here, bespoke the anguish of their hearts. All business was immediately at a stand. Discouraged and powerless, they could do little else than meet together and bemoan their fate. Sorrow was depicted on every countenance; every mind was overwhelmed with fearful anticipations, all springing from one general cause—the war. Many were deeply concerned for the welfare of their husbands, children, or brothers, then at sea on whom they depended for their subsistence, and for the comforts of life; many were anxious on account of their property, both at home and at sea, on which their dependence was placed. A common distress pervaded all hearts, which was in no way relieved by anticipations of the future. No system of future business could be fixed on; many believing, that, notwithstanding some blood had been shed, the difficulty would yet be settled, and business be again safely resumed; but others, and the greater part, were of the opinion that the contest would be long and terrible. Time proved the latter to be correct.

“The vessels belonging to the Island mostly arrived home in safety for the English government cherished a belief, that, by

*See Records of First Provincial Congress of Mass.

†Records Prov. Cong. pp. 140-141. It would be exceedingly interesting to know what action was taken by this Committee or its members but no record of what they did is known to exist.

‡Records First Prov. Cong. of Mass. (Apr. 24) p. 150.

**Pages 80-81

††Under date of Friday, April 21, Kezia Coffin, who subsequently was married to Phineas Fanning, then a girl of 16 says—“Frd Crow arriv’d today from Bass River brings very shocking news—a Party of Regulars march’d out of Boston 20 miles after cannon. they met a Party of Americans Parleyed with, on the whole they fir’d at each other (which shot the first gun is not known) a number was kill’d on both sides—the Regulars march’d back to Boston with all speed—the militia & minute men were raised & the whole country was in Confusion.—a vessel has since arriv’d from Salem that confirms the above news & also tells that a Packet had arrived with news that the Ports are to be shut up the 10th of May.”

quelling the difficulties in the province of Massachusetts Bay, the whole country besides would comply with the requisitions demanded of them; they, therefore did not send out their cruisers in great numbers, until they found their mistake; which gave an opportunity for the whalemén to get home, though many of them were on the coasts of Guinea and Brazil, at the commencement of hostilities."*

Vessels arriving home were necessarily laid up, for in the impending conditions there was too much uncertainty for owners to care to risk their property, or for seamen to care to risk their liberties. Some with relatives and friends on Nantucket removed to the Island from the continent, while quite a number of the Islanders removed to the mainland, each apparently seeking relief from the danger which seemed most imminent.†

Nantucket did not remain long without visible evidence that there was a conflict between the mother country and her colony. Late in the afternoon of the 23d of May a small vessel entered the harbor carrying about a hundred Provincial soldiers, who landed at the wharf and marched up into the Town. It was reported that they were after a quantity of flour shipped to the Island some time before, and which it was further reported was threatened with seizure by the troops under Gen. Gage. They remained on the Island until May 27th, quartered in stores, and then departed, carrying with them between fifty and sixty whale-boats.‡

*Macy, 88, 89. Quoting further from the Kezia Coffin dairies, she says:—April 15, "Abner Briggs & Cit Pinkham ar'd from Guinea from whaling. Got 100 bbls. each." April 20 "Will'm Moores & Uriah Bunker at the Bar with 400 bbls." April 23 "Paul Coggeshall arr'd with 50 bbls oil." April 26 "Barzilla Swain (Francis' son) arr'd just at night from Guinea whaling with a good voyage." May 2 "Cit Worth Jr came loaded with oil—he is owned in Sandwich." May 6 "Robert Hussey & Stephen Gardner arr'd from Guinea, 100 bbls oil." May 17 "Nat Woodbury in from Guinea, 180 bbls oil." May 19 James Whippey in from Guinea, over 250 bbls oil and Nathan Coffin with 270 bbls." Other arrivals noted are—May 27. Obed Bunker, 260 bbls., John Chadwick, 250 bbls., Josiah Coffin, 50 or 60 bbls.; June 2, Peter Fitch 260 bbls.; June 3, Daniel Pinkham (from West Indies) 50 bbls." gone 6 months; June 5, John Bailey (mated with D. Pinkham); June 12, John Barnard, 150 bbls.; June 27, Tristram Pnkham (oil not stated); July 5, George Lawrence, 160 or 170 bbls., Prince Gardner, nearly 300 bbls.; July 14, Jonathan Barnard, 100 bbls.; July 15, David Rand, 160 bbls.

†April 26. "Silv. Hussey & wife arriv'd from Lynn report country around Boston in such confusion they don't dare stay." April 27, "William Swain Jr left the island for up country. April 29, "Vessel arr'd last night from Salem brings a number of women & children." May 4, "one Goldsmith & McClur, Long Island men last from Salem arr'd last night. Report that a 20 gun ship it to be stationed at the bar. A Salem family came with them." May 5, Vessel from Salem. Brought 50 or 60 passengers. Several Boston families & some from Salem. Mr. Gyer & his family, Robert Calef's family, Josh Gardner & family. Mr. Goodale and family of Salem on the island." May 11, Capt Downs & wife (married Lydia Bangs last Sabbath) & Nathan Stone came to the island." May 22 "Wm. Vassal & family & Timo Fitch & family arr'd—talk of going to England." June 20, "Benjamin Gorham & son Ben arrived with Sturgis Gorham to remain on the island." June 22 "Uriah Swain left for Saratoga." June 27, "William Swain & William Coffin left for Saratoga with their families." July 8, "John Worth (married John Swain's daughter) left for Saratoga." (Dairy of Kelzia Coffin.)

‡Dairy of Kezia Coffin. This action seems to have been taken without authority, for under date of May 23, the records of the Second Provincial Congress say: "The committee appointed to bring in a resolve respecting the depredations of the British troops on the islands and sea coasts, reported as follows: Whereas, the forces under the command of
(See next page)

On the 9th of June the Provincial Congress considered the report of a committee appointed earlier in the session to report measures looking to the enforcement of two resolves adopted by the Continental Congress, one of which, adopted May 29th, was in relation to the exportation of provisions, etc., to the Island of Nantucket, reported as follows:—"Resolved, That the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket have liberty to purchase such provisions as are necessary for the internal use of said island, in any of the New England governments; provided, nevertheless, that no provisions or necessaries of any kind be exported to the said island of Nantucket, without a permit in writing from the committee of safety of this colony, or such person or persons as they shall appoint to give such permit, expressing the quantity to be transported, be first had and obtained; and that the same be exported from such port only, in this colony, as shall be expressed in the same permit."*

The resolves were ordered printed in hand-bills and distributed in the several seaport towns in the colony.

On July 4, the Provincial Congress ordered—"That the President, Mr. Langdon, and Major Bliss, be a committee to take into consideration the conduct of the people of Nantucket, and report what it is expedient to be done with respect to them." This committee reported July 8, as follows:—†

"Whereas, by the act of Parliament called the Restraining Act, the inhabitants of Nantucket are exempted from the restrictions in said act mentioned. And whereas, the Continental Congress on the 17th of May last, took the matter under consideration, and thought it expedient, to prevent the Newfoundland fishery from

general Gage and admiral Graves, are frequently plundering and making depredations on the islands and sea coasts of this province, from whence they plunder or purchase hay, cattle, sheep, and many other things, to the injury, not only of individuals but also to the great damage of the public, and thus strengthen the hands of our enemies:

Therefore, **Resolved**, That it be recommended to the several towns and districts on the seacoast of this colony, and to all those persons living on the several islands on said coasts, that they remove their hay, cattle, sheep, &c., that are exposed to those ravages, and cannot be sufficiently guarded, so far into the country as to be out of the way of those implacable enemies to this people. Also that it be recommended to the committees of correspondence in each town and district, and to the selectmen where no such committee is chosen, that they take effectual care that this resolve be immediately and strictly put into execution, and that all persons who refuse to comply with the foregoing resolve, shall be held as incorrigible enemies to the rights and liberties of this country.

This report being read and amended, **Ordered**, That the further consideration thereof be referred to the next Provincial Congress." pp. 251-252.

*Record Third Provincial Congress p. 314. The text of the resolves adopted by the Continental Congress so far as they related to Nantucket was as follows:—"Resolved, That no provisions or necessaries of any kind be exported to the island of Nantucket, except from the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, the convention of which colony is desired to take measures for effectually providing the said island, upon their application to purchase the same, with as much provision as shall be necessary for its internal use, and no more. The Congress deeming it of great importance to North America, that the British fishery should not be furnished with provisions from this continent through Nantucket, earnestly recommend a vigilant execution of this resolve to all committees.

A true copy from the minutes,
CHARLES THOMPSON, Sec'ry."

*Records Provincial Congress p. 447.

†Records Provincial Congress. p. 470.

being supplied with provisions through Nantucket, to prohibit the exportation of provisions from any of the colonies to that island, excepting from this:* And, whereas, the inhabitants of Nantucket have by them, large quantities of provisions in their stores, and are fitting out a large fleet of whaling vessels, whereby they intend to avail themselves of the act aforementioned, and the provisions they have by them may be unnecessarily expended, in foreign and not domestic consumption; therefore, Resolved, that no provisions or necessaries of any kind be exported from any part of this colony to the island of Nantucket, until the inhabitants of said island shall have given full and sufficient satisfaction to this Congress, or to some future house of representatives, that the provisions they have now by them, have not been, and shall not be, expended in foreign, but for domestic consumption. And the several committees of correspondence, inspection and safety, in their respective towns, are required to see that this resolve be not contravened." The report was accepted.

The third Provincial Congress of Massachusetts was dissolved on Wednesday July 19th. Previously to adjournment† a precept had been issued to the Selectmen of the several towns to cause the inhabitants possessed of an estate valued at £40 or more to assemble and elect representatives to a Great and General Court to be held at Watertown, July 19th. The people of Nantucket believed that if they chose representatives they would lay themselves open to attacks from the British forces, without being able to secure adequate protection from the Provincial government. Accordingly the Selectmen addressed the following petition to the General Court:‡

"The Memorial of the Select Men of the Town of Sherburn on the Island of aNntucket at the request of a number of the Inhabitants thereof Sheweth.—**

"That we duly rec'd a precept from the Provincial Congress directing that this town, should choose some person, to represent them at a General Assembly to be conven'd at Watertown on the 19th Instant, but we apprehend your Wisdom, Justice & humanity, would not willingly point out any measure, that might prove destructive in its consequences to us; which we have reason to believe would be the case were we to act in this respect.—Our local situation is peculiar, and our circumstances in several respects different from any other place in America.

"placed on an Island, detach'd at least Thirty miles from any part of the Continent, whose production is insufficient to support one third part of its Inhabitants with the Necessaries of life, and laying open to any Naval power, to stop all supplies with a small armed force by sea, the only channel by which we can receive them; The Inhabitants are the greater part, of the people call'd Quakers, whose well known principles of Religion, will not

*Kezia Coffin records under date of July 6 an instance of the direct effect of this act of the Continental Congress. She writes—"Zeb Coffin arriv'd today from Philadelphia, went after a Load of Flour—the Congress would not suffer him to bring any declaring that we were all Torys at Nantucket."

†Records Third Provin. Cong. p. 359. This was in conformity to a resolve adopted by the Continental Congress June 9.

‡Mass. State Archives, Petitions, Vol. 180, p. 86.

**It is to be noted that this memorial is from the Selectmen, for the matter was not brought before the Town for its action.

admit of their taking up arms in a military way in any case whatever; all these circumstances consider'd we hope will influence you, to advise us to pursue such measures, as to avoid giving any just occasion of offence to our fellow subjects this, or the other side of the Atlantic, this conduct we have endeavor'd to pursue, ever since the commencement of the unhappy troubles now subsisting; which we view with anxious concern, and heartily desire, that a speedy & lasting reconciliation may take place, to the mutual benefit of both,—if any reports have reached you, that may have appear'd unfavourable, in respect to any supplies having gone from this place to the British Fisheries, or any other way to the prejudice of this Country, you may be assured they are without the least foundation, & we fear are calculated by designing men, to set us in an unfavourable light, but we are ready to meet our accusers when called upon & undergo the strictest examination.—

“as we have now laid before you nothing but real facts, which we are ready to support, we hope your humanity will point out some way for opening the common channels, for the proper supply of the necessities of life, which have already been interrupted, we beg to refer you to the bearers hereof* for any further information, who we have desired to wait on you with the same.--

respectfully Your Friends

BATCH'R HUSSEY,
STEPHEN PADDOCK,
SHUBAEL BARNARD,
JOSEPH BARNARD,
RICH'D MITCHELL JR.,
STEPHEN HUSSEY."

"Nantucket, July 14, 1775.†

The memorial was referred to a committee, which made the following report: "The Committee appointed by the house to consider the foregoing Petition have attended that Service and heard the bearers of the s'd Petition respecting the Matters set forth in the same, and your Com'tee freely report that they are fully satisfied that the inhabitants of Nantucket have done Nothing at affording supplies to the British fisheries nor to our enemies at Boston. But whether it is expedient that this court should pass an act or resolve for the Respecting the resolution of last Congress bearing date the seventh of July last year committee are not satisfied and beg leave to wholly submit the Propriety thereof to the wisdom of the house

JOSEPH HAWLEY p'r Order."‡

*There seems to be no evidence who "the bearers hereof" were. Probably William Rotch was one.

†James Bowdoin, who with his wife and niece, came to the Island July 8 for the benefit of his health, by request of the Selectmen and others, certified that "according to my best Judgment the facts mentioned in the foregoing memorial are justly & truly represented." Mr. Bowdoin had been a Councillor and a delegate to the first Continental Congress.

‡Petitions Vol. 180, p. 86. It was concerning this petition and the action thereon that William Rotch, in a memorandum written for a friend, in the 80th year of his life, said: "My own trials began soon after the War broke out. In the year 1764 I had taken the Goods of a Merchant in Boston, deceased insolvent, and was deeply indebted to me. Among these were a number of muskets, some with and others without Bayonets. The straits of Belle Isle opened a new field for the Whale-Fishery, when wild fowl were abundant, and my guns met with

(See next page)

This report was tabled August 3d.

On the 10th of August, the General Court passed another resolve, directing "that from and after the 15th Day of August Instant, no Ship or Vessel should sail out of any Port of this Colony, on any Whaling Voyage whatever, without leave first had and obtained from the Great and General Court of this Colony, or from some Committee or Committees of Persons they shall appoint to grant such Leave."* The other colonies were asked to take similar action and the resolve was ordered printed and distributed. On the 24th of the same month the resolve was amended to constitute the major part of Council a committee to issue such permits during the recess of the General Court, under certain restrictions, and upon good and sufficient security that those restrictions would be faithfully complied with.† It is easy to see

a rapid sale. Whenever those with bayonets were chosen, I took that instrument from them. The purchaser would insist on having it as an appendage belonging to the Gun, and I as strenuously withheld it, and laid them all by. Many years afterwards I removed to another store, leaving much rubbish in the one I had left. Amongst the rubbish were these bayonets, neglected and forgotten, until the War commenced when to my surprise they were brought into view by an application for them made by a person from the Continent. The time was now come to endeavor to support our testimony against war, or abandon it, as this very instrument was a severe test. I could not hesitate which to choose, and therefore denied the applicant. My reason for not furnishing them was demanded, to which I readily answered, "As the instrument is purposely made and used for the destruction of mankind, I can put no weapon into a man's hand to destroy another, that I cannot use myself in the same way." The person left me much dissatisfied. Others came and received the same denial. It made a great noise in the Country, and my life was threatened. I would gladly have beaten them into "pruning hooks," but I took an early opportunity of throwing them into the sea. A short time after I was called before a Committee appointed by the Court then held at Watertown near Boston, and questioned among other things respecting my bayonets. I gave a full account of my proceedings, and closed it with saying, "I sunk them in the bottom of the sea. I did it from principle. I have ever been glad that I had done it, and if I am wrong I am to be pitied." The chairman of the Committee, Major Hawley, a worthy character, then addressed the Committee and said, "I believe Mr. Rotch has given us a candid account, and every man has a right to act consistently with his religious principles, but I am sorry we could not have had the bayonets for we want them very much." The Major was desirous of knowing more of our principles, on which I informed him as far as he enquired. One of the Committee in a pert manner observed, "Then your principles are passive obedience and non-resistance." I replied, "No, my friend, our principles are active obedience, or passive suffering." I had passed this no small trial respecting my bayonets, but the clamor against me long continued." The other members of this committee, which was appointed July 28th were Col. Nathaniel Freeman, of Sandwich, Col. Simeon Dwight of Hardwick, Col. Beriah Norton, of Edgartown, Capt. Noah Goodman, of South Hadley, Nathan Cushing, of Scituate, (or Seth Cushing of Plympton), Edward Rawson, of Mendon (or Abner Rawson, of Uxbridge), Major John Bliss, of Wilbraham, Joshua Nye, of Harwich (or Joseph Nye Jr. of Sandwich). Col. Azor Orne of Marblehead was subsequently appointed in place of Col. Dwight.

*Rev. Counc. Papers, Vol. 206, p. 190.

†Counc. Papers, Vol. 164, p. 17. It would appear that the resolve as first reported was of general application for on August 8th the report was recommitted and the "Committee instructed to confine the Embargo therein mention'd to Whaling Vessels." The next day the report was again recommitted and the bond insisted upon.

August 30th Francis Rotch and Aaron Lopez of Dartmouth and Rhode Island respectively, having petitioned for leave to dispatch vessels on whaling voyages, the Court granted them permission under the resolve quoted, the bond being in £2000 for each vessel "that all the Oyl and bone by them taken in the course of the said voyage shall be brought into, & landed in some port or harbour in this Colony, such as they may chuse, except the Ports of Boston & Nantuckett."

how these restrictions worked to the prejudice of Nantucket whalers who could not sail without them, and who were liable to be treated as rebels by the English, and captured if they complied with them.

Despite the severity of the restrictions however, a few owners of whaling vessels in Nantucket and neighboring ports petitioned the General Court for permits. Indeed, as their property was wholly invested in the business, there seemed to be nothing else for them to do. Among those petitioning were George Hussey Jr., Stephen Hussey, Richard Mitchell Jr., Josiah Coffin and Andrew Myrick, of Nantucket, and Elias Cobb and others of Wellfleet. Concerning these the following resolution was adopted:

"In the House of Representatives Sept. 27, 1775.

On the petition of Stephen Hussey and others of Nantucket and Elisha Cobb & Others of Wellfleet

Resolved, That the Petitioners above mentioned, and all others, who have Vessels fitting out for the Whale Fishery, be and they hereby are permitted to send their Vessels on said Fishery, they taking on board no more Provisions than is necessary for said Voyages, in the Judgment of the Selectmen of the Towns from whence they sail, and giving Bond to the Receiver General of this Colony, in the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds for each Vessel, that who have Vessels fitting out for Whale Fishery, be and they hereby are permitted to send their Vessels on said Fishery, they taking on board no more Provisions than is necessary for said Voyages, in the Judgment of the Selectmen of the Towns from whence they sail, and giving Bond to the Receiver General of this Colony in the Sum, of Two Thousand Pounds for each Vessel, that they will carry out no more Provisions, than is hereby allowed, & that said Vessels with their Cargoes return to some Port in this Colony, and there land the same, the Ports of Boston and Nantucket excepted.

Sent up for Concurrence

J. WARREN, Spkr.

In Council Sept'r 27th 1775.

Read and Concurred

PEREZ MORTON Dpy Secy.

Consented to

W. SEVER	JOSEPH GERRISH	MICH'L FARLEY
B. GREENLEAF	JOHN WHITCOMB	J. PALMERS
JOHN SPOONER	JAMES PRESCOTT	JED'H FOSTER
G. WINTHROP	R. LINCOLN	S. HOLTEN
BENJ'N CHADBOURN	CHAS. CHAUNCY	MOSES GILL.*

*Early in July, 1775, one William Nichols of Rochester, Plymouth county sent to the General Court a petition stating "That your Petitioner would set forth to your Honors That he Largely Carries on the Clothiers Business at the Island of Nantucket, and is quite Obstructed therein for Want of Fire Wood to Dress & Dye his Cloathing which he Intends for the Use of the Army for want thereof he can in no Ways do it.

Therefore prays Your Honors would Grant him a Pass To Carry On a sufficiency of Cord Wood to do his Business, as aforesaid or in any Way Your Honors shall see fitt & Your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall Ever Pray &c" The signature to the petition is "WM NICOLL." (Petitions Vol. 180, p. 184) The petition appears to have been referred to a committee and on their recommendation the petitioner was granted leave to withdraw. It does not appear whether the committee had little faith in the claim or thought the risk too great to encourage the continued manufacture, or what other reason they may have had

In the meanwhile trouble came from another quarter. Gov. Trumbull, of Connecticut, a stable and conscientious man in the Colonies' cause, had been informed that the people of Nantucket were making a bad use of their permits to import provisions and that the English were obtaining supplies from them. He at once addressed a letter to the Governor and Council informing them of his suspicions. The General Court immediately referred the letter to a committee who took the following action regarding the accusations:*

"The Committee of both Houses appointed to take into Consideration & report on ye Letter of Governor Trumbull relative to ye Inhabitants of Nantucket have attended that Service & beg Leave to report by Way of Resolve:

In Council Dec'r 9th 1775

Whereas:—Representation has been made to this Court that supplies of Provisions (more than are necessary for Internal Consumption & for such Voyages as may be prosecuted, consistent with the Resolves of Congress & the Gen'l Assembly of this Colony)

*The report of the oCmmittee of Correspondence of Falmouth having in charge the issuing of permits to the people of Nantuckt to purchase supplies as fololws

"falmouth october ye 2, 1775.

An account of all the permits given for Supplying the Inhabitants of Nantucket by vertue of an act of the Court:

Simeon Coffin, 400 barels flower; John Bond 200 ditto; John Waterman 800 ditto; Barnabas Swain 500 ditto; Thomas Ginkins 20 cord of wood & Neseccrys; Silvenus Coffin 25 cord wood, 3000 Bushels Grain; Thadeus Barnard 25 cords wood & Necesarys; Cornelus Dunham 300 bushels of Grain, 10 Cattel, 10 Sheep; Benjem'n Barnard 200 barrels meat, 100 cord wood, 400 barrels flower, 50 bushels corn; Abial Elred 100 cord wood; David Butler Jr., 100 cord wood; Samuel Brown 150 ditto; John Gibbs 150 ditto; Elisha Perrey 120 ditto; Seth Perrey 120 ditto; Benona Nickelson 100 ditto; Simeon Wing 100 Cord wood, sum live Stok; Jonathan Kindricks 200 bushels graine; Shubal Chase 50 Cord wood; Thomas Ginkens 150 cords wood, 100 barrels flower, 200 ditto of meat, 500 bushels Corn; Samuel Nye 60 Cord Wood; Nath'll Colman 40 cord wood; Elezer Hatch 100 cords of wood, 8 Live Stok; Elihu Coffin 50 Thousand of Bred or a Load of Wood; Barnabas paddick 50 Cords of wood; William Black 40 cords wood; Rufus Allen 15 cord wood; Edward Tupper 4000 lb chees, 300 ditto of Buter; Silvenas Coffen 10 cord wood, 2 Tuns Buter, 4 do of chees; Toby Simon a small vessel Load of Apples & Cyder; Barnabus Hammond 32 cord of wood; prince Burges 100 cord of wood; Job Bunker 40 cord of wood, 900 barrels flower; Ebenezer Coffen 60 barrels Cyder, 50 bushels appels, 20 barrels pork, 16 ditto Beef, 7000 chees, 20 ferkins Butter, 500 w shoe Lether, 500 w hogs Lard, 500 w flax, 500 w Tallow, 20 bushels Rye, 15 shoats; Abner Briggs 400 barrels of provisions; Seth paddick a small Vessel Load of flower & pork; Silvenas Coffen 400 bar flower, 60 ferkens H fat, 1000 bushels wheat, 1000 ditto of Bran, 100 Cask of Bread; Samuel Starbuk 20 lb Shuger, 40 ditto Molasses; 20 ditto of Rum, 50 ditto of Salt, 10 Cask Rice, 50 barrels Beef, 40 ditto of Pork, 6 Tuns of Hemp, 1000 w Chees, 50 firkens Buter; Abner Spencer 6 barrels meat, 50 bushels of Appels, 10 barrels Cyder; Bers'm foulger 300 barrels flower, 20 ditto of Tallow, 100 ferkens of Butter & fat, 2000 w flax, 2000 ditto of Lether, 5 Casks of Rasons; Benj'n Barna 20 cords wood, 11 Tuns Beef, 10 ditto of Pork, 200 barels Cyder, 1000 bushels appels, 5 firkens Butter, 2 Tuns Chees, 55 side Sole Lether, 10 barrels chasnuts, 20 Shoats, 50 Turkeys, 50 Gees; Paul Pinkham 200 barrels flower; Thomas Williams 1000 bushels grane; 30 barrels flower, 20 ditto of pork, 20 firkens of Buter, 500 w chees, 300 ditto of flax, 10 sids of Lether; Matthew Berd 40 cord of wood 3 h h of Rum; John Cotten 40 barrels Cyder, 20 bushels of potatoes, 14 ditto of Appels, 10 gallons Mint water; Benjemn Barna 20 Cord wood, 50 bushels appels, 20 barrels cyder, 10 ferkins Butter; Stephen Kidder 30 Tuns Timber, 20 barrels cyder, 50 bushels appels, 500 W. chees, 10 ferkens Butter; John Perey 20 Tuns Timber, 6 Thousand feet plank; Daniel paddick 25 cord wood, 6 barrels cyder, 70 bushels appels, 900 w chees, a few shoats; Capt. Wilson 20 Cask of Bread, 30 barrels flower, 500 w Chees, 100 barrels cyder, 30 ditto of appels; John Waterman 50 barrels

(See next page)

who, after due consideration reported on December 11th. After reciting that representation has been made to the General Court that more supplies than were necessary for internal consumption and necessary voyages had been shipped to Nantucket, and that there was great reason to suspect that the inhabitants of Nantucket had abused the indulgence of the General Court by supplying the English with a portion of such provisions—the following recommendation was reported and was adopted by the House of Representatives and by the Council:* “Resolved—That ye Committee of Correspondence for ye Town of Falmouth in ye County of Barnstable be & they hereby are directed forthwith to return to this Court a true Copy upon Oath of all permits which they have granted to the Inhabitants of Nantucket or any other person or persons in

pork, 75 Ditto of Beef, 60 firkins Buter, 2000 w chees, 80 barrels cyder; John Willcoks 25 cord wood; Philip fanning 300 barrels flower; Jeremiah pryer 30 cord of wood; Nath'll Macy 30 cord wood, 400 feet oak plank; Silas Jones 40 cord of wood, 50 barrels cyder, 200 bushels appels; David Onus 300 bushels of appels, 50 barrels of cyder, 1000 w chees Reuben Gardner a Load of wood, Beef, flower, Buter, Corn and chees the above is a Trew Coppey of the Contents permits granted by the Committee of falmouth for supply ye Nantucket

per order of s'd Committy NATH'LL SHIVERICK Clerk.”

Mass. State Archives, Vol.138, p. 234.

*Concerning this affair William Rotch says in his Memoranda, “From the year 1775 to the end of the War we were in continued embarrassment, our vessels captured by the English, and our small vessels and boats sent to various parts of the Continent for provisions, denied, and sent back empty, under pretence that we supplied the British, which was without the least foundation. Prohibitory Laws were often made in consequence of these unfounded reports. By this inhuman conduct, we were sometimes in danger of being starved. One of these laws was founded on an information from Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut, who had been imposed upon respecting our conduct in supplying the British. I wrote to the Governor on the subject, and laid our distress very home to him, assuring him at the same time that nothing of that kind had taken place. He was convinced of his error, and was ever after very kind in assisting us within his jurisdiction. But there were so many petty officers, as Committees of Safety, Inspection &c. in all parts, and too many of them chosen much upon the principle of Jerboam's Priests, that we were sorely afflicted.”

The following is the text of the letter of Gov. Trumbull which led to the action of the General Court Dec. 9, 1775:

“Lebanon 4 Dec. 1775.

Sir: Inclosed I find you the Certificates, Permits &c from the Committee of Falmouth to Capt Phineas Fanning to purchase and transport provisions to the Island of Nantucket, & the consequent doings of the Inhabitants of Suffolk County on Long Island thereon. This I should not have noticed, but as I am informed by Capt Niles who commands one of the armed Vessels belonging to this Colony called the Spy of nine other Vessels, with as large & some larger Permits, some of which have been into this Colony but have not succeeded here & are now gone to Long Island.

Surely such large Supplies of Provisions to the favourites of Administration looks suspicious & ought to be duly watched.

Indeed it was always my opinion, that those Inhabitants of that Island who are friendly to this Country's Cause, ought to remove themselves to the Main & leave the rest to be supported by their good friends the Administration—I give you this Intelligence that such measures may be taken that while we are at War with we may not at the same time be feeding our Enemies.

I am &c

JONA. TRUMBULL

To Pres. Council Mass. Bay.

State Archives Letters, Vol. 6, p. 25.

*State Archives, Vol. 207, p. 261.

The Continental Congress under date of November 30, 1775 (Printed Vol. III, pp. 397-8), considered an application “that Captain Jenkins be permitted to take a quantity of provisions for the internal consumption of the inhabitants of Nantucket, the reason” being that the Committee of Falmouth was unable to supply them and “had recommended him to Congress to be supplied with the same at some port in the middle or southern colonies,” and ordered that permission be granted “the Captain giving bond and taking oath to the committee of inspection of this city, to pursue their instructions in his voyage, and to use his utmost endeavor not to fall into the power of the cutters or armed vessels of the enemy.”

their behalf for obtaining provision from the Inhabitants of this & ye neighbouring Colonies to Supply sd Inhabitants of Nantucket and to suspend granting any permits in future to the said Inhabitants or any person on their Behalf till the further order of this Court & ye Selectmen of the Town of Sherburne on the Island of Nantucket as also of each Town on Martha's Vineyard are directed forthwith to make Strict Enquiry into ye Importation of provisions into their respective Towns Since ye 28th Sep'r last & of all provisions now in sd Towns & to make Return thereof on Oath to this Court as Soon as may be: & ye Inhabitants of this Colony are desired to withhold further Supplies of provisions, Fuel or other Necessaries from sd Islands untill the further Recommendation of this Court & ye Printers of ye Colonies afores'd are respectively desired to cause this Resolve to be inserted in their Newspapers."*

The Selectmen were further directed to "prepare an estimate of the quantity of fuel and provisions necessary for the use of the inhabitants of said Island and lay it before three or more justices of the peace for the County of Barnstable in the Colony of Massachusetts bay attested by the oath or affirmation of the s'd Selectmen & that the Justices be empowered to grant supplies under their hands to any man or owner of vessels in the s'd island to import fuel or provisions from the Colonies of Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, lower Countries on Delaware or Maryland not exceeding the quantities specified in said estimate."

*Mass. Archives, Vol. 207, p. 261. The Selectmen showed the following importations, ascertained, they say, "to the best of our knowledge:"

	Beef	Pork	Fl'r	Br'd	But'r	Ch'se	Wh't	La'd
	bbl.	bbl.	bbl.	cwt.	lbs.	lbs.	bu.	lbs.
Simeon Coffin	10	65	180	20	300			2200
Phineas Fanning	170		92		300		370	
William Coleman						1112		
Ebenezer Davis	110				4000	1000		
Matthew Beard						1500		
Reuben Gardner	60	6	20		250	100		250
Thomas Jenkins		24	372	22				250
Benjamin Barney	23	14	23		1500	1060		100
Benjamin Folger	50	50	280		1200			1300
Silvanus Coffin	3				850	1000		
Oliver Spencer	3	3	1		300	500		
Ebenezer Coffin	3				140	3500		
Abner Briggs	15	30	142	95				
Job Bunker					20	30		
Samuel Starbuck	5	5				10000		
Silas Jones	1					150		
Benjamin Barnard			370	21	750			400
Nathaniel Coffin					Wood			
Samuel Starbuck					"			
Jones Barnard					"			
Shubael Chase					"			
Barnabas Briggs					"			
Stephen Gardner					"			
Daniel Paddack					"			
Elisha Folger					"			

The Selectmen reported that so far as they could ascertain there remained on hand 300 bbls. of beef, 160 bbls. of pork, 800 bbls. flour, 120 cwt. of bread, 3000 lbs. of butter, 12000 lbs. of cheese, 250 bu. of wheat, 3500 lbs. of hog's lard, and about 6000 bu. of corn. The statement is sworn to before Ebenezer Calef, Justice of the Peace, and is signed by Josiah Barker, Stephen Paddack, Shubael Barnard, Stephen Hussey, Batch'r Hussey and Rich'd Mitchell Jr. They further stated that Nathaniel Coffin, Shubael Chase, Barnabas Briggs, Stephen Gardner, Daniel Paddack and Elisha Folger had imported wood (amount not given), James Barry, a butcher on the Island, had killed the equivalent of 95 lbs. of beef and Henry Clark, another butcher, the equivalent of 120 lbs.

It naturally followed that these deprivations to a people so completely dependent upon outside communities for supplies soon began to be severely felt and a remonstrance was sent to the General Court. Under date of January 16th, 1776, the Selectmen prepared and sent to the Court the following memorial, accompanied by a statement of importations since September 28th, 1775:*

"To the General Court or Assembly of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay:—

The Memorial of the Selectmen of the Town of Sherborn on the Island of Nantucket at the Request of a number of the Inhabitants,—

Your Memorialists are deeply Concern'd to find that there is a Resolve of the General Assembly of this Colony, forbidding any Importation of Fuel or Provisions into this Town and that it is Recommended to the United Colonies to afford no further supplies by reason as we apprehend of some Misrepresentation being made of our past Conduct.

Your Memorialists beg leave further to Represent, that such restraint, will in its operation in a very short time subject the Inhabitants to Extreme Distress as there is already great Complaint for want of Fuel and other Necessarys. Numbers of Familys begin to feel the pressing Calls of Hunger and want. Therefore your Memorialists Beg your Attention to a Resolve of the Continental Congress of the Eleventh of December last founded in Humanity as they say; pointing out the Necessaty of s'd Town being further Supplied through a Committee of this Colony.† Your Memorialists therefore humbly request that s'd Restraint recommended to the other Colonies may be Recall'd or otherwise as in your Wisdom shall think proper and are

Respectfully, Your Friends

JOSIAH BARKER,
BATCH'R HUSSEY,
SHUBAEL BARNARD,
RICH MITCHELL, JR.
STEPHEN HUSSEY."

Nantucket, 16 January 1776.

*Petitions, Vol. 180. p. 285, Mass. Archives. See previous foot-note for tabulation of imports.

†The resolves of the Continental Congress were the result of the petition of Capt. Thomas Jenkins and were based on the resolution of December 2d which it was alleged was not grounded on the exact facts. The matter was referred to a committee consisting of John Adams, Thomas Cushing and Thomas McKean. The committee reported the following resolutions which were adopted: "Reloved, That the vigilance and zeal of the committee of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, in preventing the said Jenkins cargo from being sold, contrary to the resolutions of Congress, be highly approved.

Resolved. That it appears to this Committee, that the inhabitants of said island are at present in great distress for want of the necessities of life.

Resolved. That humanity requires that some speedy measures be taken by the Congress, to enable the said inhabitants to supply themselves with necessary fuel and provisions.

Resolved. That the selectmen of the town of Sherbourne, in Nantucket, prepare an estimate of the quantity of fuel, and provisions necessary for the use of said Inhabitants, and lay it before three or more justices of the peace, for the county of Barnstable, in the Colony of Massachusetts bay, attested by the oath or affirmation of the said selectmen; and that the said justices be empowered to grant licenses under their hands to any master or owner of vessels in the said island, to import fuel and provisions from the colonies of Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Lower


(See next page)

The above petition was read in the House of Representatives, January 25th, 1776, and referred to a committee consisting of Col. Freeman, Mr. Brown of Boston and Mr. Davis of Barnstable, with such as the Council should join. To them, on the same day the Council added John Winthrop and Charles Chauncy, Esqs. That committee reported a resolve to the effect "that a Representation of the present State of that Island and of the conduct of the Inhabitants, be made to the American Congress, and that the Inhabitants be supplied with Necessaries for their Subsistence in the manner directed by a Resolve of the Congress, untill their determination on such Representation may be had." This resolve was adopted. Whether the representation voted was made to the Continental Congress or not does not appear, as there is no report of any action by that body in its Journal.

The following extracts from diaries kept by Kezia Coffin will give some idea of the insular life and activities in the early days of the Revolutionary period: "Thursday Aug 30, Capt Ascough in a British man-of-war anchor'd at our Barr this afternoon—1 tender 2 or 3 prizes with him." "Monday Sept 4, Capt Ascough & prizes sail'd at noon. ship convoyed prizes over shoals & then went westward—they are bound to Boston. Joseph Hussey & Roby went off today bound to Cambridge." "Tues. Sept 5 Rand, P. F." (Phineas Fanning) "Sampson, Brister &c sl'd this morning to Vineyard in father's vessel for a load of wood." "Wed. Sept 6. Daniel Pinkham arr'd from whaling in father's vessel—20 bbls." "Friday Sept 15 Barney Swain came in today from Iceland with 250 bbls oyl—the Iceland fleet have all done well, some of them got 300, no one of them less than 100 bbls. the Disco fleet have done small—many of them not a drop." Sunday Sept 17. Johnson & James Alley came home * * * they were here about 2 months ago and engaged shoes to people. they have brought on, near 500 pr." "Thurs. Sept 21. P. F. is bound to L. Island after a load of Provisions or wood if they are permitted to bring it." "Tues Oct. 3. Sam'l Starbuck came in today from Newport tells that we shall have provisions from the main by

Counties on Delaware, or Maryland, not exceeding the quantities specified in the estimate.

Resolved, Whereas it appears that the said inhabitants are in immediate danger of suffering for want of the necessaries of life, that the said Captain Jenkins be permitted, under the inspection of the committee of the city of Philadelphia, to unload and sell his present cargo, and to purchase a cargo of fuel or provisions, provided he shall first make oath or affirmation before a magistrate, and give bond, that the same is, *bona fide*, intended for the internal consumption of the said inhabitants, and that he will use his utmost endeavors, that it shall not fall into the hands of the enemies of the United Colonies." (Journals of the Continental Congress Vol. III, pp. 421-2) On the 23d of December petitions from Seth Paddock, of the sloop Mayflower, and Sylvanus Coffin, of the schooner Dolly, both of Nantucket, were laid before the Continental Congress (Vol. III, pp. 445-6), asking for similar concessions, and were referred to a committee consisting of Thomas McKene, Benjamin Harrison and Roger Sherman with instructions to find what amount of fuel and provisions were needed for the exclusive use of the islanders and how much had been exported to the island from different ports in the United Colonies during the month of December. The committee reported Dec. 28. The report was read and Jan. 2, 1776, was refused. The records of the Town are singularly devoid of any expression of the Town's action in any of these matters, and it is not until April 9, 1779 that they show any intimation that a state of war existed. The petitioners representing the Town seem to be the Selectmen as such and not acting under a recorded vote of the Town. It is likely that the people hesitated about having any action recorded for fear that it might later be used against them.

first applying to the Falmouth committee & procuring papers.  great Condescension in their high mightinesses." Friday, Oct. 6. Richard Mitchell & Stephen Hussey came to the Island today—have been from this town to the general court to try to get Liberty for us to have necessaries brought here—they have obtained something by going as is mentioned the third of this month." Monday Oct. 9 "A few minutes before 12 o'clock Rand and * * * P(hineas) F (anning) came to the Barr, Sailed 8 clock last night from Shelter Island as quick or the quickest passage ever made from there here, they went after provisions. Mr. Fanning petitioned the Committee for leave to bring provisions or wood, but the(y) would suffer him to bring neither any more than to bring him home. they pretended that they believ'd Rand bound to the Enemy—they gave him a permit for so much Beef, Butter, chees, wood &c &c. as they thought would bring them home & put a Committee to see that they took no more in—but by stealth they took more in than they were allowed to. they brought 60 or 70 weight of Butter as much chees, 1 Cow dead, 2 Bbls Cyder, 3 Bushels Quinces—several Bushels Apples dried Cheries, Peas, Apples &c. one deer, skin & all." Thursday Oct. 12 John Worth here from Saratoga came on with intention of going whaling "but the times are so troublesome here that he determines home again as soon as possible" * * * "Hugh McCoy came home today was taken at Rhode Island with Stephen Paddock, the man of war that took them is determin'd to carry Paddock & his vessel to Boston. Paddock was bound to N. York with a load of Oyl, he had no clearance. A number of our Vessels have been long look'd for from Kennebeck with Wood & a new Brigantine of T. Jenkins—the Brigg was look'd for 4 weeks ago & it was fear'd she was taken—But Davis Hatch came here today from Kennebeck & says that the people there have taken the Nantucket Vessels unbent their sails & will not suffer them to return. when they came to their Vessel they got the rabble drunk & then stole away." Thursday Oct 19. Mr. Fanning sailed for Long Island for provisions intending to stop at Falmouth for a permit. Tues, November 14. A ship and several tenders nigh that we are fearful of. Wed. November 15 "the man of War & tenders came this forenoon to the Barr & anchor'd * * * just at dusk a little Vessel came in that the man of War had taken—she lost her anchors—has gone ashore by old George Hussey's house—'tis said she belongs in Boston—but some of our sons of Balael say she is one of the men of War's tenders & they are determined to muster & take her—before 10 mama & I went up to Doct. Tupper's to inform him what was the Vogue & request of him to abate if possible the spirit that reigns. he thought nothing could be done tonight but engaged to stir early in the morn." Thurs November 16, "the ship at the Barr is commanded by Capt. Ascough a Gun ship. one of the tenders parted her cable just at dusk & ran into the harbour up to the wharf." Fri. November 17 There was a combination to capture the tender at the wharf but the captain was warned. Sat. November 18 Samuel Crosby has tried to get a boat's crew to go to the Vineyard & inform them of the tender's being in the harbour. Sun. November 19, "Capt. Ascough's wife is on board the ship. one Coffin on board came ashore for some necessaries for Mrs. A. sent some turnips, cranberries, cherries, eggs, butter, cheese marmalade &c. Mon. November 29 Wm Rotch, the two visiting Friends and several others went on board the ship today. Thurs. November 23, "Johnson, the Lynn shoemaker, came last night, tells that the Americans have actually taken St. Johns in Quebec, but there remains a great doubt with me whether it is true since the Americans so frequently raise false reports in favour of themselves. Congress thanksgiving day." Friday November 24, The ship and all belonging to her sailed

about noon—upwards of 40 vessels have gone out of the harbour today. A. Brigg is gone to N. York in my father's sloop *Defiance*.---C. Coleman gone out whaling, Sampson with him. one Clark brought a load of flour here when the country would not permit it. George Smith went out today in a whale brigg. Mon. November 27 Benjamin Barnard went out yesterday for Philadelphia after a load of flower. Wed. November 29 Meader & Hathaway sail'd whaling. Frid. December 1 Phineas Fanning arrived with a load of provisions, "after going through everything but death." Mon. December 4 "our house has been like a Tavern, people coming after provisions."

In the fall of 1775, one Shubael Lovell, of Barnstable, the owner and captain of a small vessel, was captured by an English vessel of war, while on a voyage from Hyannis to Nantucket. Having nothing on board his vessel worth retaining she was released and Lovell proceeded to Nantucket. The man-of-war lay off the harbor for a considerable time and Lovell found it, as he said, "impracticable for him to return." The English captain was much in want of bread and exchanged a small quantity of provisions with the people of Nantucket for some. Dr. Samuel Gelston seems to have been deputed to effect the exchange, and by him Lovell sent a small gift consisting of six bunches of onions, four cabbages and half a bushel of beets because, as he wrote to the General Court, he "was under the mousels of the Ship and her Tender Guns which I then thought might be some helpe to me if I was taken Againe by them so that I might Git away and not be Cared to Boston &c." Lowell was arrested and imprisoned by the Colonial authorities, but after his petition and explanation he was released and returned to Barnstable."*

Dr. Gelston also fell under the bann and was arrested† by the Provincial authorities and was imprisoned in the Plymouth jail. He effected his escape from there, but was recaptured at Newport and returned to the custody of the Massachusetts Bay authorities. The Doctor addressed a petition to the General Court, setting forth that he had been brought before the Court to answer to several complaints, "one of which was that of supplying Cap't Ayscough with provisions, the particulars of which has been given in with Truth and Candour, & he apprehends has been Laid before your Honors. The other is for several speaches made in conversation & Threatening to spread the small Pox all of which he absolutely Denys, & presumes no positive evidence can be produced to support such a charge, neither has he at any time held any Correspondence with, nor supply'd the army or navy of Britain except in the present Instance, nor has he been regardless of his duty to his Creator, his Country & posterity—Your petitioner would further beg Leave to set forth to your Honors That he has a Wife & Family consisting of Eight children, who must be Greatly distressed by his absence & confinement as well as his property Distroyed." He further acknowledged his faults and promised "to promote the good of his Country & its cause, which shall

*Revolutionary Council Papers, Vol. 164, p. 253.

†Revolutionary Council Papers, Vol. 164, p. 261. The man-of-war and her tenders sailed away Nov. 24, and on the same day Mrs. Fanning's diary records "upwards of 40 vessels have gone out of the harbour today."

be advised on every Occasion.”* The General Court granted him a release subsequently and he returned to Nantucket.†

The Islanders endeavored to supply their necessities by continuing their commercial relations with the ports at which they had traded prior to the war, but the measures of the Continental Congress became continually more and more strenuous in the direction of preventing all such trade, either direct or indirect. When one Benjamin Crocker, of Falmouth, petitioned in February, 1776, for leave to go to the islands of Tobago and Grenada to collect some debts owed to him, the Provincial Congress granted him permission, provided he returned with the proceeds of his collections to some port in the Colonies, excepting Boston (then in the control of the English), Nantucket or New York;‡ and about the same time the Congress passed an order forbidding vessels going to the West Indies contrary to the laws of the Continental Congress. The owners of the vessels were warned that the craft were liable to capture by any Colonial vessels if they sailed without Colonial permits. **

Money was becoming scarce. The General Court directed Stephen Hussey, who seemed to be its accredited agent in various matters of importance, to ascertain if there was gold or Silver on the Island exchangeable for Continental bills. In response to this order, Mr. Hussey replied that he had “attended that service and find no Person ready to Exchange at present Oweing Principaly to the Scarceaty of hard Money in this Country, little or Nothing has been received for Oil & Head the last season Except Paper by that Means tis impossible to Colect much hard Money here.††

Continued legislation was directed at a repression of what might have seemed to have been undue amounts of provisions being

*Petitions, Vol. 181, p. 375.

†“Complaint was made to the General Court, about this time, that some of the inhabitants of Nantucket were in the practice of furnishing the enemy with provisions from that island. Most of the people undoubtedly were innocent of such criminal conduct; but some of them were proved to be guilty. They had abused the license given them to carry provisions from the main to that island for the necessary supply of its own population; and had furnished the British army in Boston with many vessel loads. One Dr. G— was confined by order of the General Assembly, for assisting the enemy in this manner.” Bradford, Vol. II, p. 889. It is evident that Bradford’s statement was without proper foundation. William Rotch, whose truthfulness no one would dare to question, testifies in his Memoirs that the charges were false.

‡Petitions, Vol. 208, pp. 172-3.

**Petitions, Vol. 208, p. 345. While it is not impossible that some supplies might have reached the English through Nantucket, it is quite improbable. The diaries of Kezia Coffin, the unreserved records of an intelligent young woman, unusually well qualified to know, are quite convincing on that point. Under date of March 10, 1776, she writes—“one Hand of L. Island came to this Island today—says that Nat Shaw one of the principle men of N. Haven & a very high son of Liberty says it can be prov’d that half the cargo that Mr. Fanning brought here last fall was carried to Boston—he has taken great pains to spread this report through Connecticut & L. Island which I fear will be a great damage to Mr. Fanning—the whole is absolutely fals not a sixpence worth ever went to Boston—they are much intraged on L. Island believing it to be true.” It was doubtless such reports coming to the attention of Gov. Trumbull that induced hom to make complaint to the Massachusetts authorities.

††Petitions, Vol. 180, p. 343.

imported at Nantucket, but it may fairly be admitted that neither the Continental nor the Provincial Congress appeared to be animated by any other purpose than a desire to prevent supplies reaching the English. It is well to remember, also, that during the early part of the Revolution the hope in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was for a reconciliation with the mother country and that the King and Parliament would recognize the merits of the remonstrances made by the Colonists and see that justice was done. As time passed on and the complaints were unheeded, the conviction became forced upon the people that they would obtain no more than they won by force of arms.

In January, 1776, the Colony of Massachusetts Bay issued a proclamation which in many respects bore a striking resemblance to the Declaration of Independence,* but it was not until six months later, nearly fifteen months from the time of the conflicts at Lexington and Concord, that the Continental Congress declared the Colonies free and independent.

The situation at Nantucket was peculiar to a degree not equalled by that of any other town in the Colony. Not only were a majority of the people members of the Society of Friends, and, by the nature of their religious belief, opposed to war and inclined to conservatism, but their commercial relations with England had been particularly intimate, since that country was the principal market for their staple product. If one adds to those conditions the facts that the island by itself was entirely incapable of raising sustenance for its inhabitants that they did not possess within themselves the power to resist the aggressions of the English navy and that the Colonies could hold out to them neither the faith nor the expectation of protection, we may easily believe that the course which they pursued was the only one open to them. In the very nature of things many of them were reluctant to surrender their allegiance to the English King. They had not suffered at the hands of Parliament and George the Third as many in other parts of the Colony had. Even those whose sympathies were with the Colonists hesitated to declare themselves.† The entire business and life of the Island depended on what the Islanders could wrest from the sea and they pursued their fisheries and dependent trade after the beginning of hostilities until the major part of their vessels were captured and the crews imprisoned. Nor was the cap-

*Up to about this time official proclamations had closed with "God save the King"; this one issued by the Provincial Congress, ended with "God save the People!"

†Even on the main land men whose loyalty was not open to question were compelled in the early days of the Revolution to exercise extreme caution. Thus on May 15, 1775, Enoch Freeman, for the Falmouth Committee of Safety, remonstrated against an attempt to capture an English ship then in that harbor, writing—"It has a tendency to bring on us certain ruin, by the Admiral's resenting it, in such a manner as to block up our harbor before the time. We have no force to oppose or prevent it, no fortifications, no ammunition, no cannon, and if provisions are stopped from coming in here, the town is ruined, as well as the country, which depends upon the town for supplies, of which, at present there is a great scarcity." Jour. Prov. Cong. p. 257.

turing entirely a prerogative of the English, for in the latter part of the year 1775, several Nantucket vessels, among them a new brigantine belonging to Thomas Jenkins, sent to the Kennebeck river for cargoes of wood were seized by the people there, their sails unbent and the vessels detained.*

As time passed on more and more sympathy with the cause of the Colonies was developed. The evolution was necessarily cautious because the people of Nantucket realized that they were liable at any time to depredations from the commanders of the English ships and that the Colonial authorities had little or no power to ward off the predatory attacks. Several owners of vessels petitioned for permits to enable them to sail to various ports in the West Indies and exchange cargoes of pickled fish for salt, of which they were sorely in need and which they had been unable to manufacture economically.† In several cases the petitioners stated that if allowed to proceed on their voyages they would bring as return cargoes goods of use and value to the Colony. Andrew Myrick 2d., in February, 1777, petitioned the Council of Massachusetts for leave to send the sloop *Industry*, Henry Folger, Master, to Curacoa loaded with lumber, shook-hogsheds, etc. engaging to return with gunpowder and other military

*Coffin Diaries. The rapid decline in the whale fishery at Nantucket after the beginning of the War of the Revolution is more clearly shown by quoting from the Kezia Fanning diaries. It is quite likely that there may have been a few omissions, but Mrs. Fanning's records show the following April 20, 1775, William Moores and Uriah Bunker arrived with 400 barrels (It may be noted that in those days two vessels were frequently mated); April 23, Paul Coggeshall arrived with 50 bbls; April 26, Barzillai Swain arrived from Guinea—good voyage; May 6, Robert Hussey and Stephen Gardner arrived from Guinea with 100 bbls; May 17, Nat Woodbury arrived from Guinea with 180 bbls; May 19, James Whippey arrived from Guinea with over 250 bbls; same date Nathan Coffin arrived with 270 bbls; May 27, Obed Bunker arrived with 260 bbls, John Chadwick with 250 bbls; and Josiah Coffin with 50 or 60 bbls.; June 2, Peter Fitch arrived with 260 bbls.; June 3, Daniel Pinkham, from the West Indies, 50 bbls; June 5, John Bailey, from the West Indies, no report of catch; June 12, John Barnard, 150 bbls; June 23, Daniel Pinkham sailed; June 27 Tristram Pinkham arrived—no report; July 5, George Lawrence arrived with 160 or 170 bbls; same date Prince Gardner, nearly 300 bbls; July 14, Jonathan Barnard, 100 bbls; July 15, David Rand 160 bbls; Sept 6, Daniel Pinkham (who sailed June 23), 20 bbls; Sept. 15, Barney Swain, from Iceland, 250 bbls; (A note here says "Iceland fleet have all done well, some of them got 300, none less than 100—Disco fleet done small—many of them not a drop." Another note dated Oct. 12 says that John Worth came from Saratoga with the intention of going whaling "but the times are so troublesome that he determined home again as soon as possible") Nov. 24, C (harles) Coleman sailed whaling; also George Smith, in a brig; Nov. 29 Meader and Hathaway sailed whaling. 1776, May 4, Solomon Bunker sailed whaling; May 17, Moses Giles arrived from Brazils, 200 bbls; May 18 David Rand sailed for Iceland whaling in Sloop *Ranger*, was captured May 30 and vessel sent to Halifax; June 23—Coleman arr'd, 250 bbls.; June 30 Barzillai Folger from Brazills, 400 bbls.; July 6, Meader and Hathaway ret'd, 260 bbls. each; July 9, Paul Hussey, from Brazils, 90 bbls. was captured by the English but released; July 10, Charles Coleman, 300 bbls.; July 25, Barzillai Swain, 100 bbls. These are the last arrivals recorded, none appearing in 1777, 1778 or 1779. Oct. 12, Hugh McCoy reported that he and Stephen Paddock with their vessels were captured by the English at Rhode Island. Paddock was carried to Boston, detained three months and then his vessel was released.

†Macy states (p. 82) that the Islanders made several ineffectual attempts to produce salt and adds: "Probably the principal reason for their not succeeding was the fog, which prevails around the shores in the summer season, and, keeping the air moist, prevents the water from evaporating as rapidly as the business requires."

stores. His petition says— "Your Petitioner has exerted himself in the great Cause of Liberty as much as any Man upon the Island, by Supplying Boats &c., and in every other way in his Power & is still ready so to do."* Silvanus Hussey made a similar request for the brig Woolf, Samuel Worth, master.† Edward Gray of Boston, at the same time, in behalf of William Rotch and others, petitioned for leave to send the schooner Nightingale, Jonathan Downs, master, and the sloop Sandwich, John Elkins master, both belonging to William Rotch; the brig Katy, Joseph Gardner master, and the sloop Dolphin, Stephen Fish master, both belonging to Samuel Starbuck; and the schooner Olive Branch, David Paddack master, belonging to Benjamin Barney, to Hispaniola, with pickled fish, etc., the vessels to be manned by Quakers, and to import West India goods and salt.‡ The petitions were severally approved by the Council, the conditions being that the owners imported such goods as were serviceable to the Colony. The records of Union Lodge, A. F. & A. M., covering this period, show that a portion of the Lodge's funds was invested in some of these adventures.

The vessels of Nantucket also played an important part in the early days of the Revolution through being used as the medium for the conveyance of important letters to the Colonial authorities. At the outbreak of hostilities Capt. Seth Jenkins was the bearer of valuable letters from parties in England to the President of the Provincial Congress.** The following letter is of interest in this connection and tends to show that, despite the unusual risks they ran, there were Islanders ready to do what was in their powers to aid their countrymen:††

"Boston Sept 25th 1776.

Gentlemen:—

Agreeable to your desire I have Collected the particulars of my Voyage from Nantucket to London & thence to the West Indies & Nantucket & is as follows—

I sailed in the ship Somerset from Nantucket the 27th day of August 1775 with a Load of Oil & Arrived in London the 2d of Octo' following, there I disposed of my ship & Cargo & Endeavor'd to procure a passage back to Nantucket or some part of America, but by the embarrassments arising from Acts of Parliament restraining & Cutting off Trade & Communication with the Americas, I Could find no Opportunity of a Passage back to Nantucket, & was Oblig'd in Conjunction with Cap'ts. Folger, Jenkins & Gardner to Purchase a Brig for that purpose—& in order to prevent our being liable to be

*Rev. Coun. Papers, V. 166, p. 241.

†Rev. Coun. Papers, V. 166, p. 249.

‡Rev. Coun. Papers, Vol. 166, p. 252. (Edward Gray married Sally Fitch, of Nantucket.) As early as September, 1774, the Earl of Dartmouth had written to the English authorities that a vessel bound from Amsterdam to Nantucket had on board 300,000 lbs. of gunpowder (Documentary History of New York, Vol VIII, p. 487). Early in 1777, Gray petitioned for leave to send the brig Eunice from Nantucket to the West Indies, with a cargo of Salt and pickled fish, the brig to be manned wholly by Quakers, and he was granted a permit April 23d provided he did not go to the British islands. Vol. 213, p. 342.

**Petitions, Vol. 180, p. 77.

††State Achives, Letters, Vol. 195, p. 278.

seized or stopt in our Intended Return to America by any of the King's Customs in London, we were Obliged to Conceal our Intentions & by advice of our American Friends there (who Intrusted us with Letters of the Utmost Importance to Mess'rs Hancock, Adams, Franklin & Lee) we put a small Cargoe on board the Brig that it might appear we Intended a Trading Voyage, & got her made an English Bottom to Cover our Intentions, which Otherwise we Could not have Executed—We saild from London the 23d of May 1776, & in the Downs we took on board Mr. Morris who was a Major in the British Service, but he disapproving of their Diabolical proceedings against this Country, sold his Commission & secured his Effects in London & took the Resolution of proceeding to America to Enter into their Service, & it was Recommended to him by the Friends of America, as the most Speedy & Safe way to get there. We arrivd at the West Indias the 2'd of July there disposd of our Cargo & took a small Quantity of Rum, Sugar & Molasses, & Cleard out for Halifax, but Intended for the Continent. on the 20th of July in Latitude 32, was taken by the Congress Privateer, Capt. Cragie from Philadelphia who told us that he belonged to Lord Dunmore's Fleet which causd us to destroy the Bill of Sale of our Vessell & many papers which might have been of Service to this Countrey. Afterwards he acknowledgd himself to be a Provincial Privateer, which put us in such Confusion that we did not know how to act upon the Occasion & was determind not to Open our minds to him, but to abide by the Consequence for as he had deceived us in one Instance, we did not Choose to give him the Opportunity of another, we still believing him to be one of Lord Dunmore's Fleet—& meant to Trappan us— & we was not Convinced that he was not one of them till 10 days after, when we Came up with a French Man Loaded with Powder bound to the Continent whom he dismisd, which Convinced us that he belong'd to the Continent, we then Opend our minds more freely to him & let him know that we belongd to the same & was Intrustd with the Above mentioned Letters which were Conceald in the Brig & begd of him to Let some of us go in the French Vessell, as no one knew wherq they were Conceald Except ourselves, which he utterly Refusd to do, he also refusd to let anyone of us belonging to the Brig proceed in her to Egg Harbour but he took every person belonging to her, on board his Privateer with a profest Intention to Carry us as far from the Continent as would answer his design of preventing our arriving In season (as some of his officers told us) to Claim our right & Recovering our property—he also took all our money being in Gold with him, to a Very Considerable amount & proceeded with it on a Cruize—the Letters we were Chargd with to the Members of the Hon Congress &c were of such Importance & Nature as Required us to act with the Utmost Care and Caution, had they been discovered we Hazard-ed our necks & the necks of the best & sincerest Friends of America. we were further Chargd with some Verbal Intelligence, such as was Judgd to be too Interesting & in its Consequences too Important & dangerous to be Intrusted in a Letter we also brought off & Conceald the Aforementioned Major Morris which if discoverd would have been as fatal to us as to him all which we readily took Charge of as we Heartily wishd for & Interested ourselves in every measure that might Contribute to the Information or Success of the American Cause altho' as above we hazarded our lives in the Attempt—The Privateer being short of water was Obligd to put into Abico one of the Bahama Islands where he put us on board a Nantucket Vessel who was there after a Load of Salt & he also detained five Vessells belonging to New Providence while he Refitted, & took the most out of one of the Vessells & made a Prize of another loaded with salt & sent her to the Continent—also out of the five Vessells he

took Twenty Negroes & on the 19th of August he set Sail for Philadelphia & we at the same time for Nantucket where we arrived the 5th Instant.

The Captains Folger & Jenkins in Company with Major Morris are gone to Philadelphia in order to get & deliver the abovementioned Letters to Messrs Hancock, Adams, Franklin & Lee, & to Petition the Hon Congress that their Property may be Restord & Reparation made them for their Detention & Suffering without which they & their Familys will be very great sufferers, as well as that of

Gentleman

Your most h'ble Servant

ALEX'R COFFIN.'"*

Hon Council of

State of Massachusetts Bay.

In the general regulation of affairs the Massachusetts Bay Colony followed, of course, the attitude of the Continental Congress, and many of the orders adopted in Massachusetts in restraint of the sailings of vessels and of importations and exportations were based on the resolves of that body. In February, 1776, it was resolved by the Continental Congress that no vessel, loaded for Great Britain, Ireland or the British West Indies be allowed to sail until the further order of Congress and Committees of Inspection were instructed to see that the recommendation was carried out. At the same time a committee was appointed to examine and report on the number of permits issued, the circumstances attending the issuance and the destinations of the vessels to which they were granted.† The restrictions were modified March 4 so to permit the importation of arms and ammunition.‡ A further modification, made on April 6, permitted the importation of

*Under date of July 1, 1775, Josiah Stearns petitioned the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts for compensation for "bringing a Number of Letters from the Island of Nantucket from on board Cap'n Seth Jenkins from London, & Delivered to the President of this Honorable Congress." Mass Petitions, Vol 180, p. 77.

The petition to the Continental Congress met with no success. The Journals of the Congress of March 21, 1777, (Vol. 7, p. 189) says that the petition of George Folger, Seth Jenkins and Alexander Coffin respecting hard money and other articles said to be detained from them by the owners of the Privateer Congress, was read and dismissed on the ground that the matter belonged to the Court where the judgment was given. On April 12 the Committee on Appeals reported that they had heard the petition of Jonathan Burnel and other owners or claimants of the brigantine Sherburne from the verdict and condemnation in the Court of Admiralty at Philadelphia fully argued, were equally divided (3 and 3), and in order that no injustice be done recommended a new committee of five be appointed for a re-hearing. (Vol. 7, pp. 260-261). On May 23 the Committee reported that the matter depends on the construction of the resolutions of congress and the relief is in the Court and not by Congress; "That the case of the Sherburne having already received a judicial determination before the said Court, where the parties had an opportunity of availing themselves of the full effect of the said laws, it is improper for the Congress to come to any resolution relative thereto." And Congress resolved to concur with the Committee. (p. 383) The judgment doubtless was good law but afforded poor satisfaction to the men who lost their property through their loyalty to their trust as bearers of dispatches.

†Journals of Continental Congress, Vol. 4, p. 172.

‡Ibid, p. 183.

articles not grown in or produced by any country under the dominion of Great Britain, excepting East India tea.*

While the acts of the Provincial Congress applied, generally speaking, to the entire Province they were in some essential particulars modified to meet conditions peculiar to Nantucket. It was necessary to appoint certain civil officers with jurisdiction over Nantucket corresponding to that of similar officials in other parts of the Colony. Thus in January, 1776, Nathan Cushing Esq., was appointed Judge of Admiralty for the counties of Plymouth, Barnstable, Bristol, Nantucket and Dukes; and in October of the same year the General Court passed a resolve establishing the position of Naval officer,† and, in November, Ichabod Plaisted was appointed to the office for Nantucket. It was evidently found that there were some recruits for the Colonial service to be obtained on Nantucket for on December 28th Stephen Hussey Esq., was appointed Muster Master.‡

In the latter part of the year 1776, the Provincial Congress became more restrictive in its policy. An Embargo Act was passed in December, entitled "An Act for laying an Embargo for a limited time," setting forth that as "many & great inconveniences may arrise to this State if a speedy & effectual stop is not put to the sailing of all ships & Vessels, whether Merchantmen or Vessels of war, except such as are in the actual service & pay of the united States of America or this, or either of the said States," all vessels excepting such as actually were in the pay of the United States or of a particular State, were forbidden to depart from any port, harbor or place within this State without a special permit first obtained from the General Court or, if it was not in session, from a majority of the Council, under a penalty of £1000.**

The year 1777, brought but little change in the affairs of the people of Nantucket. There was the same surveillance over importations and exportations, necessary undoubtedly, in a general sense, for there is no evidence that the authorities were intentionally oppressive as regards the people, but serious enough to the Islanders, who hovered continually between the Scylla of the requirements of Congress and the General Court, and the Charybdis of being caught by English armed vessels while sailing under Colonial permits.††

Early in February, thirty or forty of the young men of the Island went to Dartmouth, hoping to sail from there on whaling

*Ibid, p. 258. In December 1775, (Vol. 3, p. 445) Capt. Seth Paddock of the sloop May Flower and Capt Sylvanus Coffin of the schooner Dolly, both of Nantucket, petitioned for leave to carry provisions to Nantucket. The petition was referred to a committee and on the following month permission was refused. The Colony of Massachusetts Bay had already in the matter of importations placed itself in line with protection for domestic manufactures.

†The embargo of February 1776 was removed Sept. 15th, 1777.

‡Mass. Archives, Letters. Vol. 210, p. 342.

**Ibid, Vol. 212, p. 438.

††Mass. Archives, Vol. 211, p. 340.

voyages, but they seemed to be no more successful there than those who remained at home.* The fortunes of war were illustrated in the case of a ship taken as a prize by an American privateer and ordered to an American port with eight of her own crew and a prize crew of thirteen on board. On the 17th of February the ship struck on Great Round Shoal, and the crew had to take to the boats.† They landed on Nantucket the next morning and it is fair to say that both victors and vanquished were hospitably cared for by the people.

During the year several Nantucket men who were prisoners in English jails or on English prison ships were exchanged or released, and allowed to return to their homes. The following correspondence and orders thereon names several Nantucket seamen who were prisoners on the English Prison ship in New York:‡

*Kezia Fanning's Diaries.

†Ibid. Mrs. Fanning gives quite in detail a little romance connected with this affair. Among the prisoners, were the master of the English ship (Capt. Peacock) and his wife and brother, the last named a lad of ten or eleven years old. Mrs. Fanning's diary says—They brought the Captain's wife and brother to Mary Bunker's. They had been on allowance for six weeks and for four days before they came ashore had had nothing to eat. Mrs. Fanning and a friend called to see the castaways on February 19 and the Captain's wife and her brother came home with her. Her narrative continues—"She appears very lively, is about 20 yrs old, she says her maiden name was Harriet Lamb. Her parents died when she was young & left her with an Uncle. About 2 yrs ago she ran away to Scotland with one Smith & was married to him (she could not be married in England being under age). The day she arrived an intimate friend of hers advis'd her that her husband was a very abandoned man, he going constantly after bad women & treating her very ill. She sued for a Bill of divorcement which was granted her, it cost her 4 hundred pounds sterling—she had a pretty fortune when Smith married her but he spent the most of it. her uncle being dead & she having no near relation in England was her own mistress. She was educated at a boarding school & learnt millenary & mantua making—she was told something handsome might be made in Jamaica by her trade took what little she had & went on Board Capt Peacock for Jamaica—but her expectations were not answered there. Peacock took a Fancy to her courted her & married her in Jamaica. he did not chuse to leave her there & she was bound home with him when they were taken by those merciless wretches. this is the purport of her story—her Husband came up at Tea time. he is a very moderate kind of a man—talkes but little—the woman is not handsome but is well looking."

‡Under date of July 1 Mrs. Fanning's diary tells of Charles Jenkins who sailed in the Fall of 1776 for Philadelphia for a load of flour; was blockaded all winter by the English fleet, got through the blockade in the Spring but was captured with his vessel and sent into New York. Barnabas Coffin who was captured with him was taken with the small pox and died a prisoner. Under date of July 15 she tells of Nathan and Richard Coffin, Gideon Worth, Francis Hussey and several others going to London before hostilities began and being unable to return. They finally got a brig and cleared for Halifax, intending to make Nantucket. They were captured in the West Indies by an American privateer and sent to an American port as a prize. The privateer soon after was captured by an English armed vessel and in the battle Francis Hussey and another Nantucket man were killed. Under date of Dec 23d. 1777 she mentions the death of Barzillai Swain in Boston, a physical wreck. He sailed for the West Indies over a year before but was captured by the English, and confined in the Halifax goal until very recently. On Dec. 26 she writes "news came to the Island today of the death of Barnabas Gardner & Abel Gardner—they died on board the Prison Ship at New York." In a letter from St. Johns, Newfoundland dated July 21st 1777 (Rev. Council Papers, Vol. 167, p. 98), the Governor, J. Montague grants permission to Capt John Gage and his mate and Edward Gage, a relative, late of the Sch. Rebecca, "who were taken Prisoners by His Majesty's Armed sloop Bonavista" to return
(See next page)

To the Hon'ble the Council of the State of the Massachusetts Bay. The Petition of Paul Hussey of Nantucket Sheweth:—

That a number of his Friends and Acquaintance are in Captivity in New York Confined on board a Prison Ship & there, some of whom are sick and very low spirited, occasioned by their long Imprisonment, and he fears if they are not speedily released, many of them will Die under their Hardships. their names are as follows vizt. Capt. Nathan Coffin, Blin Harris, Mr. Seth Pinkham, Mr. James Fitch, Christopher Merrick, Henry Tracey, Gard Manter, Robert Calder, Elias Coffin, Thomas Shaldwell, James Whitehouse, Capt. Timothy Coffin, Capt. Benjamin Cocks, Capt. Abraham Toppin, Joseph Rollins, John Saunders, Capt. Elias Hallett, William Furnis Thornum, Arthur Forgunson, John Sweet, Capt. William Probey, Capt. Weeks, Capt. Taylor, Capt. Uriah Atkins, Capt. Hatch, all belonging to this State who have very earnestly requested your petitioner to solicit for their exchange.

That there are the following Prisoners now here to be exchanged namely Capt. Lewis O'Brien, Mr. Jonathan Head, Harber Hasse 2d Mate, William Murry Boatswain, John Rernson Sailor, Jonathan Jackson do., John Durham do., Isaac Lawson do., William Watson boy, Joseph Waters Mollato, Thomas Brown Negro, Phillip Porter Sailor, John Quiley at Bedford Passengers William Butterfield do., Michael Fox do.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays your Honors would be pleased to take the distressed circumstances of his Friends & Prisoners at New York into your Compassionate Consideration, and that you would be pleased to send him in a Flag of Truce to New York with the named Prisoners and any others he can procure, that he may obtain a Releasement of his friends & at New York, and that he may go as soon as possible.

And as in duty bound shall pray &c

PAUL HUSSEY."*

Capt. Hussey's petition was endorsed "these may Certify that I the Subscriber have made inquiry as to the Character of the within named Paul Hussey and find him to be a Gentleman that may be Rely'd on.

ROBERT PIERPONT."

The accompanying orders followed the reading of the petition:

"In Council Aug 12, 1777.

Read & Ordered that the Prayer of the above Petition be

to Nantucket in exchange for Edward Elmer, a prisoner at Dartmouth in New England.

The records of Union Lodge, A. F. & A. M. under date of February 3d, 1777, state that a Committee was appointed to send £20. "by several Vessels over the Sea in Adventure for the Benefit of this Lodge as they should think expedient."

Under date of April 25, 1777 Admiral Howe gave a permit for the following named prisoners to go from New York to Connecticut and Island of Nantucket in exchange; Ebenezer Coffin and Thomas Wilkins, merchants; Capt. John Harvey and Capt. George Osborn; Uriah Gardner and Samuel Thomas, mates; Reuben Barnard, Levi Gardner, Nathan'l Frost, William Cartwright, Valentine Coffin, William Barnes, John Martler and Hugh Ellis, seamen. Mass. Prisoners, Vol. 9, p. 55.

* Rev. Council Papers, Mass., Vol. 167, p. 153. In October 1777 Susanna Geyer, wife of Frederick William Geyer, of New York, was granted permission to go from Nantucket with her four young daughters to New York, her husband having obtained the release of four Americans and having had them conveyed by cartel to Nantucket. (Rev. Council Papers, Vol. 167, p. 343.)

granted & that a Cartel be sent to New York for the Exchange of the above mentioned Prisoners.

JNO AVERY D SEC."

"State of Massachusetts Bay.

Council Chamber, Aug. 14, 1777.

Capt Godfrey whereas you have bin this day appointed to the Com'd of the Cartell Schooner Speedwell

You are therefore directed imedeatly to take Command of s'd Vessel & under the direction of Rob't Pierpont Esqu'r Commissary for the Exchang of Prisoners—fix her for the voyage & Recive on bord her such prisoners & other persons as may be Delivered you by the s'd Commassery & then proceed by ye East side of Long Island with all posable Despatch to New York—& their Deliver the prisoners you Carry with you to Capt Paul Hussey (who will go with you in ye Carteal) and is to negotiate the Exchange with the Comasary who may be appointed at New York to make the Exchang with him as soon as the Exchang is Compleated you are directed to Return with the Vessel under your Com'd & the prisoners which you may Recive Imedeatly to this place—first Landing such part of ye prisoners at Falmouth in this state as belong to the Island of Nantucket and such others, as it may be most Convenant for them to be Landed at s'd Falmouth and in all Respect observe & follow as near as may be the Gen'll Instructions Given you by the Council of this state, and in all Respect Conduct y'rself properly using the greatest economy & Dispatch."

The following orders were given to Capt. Hussey.*

Aug. 16, 1777.

Sir—As Capt.—Godfrey Commander of the Scooner Speedwell is bound to New York with a number of Prisoners, you are appointed a Commissary of Prisoners in order to Conduct the Exchange. Inclosed you have a Letter directed to ye Commanding officer of the Navy at New York which you will deliver to him upon your arrival there you will receive Enclosed a List of the Prisoners that goes by Capt. Godfrey from Mr. Pierpont ye Commissary of Prisoners for whom you will use your best Endeavors to procure an Equal number of the same rank & quality, taking care if possible to obtain in Exchange Capt. Nathan & Capt. Timothy Coffin & such other Seemen as belong to this & some other of ye United states of America and have been longest in Captivity giving the Preference however to such as belong to this State—you are directed not to make the present Unhappy dispute ye subject of your Conversation & upon your Arrival at New York are not to transact any other Business saving the Negotiating the Exchange of ye Prisoners and to use your endeavors to prevent ye men belonging to ye Cartel scooner to carry on any Bussiness there of any kind but what relates to the Exchange aforesaid."

It was during this year that Dr. Bejnamin Tupper, a well-known physician in Nantucket, was arrested, charged with being

*Rev. Council Papers, Mass. Vol. 167, p. 163.

Ssubael Barnard, of Nantucket, sailed for Martinico in a sloop, Barzillai Swain, master, was captured by the English man of war Milford and carried to Halifax; was removed, taken up the Bay of Fundy, was recaptured by the American Privateer Black Bird and was then put in prison in Boston. In Dec. the Council ordered his release (Rev. Council Papers, Vol. 168, p. 66). The Sloop Lively of Nantucket, Barnabus Starbuck master, on the voyage from New Providence to Nantucket was captured by the privateer Hampden and sent into Salem. She appears to have been again captured by the English and sent into New York. (Rev. Council Papers, Vol. 169, p. 237).

"a Person Dangerous to the Liberties of this State" and confined in the jail at Barnstable. There is little doubt that the Doctor in the early years of the Revolution was not in complete harmony with it. The arrest was made in June.* By an order of the Council dated October 26, 1777, Gen. Otis, the local commander, was instructed to deliver him into the custody of the Sheriff of Suffolk County, "that he may be proceeded with according to the Laws of this State."†

Just what the particular charges were or what they were based upon does not directly appear, but it is fair perhaps to assume that they may have had some reference to the importation of flour and provisions to the Island by the people or with the attempt of the Islanders to get some concession from the English whereby the inhabitants might be allowed to earn a livelihood and permitted to purchase food.

Among the documents on file in connection with the case is an evidently intercepted letter from Kezia Coffin, addressed to him at Edgartown, of which the following is a copy:

Nantucket ye 4 mo ye 8th 1777.

my friend

these may Informe that I Received thy message about thy flower & Have seen that it is taken Care off I also may Informe thee that we Continew very uneasy about our Long Island friends. Fanning‡ wants very much to Goe, or to send a Letter Either to Long Island or Block Island as we Have Heard there is Passing from one Island to the other, but as no way Presents Heare at Preasant I Desire that thou would See Simon Porrag before thou Returns Heare, & Inquire if He Has a Boat and wheather He would be willing when the weather is more modirate, may be next month, to Goe to Long Island or Block Island to Carry Fanning or some other Person, to See after his friends, & fetch His mother as we are Sencible she is in a very Uneasy situation, when thou Returns we Can Consult further for this is of my one Proiecting, may be that Fanning will not approve of these measures, so can ad no more at Preasant, but Conclude with my Respects thy friend

Kezia Coffin

Doctor Tupper at Edgartown.**

If the letter was the foundation for the charge it would seem that the Doctor must have held communication with the English

*Rev. Council Papers, Vol. 173, p. 441.

†Ibid, Vol. 175, p. 688.

‡Phineas Fanning who was afterwards married to her daughter, Kezia.

**Mrs. Coffin was a woman of marked ability and force. For a very considerable time after the commencement of the Revolution she continued to be a staunch supporter of the King. The common report of the day accused her of smuggling but there does not seem to be any foundation for the story. Without doubt she was instrumental in importing provisions, but it was not apparently done secretly nor for undue personal gain. It is to be fairly argued that if someone had not moved more rapidly than the law there would have been much suffering in Nantucket.

without proper authority. Whatever the explicit charge may have been Capt. Timothy Folger, evidently believed him unjustly accused, for under date of July 11, 1777, in a petition to the Council, he says: "That your Petitioner being informed that the Honorable Council sent an Order to Coll'l Pope at Bedford to apprehend the Body of Benjamin Tupper of Sherburn in the County of Nantucket and to Commit him to Concord Goal Your Petitioner humbly apprehends he can give your Honors a true state of Facts Respecting the said Benjamin Tupper and his Conduct, and prays that he may be heard before the Honorable the Council or a Committee of the same," etc. Capt Folger's petition, which was sent from Boston, was immediately received and acted upon and Joseph Palmer and Moses Gill, Esq., were appointed a committee to consider it. On July 18th the committee appears to have considered Capt Folger's testimony and made the following report:

The Committee upon the within Petition having heard said Folger upon the matter, and examined one Simon Porrage, now in Jail, respecting said Tupper; Report that both said Tupper & Porrage be liberated upon their severally giving Bond, to the Treasurer of this State, that they will not, during the present war, either directly or indirectly, aid or assist the Enemies of the united States of America, or hold any kind of correspondence with any of them; the said Tupper, in the sum of £600, with such surities as Col'o Pope shall approve; &, the said Porrage in the sum of £300, said Folger being surety for him.

J. PALMER per Order.

Read & Accepted,

JNO. AVERY, D. SEC.*

The year 1778 brought no cheer for the people of Nantucket. In his Memoranda of this period William Rotch said: "It was about the year 1778 when the current in the country was very strong against us at Nantucket, the vessels we sent after provisions sent back empty, and great suffering for want of food was likely to take place, that the people who thought we ought to have joined in the war (not Friends) began to chide and murmur against me. They considered me the principal cause that we did not unite in the war (which I knew was measurably the case), when we might have been plentifully supplied, but were now likely to starve, little considering that if we had taken part, there was nothing but supernatural aid (which we had no reason to expect) that could have prevented our destruction."

Nantucket and Vineyard Sounds were continually infested with cruisers and the not over abundant supplies which the Islanders could secure from the continent were continually in danger of capture before they could reach their destination. Of this period, Macy says: "Sometimes strangers, with the prospect of high prices, would venture to the Island with such articles as were most needed, and take in exchange fish, salt, oil, etc. A number of the inhabitants ran open sailboats to Connecticut and elsewhere, with salt and other articles, and brought back provisions and other supplies. They chose those boats, because they could pass Rhode Island in them, with greater safety, during the night than in vessels. And, notwithstanding the danger of navigating such frail barks, they selected the most

*Rev. Council Papers, Vol. 167, p. 78.

stormy nights, even in winter, to pass ports in possession of the enemy; for they had rather encounter the hazard of foundering at sea, than of falling into the hands of the British. By these means, and with what breadstuffs was raised on the Island, the people were prevented, and in many instances barely prevented, from suffering to death."

"As long as the vessels lasted, they afforded employment for the poorer class; but their number lessened very fast. The loss of these, however, was not the greatest evil which the people had to sustain. The prison-ship was much more dreaded. * * * * In the middle and latter part of the war, accounts from abroad were rarely received, which did not tell of the death of one or more of the people belonging to the place. The few, that returned from the prison-ships, gave the most melancholy account of the sufferings of the prisoners. The provisions, which they had to eat, were the most filthy that could be procured, infested with bugs, weavils and maggots; and of even these they were furnished with not half enough to satisfy the cravings of nature. Their scanty pittance of water was offensive to the smell, filthy and poisonous. A great number of persons were confined within the narrow limits of the ship; they were overrun with tormenting vermin; on every side the eye rested on the dead, and the ear was assailed with the groans of the dying. These startling and horrid truths wrought so forcibly on the minds of those whose necessities impelled them to follow the sea for a subsistence, and so disquieted the hearts of their wives and children, who must be left in anxious uncertainty both in regard to their future means of subsistence, and the fate of their near relatives, as to bring a gloom over the face of society, too deep and too heart-felt to be described."*

To avoid capture and the terrible consequences it involved the craft in which the people of Nantucket sought to import their food-stuffs were long and narrow, built of frail materials and constructed with special reference to speed. When chased by enemy vessels they carried such a press of sail that they not infrequently were swamped and their crews perished.†

Under such conditions the prices for the necessities of life ran abnormally high. Corn was quoted at \$3.00 per bushel; flour at \$30.00 per barrel and other goods in proportion.‡ Wood became scarce and peat was resorted to. The scrub oaks were used, roots as well as top. Mrs. Fanning records under the date of February 5th that her people procured cedars from Coatue.

On the fourth of February the following resolution was introduced into the General Court:**

*Macy, pp. 85-86.

†Macy, p. 86. Mr. Macy quotes from the valuation of ratable property on the Island, made by the State of the Massachusetts Bay, for the year 1778. A synopsis of the figures given shows—Ratable polls 970, not ratable 31; dwelling houses, barns and similar buildings, 604; value of same £35,633. 5s; value of wharves, £1,708. 2s. 4d; still houses, furnaces, mills etc 4; value £295; value of all goods, wares merchandise and stock in trade £8,257. 8s; value of vessels whether at home or abroad £12,860. 8s; ounces of plate 1780; number of horses 270; oxen 54; cows 540; steers 155; sheep and goats 9,938; swine 299. Value of real estate £116,552. 7s. 4d. Value of personal property, £51,561. 9s. 8d.

‡Macy, p. 88-90.

**Mass. State Archives, Vol. 217, p. 44.

State of Massachusetts Bay

In the House of Representatives Feby 4, 1778.

Whereas sundry persons were by this Court yesterday appointed to go into the several Counties & Towns within this State, & make particular Enquiry into the Reasons of the Deficiency of the Number of men heretofore ordered to be raised for Reinforcing the Continental Army & Report to this Court on or before the 20: Inst.—And

Whereas this Court hath received Information, that Supplies of provisions of various kinds have been sent from or thro this State, to our Enemies the British Troops by the Way of Nantucket, or thro some other Channel—Therefore

Resolved That Thomas Durfee, who is appointed to go into the County of Bristol, George Partridge into ye County of Plymouth, & Joseph Nye into the County of Barnstable for the purpose above mentioned be, & they are hereby impowered & directed also to make strict Enquiry & get all the Intelligence they can respecting such supplies of provisions, & report on their Return, that so proper Measures may be taken for the punishment & prevention of such vile practices—

Sent up for Concurrence

JOHN PITTS SP. p. t.

In Council Feby 4, 1778.

Read & Concurred

J. M. AVERY, Dp. Secy.

Consented to JO POWELL, W. SEVER, A. WARD, CALEB CUSHING, DAN'L DAVIS, S. HOLTEN, JOHN TAYLOR, BENJ. AUSTIN, JEDIDIAH PREBLE, SAM'L DANIELSON, D. HOPKINS, W. SPOONER, JOSIAH STONE, J. PALMER, A. FULLER.

It seemed to be the old story of an apparent leak somewhere and a guess at who the guilty parties were. If there were any supplies conveyed to the English from Nantucket the most prominent citizens there and those most likely to be informed were not aware of it, nor did the investigations of the General Court serve to indicate any collusion between any of the Islanders and any portion of the English forces. The temptations were as great as the exigencies were pressing, but no evidence exists where the leak was.

A petition from Nat Barber Jr., who was a Colonial muster master, addressed to the General Court early in the year set forth that "Daniel Coffin of Nantucket was taken by the Enemy the 10th of Feb. 1777—And when carried to New York was Compel'd to enter on board the Lady Gage.—The said Coffin is now on board the Prison Ship in this Harbour—If your Honors think proper, your petitioner begs he may be released."—March 12th 1778 the Council ordered the Commissary of Prisoners "to liberate Daniel Coffin of Nantucket, now a Prisoner on Board the Guard Ship Rising Empire & to suffer him to go at large."* The

*Rec. Council Papers, Vol. 168, p. 210. The records of Union Lodge A. F. & A. M. under date of May 4, 1778, show that the Lodge "voted that the secretary Doath wright a Letter in the Behalf of ye Lodge to Bro. Nath Barber Jr in Boston to procure a man for the Releas of Bo. Andrew Brock now Prisner in New York.

natural inference to be drawn from Mr. Barber's petition is that the *Lady Gage* on which Coffin was imprisoned fell a victim to a Yankee privateer and he had to suffer the penalty of being caught in bad company. Coffin was a cousin of Kezia Fanning, and in her diary under the date of Saturday April 18th she makes these comments: "Daniel Coffin arrived to the Island last night after 2 yrs. & a half absence he was taken with Timo. Coleman & carried into York could not get his liberty to come away and so entered on board a transport has saild several voyages from York he was taken this winter past on board the *Lady Gage* packet & carried into boston & there put on board the prison ship—Nat: Barber got an order of council went on board & released him. Do not know for why or what reason barber befriended him—he has lost the chief of what he had."

On July 24th the Naval Officers in the several parts of the State were directed to require a bond of £3,000 from the owners and masters of any vessels bound to any Southern State for flour or grain that the cargo obtained be landed at some port in this State. The Island fleet, however, which, in the beginning of the year 1775 had numbered 150 vessels in the whale fishery alone, besides coasters and those engaged in foreign trade, had become so decimated that there were very few to be affected by any restrictive legislation, however drastic or necessary. The few that did survive, nevertheless, were among those affected, since provisions of all kinds were procured from ports along the coast, from Long Island to the Carolinas, and from the West India islands, and supplies of wood came from Cape Cod or from the forests of Maine.

In September, 1778, word was received at Nantucket that several English men of war were at Martha's Vineyard, plundering the people and burning and destroying much property. The report created much excitement, especially as the report stated that the fleet would next visit Nantucket and destroy its stores, shipping, etc. Those of the people who could, loaded such of their goods as were easily removable on to vehicles and transported them out of town. This feeling of extreme unrest must have lasted for nearly a month for on October 5, Union Lodge, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons "Voted, their be a Committee of 3 Brothers viz. Bros. Robert Folger, Bro. Paul Pinkham & Obed Bunker are Chosen to take ye Greatest care of the Chest of this Lodge & the furniture of ye same in case the Enemy is in sight of us Hear."*

*According to Bank's (*Hist. of Martha's Vineyard*, Vol. 1, p. 369) this expedition was under the command of Gen. Sir Charles Grey and consisted of 4333 men and 20 transports and was convoyed by 11 vessels of war. They anchored in Holmes's Hole Sept. 10. "General Grey wished Captain Fanshawe (of the *Carysfort*) to proceed on the Nantucket service without coming to an anchor off Homes Hole harbor, as the wind was fair, but Captain Fanshawe, insisting on the necessity of assembling his captains, the deliberation lasted until the wind changed." And the obstinacy of Capt Fanshawe was the salvation of Nantucket. On Sept. 13, orders came from Lord Howe to return to (See next page)

It does not appear, however, that Nantucket was visited on this occasion. By an unexpected combination of circumstances the visit to Nantucket, which was one of the principal objects of the raid, was deferred until the expedition was recalled by Lord Howe, with but half its work accomplished. The devastation suffered by the people of Martha's Vineyard was an indication of what would have been the fate of Nantucket had the original purpose been carried out.*

The year 1779 was a most discouraging one for the people of Nantucket. As full of troubles as its predecessors had been since the beginning of the Revolution this year surpassed either of them in the privation, danger and suffering the Islanders were called upon to endure. Macy says: "The year 1779 was replete with difficulties, one succeeding another, so as to keep the people in continual anxiety."†

Early in April seven small vessels made their appearance, coming from the westward. Five of them anchored off the bar and two entered the harbor and made fast at the wharf. They proved to be manned by Refugees and to have been sent by the Commander in Chief at New York to ascertain the disposition of the people, whether their sympathies were with King George or the Continental Congress. They were under orders not to molest the "peaceable" inhabitants, those who were friendly to the Crown, but to destroy Rebel property wherever it could be found.‡ Eldad Tupper, a somewhat notorious Royalist was with them. As the Refugees were almost wholly people who had practically been ostracized by the patriots and much of their property confiscated they were by no means reluctant about the carrying out of their orders.**

New York. The raiders carried away 10,574 sheep, 315 cattle, 52 tons of hay, £1000 in money, 388 stand of arms, with bayonets powder and lead, besides destroying salt works, six vessels and 23 whale boats (Hist. Martha's Vineyard, Vol. 1, pp. 380-381) Sept 14 the fleet sailed for New York.

*Under date of 8th December 1778, Capt Timothy Folger wrote to the Council of the State (State Archives, Vol. 8, p. 167) that the English Schooner Hammond, flag of truce, was wrecked on the shoals near Nantucket and those on board were landed on Nantucket. As there was considerable going on of interest and value to the State on the Island he did not deem it wise for the Hammond's crew to remain to spy, and so he bought a small vessel, stocked her with just enough provisions to carry them to New York and sent them away. He hoped what he had done would be approved by the Council.

†P. 92.

‡Mrs. Fanning's diaries.

**On one of these forays of the Refugees it is related that their sentinels were so posted that it was difficult for the people to procure water. Among those who suffered were Deborah Chase and her parents. Deborah's patience finally was exhausted and she determined to procure the water at all hazards. Her father remonstrated in vain, telling her "Thee had better not; thee will get a bayonet in thee." She replied that she "would as lief die one way as another," and seizing two pails she started. In passing a corner a sergeant on guard, presented his bayonet to stop her. Without delay she hurled a pail, full in his face knocking him senseless on the ground bleeding profusely. She passed on filled her pails with water and returned in safety past the still prostrate sentry.

Miss Chase was a young woman who was not to be trifled with. There was at one time try-works located near the head of the New
(See next page)

Concerning this raid and the events growing out of it, William Rotch, in his Memoranda, says: "In the year 1779, seven armed vessels and transports, with soldiers from Newport, came to us, the latter commanded by George Leonard, an American, as were his troops in general, having joined the English. They plundered us of much property, some from me, but a considerable amount from Thomas Jenkins.* While they were plundering his store I attempted to pass the Guard they had set, being desirous to see Leonard, and intercede with him to desist. But the guard arrested my progress with the bayonet. After some time Timothy Folger succeeded in speaking to him, and advised him to go off, for the people would not bear it much longer. He took the hint and retired much enraged.

"We soon had information that Leonard & Co. were preparing another and more formidable expedition to visit us. The Town was convened to consult what measures should be taken in this trying emergency, which resulted in sending Dr. Benjamin Tupper, Samuel Starbuck and myself to New Port and thence, if necessary, to New York to represent our case to the Commanders of the Navy and Army."† We arrived in the Harbor of New Port, where Capt. Dawson commanded the Navy, and Gen. Prescott the Army. But the American Refugees had made interest with the Gen. not to suffer us to land, and we were ordered by Dawson to depart. We

North wharf where the vessels as they brought in black fish left them to be tried out. The oil when extracted was drawn off into large, shallow pans to cool. At one time after their work the men wanted some bread and sent to the bake house of her parents nearby for a supply. The little girl who usually carried it was too small, so Deborah volunteered to go with it. Among the men was one who had just been married and was wearing his bridal coat. When he saw Deborah coming he announced his intention to kiss her. She recommended him not to try but he persisted and seized hold of her. She caught him at a disadvantage and whirling him suddenly landed him in the middle of the pan of cooling oil. On another occasion a man driving past her house in a cart drove unnecessarily close. She admonished him to be more careful. In a spirit of bravado he repeated the offence whereupon she rushed out and seizing hold of his cart overturned it in the street.

At the time of this incursion of the Refugees a man approached one of the sentries with a butcher's cleaver in his hand, entirely innocent of any hostile intention. The sentry on seeing him coming was so scared that he precipitately fled.

*Mr. Macy says (Note p. 91) "The value of the property according to the account of Sales given by the Refugees was £10,666, 13s, 4d, lawful money."

†Under date of April 9, 1779, the Town Records for the first time refer either directly or indirectly to the war. A meeting was held on that day at which Nathaniel Coffin 2d was Moderator. It was voted to send Timothy Folger and Stephen Hussey Esq. to the General Court "in order to obtain Permission to make application to the Commander of the British Forces at New York & Rhode Island to see if we can prevail on them to put a stop to future Depredations, and to see iff they can obtain a Reparation for the Property already taken away." Nath'l Coffin 2d, Stephen Paddack, Stephen Hussey, Benj. Folger and Samuel Gelston were chosen to prepare the memorial. But events developed so rapidly that on the afternoon of April 12 another Town meeting was called and Wm. Rotch, Benj. Tupper and Samuel Starbuck were chosen to proceed immediately to Newport or elsewhere "to endeavor to avert the Impending stroke threatened us by the British Forces at this time." Frederick Folger, Josiah Barker, Christ'r Starbuck, Samuel Gelston and Micajah Coffin were chosen to draw up a memorial for them to take with them.

The memorial (Mass. Archives, Vol. 185, p. 109) set forth the defenceless condition of the Islanders and the recent plundering expedition as well as the need of a speedy recompense and asked leave of the Court for Timothy Folger and Benjamin Hussey to go to New York and Rhode Island and endeavor to get reparation as well as the prevention of further raids. The memorial was read and referred to a Committee who reported to the House April 14 a resolve that the prayer be granted "and the said Timothy Folger & Benjamin Hussey be & they hereby are permitted to go to New Port & New York for the purpose above mentioned." The Council concurred.

interceded with him to let us stay a little longer, for we found the expedition was progressing rapidly, and unless we could arrest it, it would be in vain to proceed to New York. Dawson by request of Gen. Prescott, under the influence of the Refugees, ordered our immediate departure again. Dr. Tupper now, for the first time, went on board, and in his plain, blunt way, after the usual ceremony of entry, addressed him in this manner: 'You order us to depart. We cannot be frightened, nor, will we depart. We know the extent of your authority. You may make a prize of our vessel, and imprison us; much better for us to be thus treated than to be sent away. We came here for peace, and you ought to encourage everything of this kind' &c.

"His reasons made such an impression upon Captain Dawson that he gave us liberty to stay as long as we pleased. The Refugee boat came several times to us, to get us off. We insisted on going on shore, but they as often refused us. After this conversation with Dawson, the boat came again, and Dr. Tupper insisted that he would go on shore. They still denied him unless he intended to stay with them. As he was not always exact in his expressions, to answer his purpose, he says: "Well, I am going to stay," and almost forcibly got into their boat and went on shore, being satisfied that if he could once see the Gen. he could, in this respect, destroy the influence of the Refugees.

"He accordingly got liberty for Samuel Starbuck to come on shore and the next day for me to follow. We found it necessary to be in friendship with the Refugees, that, if possible, we might stop the current of their intended predatory visit. I got on shore in the afternoon, and found that I must wait on Gen. Prescott. Knowing his brittle temper,* and it being in the afternoon I almost dreaded to appear in his presence. However, let my treatment be what it would, I wished it over, and accordingly went.

"I was introduced to him by one of his aids. He received me very cordially, gave me his hand, and said: 'Mr. Rotch, will you have some dinner? I can give you good bread, though the Rebels say we have none.' I thanked him, saying I had dined. 'Well, will you take a glass of wine?' I answered, I have no objection if thou canst put up with my plain way. The glass was filled with his own, and those of all the officers at table, and as a stranger introduced, they all drank to me before I put the glass to my lips. I then observed to the Gen. 'As I mentioned before, if thou couldst put up with my plain way, I was willing to take wine with thee, but as we as a society disuse these ceremonies, I have always found it best to keep to my profession, let me be in what company I may. Therefore I hope my not making a

*Thatcher's Journal (p. 175) explains what is meant by the General's "brittle temper." He was captured by the Americans some time previously and while on his way, under escort to Gen. Washington's camp stopped to dine at a tavern in Lebanon, Conn., kept by a man named Alden. "While at table," says Thatcher, "Mrs Alden brought on a dish of succotash (boiled beans and corn), a dish much valued in America. Prescott, unused to such food, exclaimed indignantly, 'What! do you treat me with the food of hogs' and taking the dish from the table strewn the contents over the floor. Captain Alden, being informed of this, soon entered with a horsewhip, and flogged the General severely. After Prescott was exchanged and restored to his command on Rhode Island, the inhabitants of Nantucket deputed William Rotch, Dr. Tupper, and Timothy Folger to negotiate some concerns with him in behalf of the Town. They were for some time refused admittance to his presence, but the doctor and Folger finally entered the room. Prescott stormed with great violence, until Folger was compelled to withdraw. After the doctor had announced his business, and Prescott had become calm, the General said, "Was not my treatment to Folger very uncivil?" "Yes," replied the doctor. "Then," said Prescott, "I will tell you the reason; he looked so much like a d—d Connecticut man that horsewhipped me, that I could not endure his presence."

like return will not be accepted as any mark of disrespect, for I assure you that it is not the case." His answer was 'Oh, no, if a Quaker will but be a Quaker, it is all I want of him. But _____ is no Quaker' (mentioning one of our profession), and I was sorry for the cause of his remarks."

After parting from Gen. Prescott, they applied to Major Winslow, formerly of Plymouth, and obtained an introduction to Colonel Fanning the principal officer of the expedition. Their reception was discouraging, but they were informed that a Board of Refugees had been established, of which Col. Fanning was President, who would give them a hearing when the Board met. The Nantucket delegates accordingly attended the meeting. Col. Fanning was much more kindly disposed and inclined to consider favorably the suggestion that the expedition be deferred until the Committee could apply in person to the Commanders of the military and naval forces at New York. Leonard was the only one of the principals present at the conference who demurred, but he finally assented.

The committee then proceeded immediately to New York, where Commodore Sir George Collier was in command of the squadron and Sir Henry Clinton commanded the land forces. Mr. Rotch says: "On representing our case to Sir George, he readily gave us an order forbidding any British Armed Vessel to take any thing out of our harbor. This was a great relief. I then laid before him the state of our captured seamen, that all the exchange of prisoners at that time was partial, that as we made no prisoners we had none to exchange, consequently ours remained in the prison ship until they mostly died. On his understanding the reasonableness of the request, he ordered that all our men should be released that were not taken in armed vessels (for such we had no right to apply) and that it should not be so in the future as long as he had the command."

The committee also applied through Major Andre, one of his aides, to Sir Henry Clinton for an order directing predatory parties not to molest the people of Nantucket, and, although the General declined to issue a formal order to that effect, he gave the committee to understand that the people would not be molested by anyone in his department, and they were not so long as he remained in authority. The raid of the Refugees was abandoned.

In the meantime troubles of another nature were breeding for the Town, and, incidentally, for the committee. The Council of Massachusetts received a letter from Gen. Horatis Gates, dated Providence, April 16, 1779,* in which he writes— "This instant I received the Two Letters inclosed; that, without a Signature, is from a person entrusted to procure intelligence of the Enemy's Motions & Designs: as the Town of Sherburne is in your State, I doubt not but your Honble Council will immediately take proper measures to prevent any Separate Treaty being made with the Enemy, by any of the subjects of Massachusetts Bay—such Things are not only pernicious to the General Confederacy of the United States, but Traitorous in the Transactors."

*State Archives, Vol. 222, p. 69.

The letters referred to by Gen. Gates state that the sloop Speedwell, Francis Chase commander, was overhauled by a Colonial vessel and appeared to be officially sent by the inhabitants of Nantucket to the British authorities at Newport to recover damages for depredations committed by men under their jurisdiction at Nantucket. The vessel carried no cargo and only stone ballast in her hold. As the writer carried no orders to capture any vessel under such circumstances the Speedwell was allowed to proceed after a copy of the Town's order had been made.*

The letter from Gen. Gates was read before the Council and Walter Spooner Esq., was appointed a Committee, with such as the House of Representatives should join, to consider the whole matter and report what might properly be done in the premises. The house added Mr. Kollak and Major Bullard.† The Committee reported on April 22d, and presented it as their opinion "that no privet treaty aught to be carried on with the Enemy, by any of the Inhabitants of the state, and that the Town of Sherborn be notified to appear and give an Account of their misconduct touching this matter to the Gen'll Court on the second wednesday of the next session & that they also lay before s'd Court an attested Copy of the memorial ordered by s'd Town to be presented to the Commander in Chief of the British Navy & Army." The Council and House both adopted the recommendation.

The Town was accordingly cited to appear before the General Court to answer such questions relating to the matter as might be propounded. A meeting of the Town was held and Stephen Hussey Esq., was selected to represent the Town at the General Court in the matter.‡ A memorial was drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose. The memorial inclosed a copy of the one sent to the English Commanders, which was the occasion of the requisition, and in the Town's behalf, after referring to that part of the summons which stated that "no private Treaty ought to be caryed on with the enemy, by any of the Inhabitants of this State," continues "On which we would observe, that by the Memorial Transmitted we believe you will find that this Town had

*The commission was as follows: "To Benj'n Tupper Esq Sam'l Starbuck & Wm Rotch—You being a Committee by the inhabitants of the Town of Sherburne in a Town meeting legally assembled this 12th day of the fourth Mo. 1779, to repair to New York or Newport to prefer memorials from this Town to the Commanders in Chief of the British Navy & Army, you are therefore directed to take the sloop Speedwell, with Francis Chase, Rob't Gardner & John Cartwright to Navigate s'd Vessell & make all possible dispatch on the business of your mission & all persons concern'd are desired to forward & assist s'd Committee as far as Lays in their power— by order of s'r Town

SILV'S STARBUCK

PETER FOLGER

BENJ'N HUSSEY

WM STARBUCK

PAUL GARDNER

BENJ'N JENKINS

ALEX'R GARDNER

Selectmen

†Probably Lemuel Kollock of Wrentham and Jonathan Bullard.

‡June 1, 1779, Stephen Hussey, was in good favor with the Colonial authorities and had ben intrusted with important duties by them. On the occasion of the Refugees' raid a special committee having in custody the jewels and paraphernalia of Union Lodge A. F. & A. M. removed them to Quaise where they were concealed until late in the year.

nothing in view but plainly & Simply to Endeavour to prevent further Ravages and Devastations being again Committed here, an Instance of which we had Just before Severely felt, & being Apprehensive of another Visit suddenly from the same Quarter, on the like business, which might Reduce us to a yet greater degree of distress & poverty, caused us to Proceed in the manner we did, which we thought when rightly known might appear quite Unexceptionable, and that under our then situation it could not be deemed Misconduct in this Town." The memorial is signed by Frederick Folger, Josiah Barker, Micajah Coffin, Benjamin Hussey and Christopher Starbuck.

This representation was presented to the Court on June 11 and was committed to Samuel Niles and Joseph Simpson Esqs. April 16th, and Walter Spooner Esq. was added by the Council.

The intercepted correspondence, so far as it is on file in the State archives, seems to consist of a letter from one Nathaniel Gardiner, "of Kennebeck," to his wife, Sarah Gardiner, at Nantucket, "Living in Daniel Folger's House," and one from Samuel Starbuck, who was one of the Committee appointed by the Town, to his son Daniel. Mr. Gardiner's letter seemed to have been written chiefly to inform his wife that he was well and express his hope that she would not be uneasy about him.* Samuel Starbuck's letter informed his son that the Committee had an assurance from Gen. Clinton that further depredations would be prevented so far as he could control them, and that the people of Nantucket would have whatever indulgences he could grant them. Sir George Collier, was so busy that they were obligated to wait quite a while in order to see him. The writer recommended pulling the vessels at the wharves as high on shore as possible and the removal of their running rigging. He also recommended his son to purchase sperm oil if he could get it at £40 hard money. The letters were both dated from New York.

There is also an unsigned declaration from a Mr. Pinkham, in which statements are made, that, in the light of other testimony and of evident facts are clearly largely made up of surmises, as, for instance, that Capt. Timothy Folger went "to New York in the sloop in order to get permission from Gen Clinton to trade at New York," as well as "to get pay for the depredations committed by the Refugees."

A copy of the Memorial prepared by the Committee appointed by the Town, and sent to the English commanders, was also included in the documentary evidence. That, in itself, refutes many of the assertions made concerning the intentions and desires of the people. It is addressed to "Sir Henry Clinton or the Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in North America"—and continues—

"The Memorial of the Inhabitants of the Town of Sherburn on the Island of Nantucket in town meeting Assembled Sheweth,

*The Gardners of Nantucket spelled their name without the i.

That the Inhabitants of this Town have been greatly Alarmed by a Number of Armed men & Vessels, under the Authority of Great Britain in approaching this Town, & taking from hence property to a Considerable Amount, belonging to the Inhabitants, and our Apprehensions are greatly increased, by an Expected return of the same or another Armed force, on the same business—Anxious to prevent the Impending Stroke we therefore intreat thy Interposition in preventing the remains of the Miserable pittance (tho Absorbed in poverty and distress) from being rent from us in this manner—

This town have made choice of Benj'n Tupper Esq'r, Sam'l Starbuck and Wm. Rotch to Represent our Situation to the Commander in Chief of the British Army & Navy, who are to be the bearers of this, and to whome we refer for further particulars and are with Respect thy Fr'ds

Signed by order of s'd Town

FRED'K FOLGER,
JOSIAH BARKER,
CHRIST STARBUCK,
MICAIAH COFFIN.

Nantucket 12th, 4 mo. 1779."

The desperate situation in which the Islanders found themselves; the fact that on the 9th of April the Town had held a Town Meeting for the express purpose of petitioning the General Court for leave to apply to the British commanders for protection from the Refugees; the further fact that the most alarming reports followed the date of that meeting and demanded immediate action in order to avoid most disastrous results as well as the careful wording of the Memorial itself, which was so phrased as to preclude any suggestion of disloyalty, excepting in so far as communicating with the enemy was disloyal; those conditions would seem to fair minded people to be mitigating circumstances to be considered by the General Court in rendering its verdict regarding the action taken by this sorely afflicted people. Evidently the General Court was influenced by those conditions.*

*Nantucket was by no means alone in seeking relief through neutrality.

In this connection Henry Lee, "Lieut. Col., Commandant of the Partisan Legion during the American War" in his "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States" mentions an incident which, considering its possibilities has not received the notice its importance merits. Bancroft barely alludes to it (Vol. VI, p. 257). Col. Lee says (Vol. 1, p. 85) that when Gen. Prevost invested Charleston, S. C., in May 1779, and summonsed the authorities to surrender there was some correspondence between the people of Charleston and the British commander. "The correspondence closed," says Col. Lee, "with the proposal on our part, of neutrality to the town and state during the war, the peace to fix its ultimate condition. This offer was rejected by the British general; and he followed its rejection, by retiring from before the town during the night. What train of reasoning could have produced the rejection of the proposition to surrender the town on condition of neutrality by a general situated as was Prevost, I confess myself incapable of discerning. The moment that he found that the works could not be carried he ought to have exerted himself to procure possession by negotiation; and certainly the condition of neutrality was in itself eligible. It disarmed South Carolina for the war; the effect of which on her infant sister," (Georgia) "already nearly strangled, would have been conclusive; and Congress would soon have found, that her army, unaided by South Carolina, could not be main-
(See next page)

The final action of the General Court was taken at the June session. The Committee of both Houses to whom the matter was referred, presented its report on June 23d. It was as follows: State of Massachusetts Bay—The Committee of both Houses to whom was referred the answer of the Committee in the behalf of the Island of Nantucket, and the papers accompanying the same, have attended that service & heard Mr. Stephen Hussey on the subject matter thereof, take leave to report the following resolve:
A. FULLER, per Order.

Resolved that it appears by Sundry intercepted letters, that several of the inhabitants of said Island, have (not long since) been discovered in a design to carry on a Correspondence, & trade in an unjustifiable manner with the British Troops at New Port & New York to the injury of the Cause of the United States and the Town of Sherburn as a Town, on the Island of Nantucket appear in some measure Guilty of a violation of their fidelity to said States, by sending a Committee to Convey their memorial in an unwarrantable manner, to the Commanders of the British Troops at New Port & New York without the approbation of the General Court, but as there was no treaty proposed by said Inhabitants in said Memorial, or any other that yet transpired, And as the Island of Nantucket being under such peculiar Circumstances—

The further doings of this Court upon the information exhibited against said Town be stayed till the Conduct of said Inhabitants is better known—but the said Inhabitants are hereby, now, strictly forbidden to send any memorials, or have any further communication or Correspondence whatever with the Enemies of these United States without first Obtaining the leave and Approbation of the General Court of the state aforesaid, or the Council of the same in the recess thereof. And the Inhabitants of this State are also required to use their utmost endeavors to discover any Person, or Persons, that hath or shall hereafter presume to carry on any trade or hold any Communication or Correspondence with the Enemies of the United States and forthwith to give notice of same to this Court, that all such Offenders may be brought to Condign Punishment, for such Offences.”

The report was accepted by the Council, concurred with by the House and returned to the Council where it was formally consented to.

The troubles arising from the visits of the Refugees were by no means over. Not only did their vessels, as well as English privateers, continue their threatening visits, but Thomas Jenkins, who had removed to Lynn in the summer of 1779, and who had lost a considerable amount of property through their depredations, indirectly accused five prominent residents of the Island of being responsible for his loss and directly charged them with what, under the law, was treason and punishable by the severest penalties. As the proof of his charges would of necessity have involved

tained in Georgia,” Col. Lee adds that no British army would then have been needed to preserve the neutral state, “and the sweets of peace, with the allurements of the British commerce, would probably have woven a connexion with Great Britain, fatal in its consequences, to the independence of the Southern states.” The inference seems clear that if the English commander had accepted the terms offered him by the inhabitants of the city of Charleston the Southern States would have remained subject to the King of Great Britain.

the Town itself as a corporation it will be interesting to consider the affair quite at length.

At a duly warned Town meeting held July 7, 1779, the Committee that had been to Newport and New York to obtain relief from further depredations by the English and by Refugees, made its report.* The report was accepted "as being entirely Satisfactory to the Town and that they have fully answered the Intent and End of their Missions.." It was also voted "that the Town and all the Particular Inhabitants thereof will remain in a Quiet and Peaceable Disposition and Situation of the future as being the Ground & Basis of the Indulgence granted them by the British Commanders at Newport and New York."

On the 7th of August, two English privateers captured a brig, Stephen Gardner, master, bound for the West Indies, and a sloop, Abishai Swain, master, bound to Kennebeck for a load of wood. Both were captured soon after leaving the harbor. About the middle of September three English privateers entered the harbor. While there a small American privateer sloop anchored inside the bar near the Cliffs. The Refugees who were with the English privateers, carried a cannon to the Cliffs and fired several shot at the American vessel but to no effect, for at high tide the American weighed anchor and went over the bar again. The failure of the Refugees to capture or disable the American privateer was evidently a matter of considerable annoyance for on September 14 the day following the bombardment from the Cliffs, Messrs. Tupper, Rotch and Starbuck were summoned by Leonard, the Refugee Commander, to meet him at Martha's Vineyard. Among other things the Islanders were accused of having assisted the American privateer to escape by signaling.

*The report of the Committee was as follows (Macy p.) "Nantucket, 7th mo. 5th 1779. To the inhabitants of the Town of Sherbourne: Agreeably to your appointment, we proceeded to Newport and New York, and presented the memorial to the Commander-in-chief of the British army and navy, and after repeated applications, we received their answers (Sir Henry Clinton's was only verbal), assuring us, that he had given orders that no further depredation should be made upon the island, on property belonging to the inhabitants, by persons under the authority of Great Britain; Sir George Collier gave us the same assurance in writing; and for a full knowledge of his disposition, we refer you to the enclosed declaration." The report was signed by all the Committee.

The declaration referred to was: "By Sir George Collier, Commdore and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed in North America, from the North Cape on the Island of Cape Breton, to the Bahama Islands and Florida, inclusive; As great numbers of the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket are represented to me to be of the sect called Quakers, and consequently not accustomed to bear arms, and believing the remainder of the inhabitants to be quiet, inoffensive people, who have already suffered severely the calamities of war, I therefore think proper to forbid all privateers, letters of marque, armed vessels, or bodies of armed men, from molesting, ravaging or plundering, the estates, houses, or persons, of the inhabitants of the said island; and if any shall be found to act inconsistently with these directions, their commissions as privateers, or letters of marque, shall be vacated, and themselves punished for the offence. Given on board His Majesty's Ship, the Raisonable, off New York, 23d June, 1779. (Signed) George Collier. By command of the Commander, John Marr, Sec'y."

Upon the return of the committee on September 18 a Town Meeting was immediately convened to consider the demands of the Refugees. It was voted that the Town disavowed any hostile proceedings against the English or had done anything to forfeit the favors received. It was also voted to present the British forces with an ox to replace the "one that they had lost." Timothy Folger, Stephen Paddack and Dr. Gelston were appointed a committee to draw up a memorial and present it to the English commanders.*

So much is preliminary to the charges made by Mr. Jenkins and is essentially a portion of the story..

Under date of September 30 in the Town Records is the following:

"At a legal Town Meeting at Sherborn Sept'r 30, 1779, Silvanus Starbuck is chosen Moderator for the Meeting. Voted That Tim'y Folger Esq'r Christ'r Starbuck & Benj Hussey be a committee to draw up a Memorial in behalf of the Town setting forth the Grievances & Distress the Town now labors under in order that the same may be presented to the General Court.

Voted that Timo'y Folger Esq'r be the person to proceed to Boston and present the above Memorial to the General Court and to use his utmost Endeavor to Releive the Distress of the Town.

Voted that the approbation of the Selectmen to the said Memorial be sufficient in behalf of the Town."

The memorial set forth the unusual difficulties the inhabitants of Nantucket had encountered from the beginning of the war. The time had arrived when they could no longer endure the conditions forced upon them. The memorial stated that "the Inhabitants of this Island are computed at near Five Thousand Persons, in about Seven Hundred Families, at least one half this number if not Two thirds are totally destitute of Firewood, of which doubtless you are acquainted, this Island produceth very

*The letter from Winslow and Leonard was dated on board the ship Restoration, September 16th 1779, and stated in substance that they had been informed by John Boswell, an officer on the letter of marque schooner Royal Charlotte, that on September 12th, a colonial sloop standing into the harbor of Nantucket was signaled from the shore and prevented from becoming a prize to the Royal Charlotte and to the sloop General Carleton, then at anchor there. It accused the people of Nantucket of a disposition to molest and disturb His Majesty's servants on duty there and that they had forfeited the indulgences granted them, and declared that unless an immediate and sufficient explanation regarding these transactions was given, operations against them would be commenced. The removal of any vessel in the harbor, unless by special license, was forbidden.

The reply of the Town to the charges was, in effect, that the sloop referred to came over the bar, anchored within a quarter of a mile from shore and lay there 12 hours, which would not have been likely to be the case if they had been warned. If any signal was given it was by some lads and entirely unauthorized. Moreover the pilot saw no signal but was informed by the crew of a small sloop of the presence of the British vessel. The second charge, of aiding the King's enemies was explicitly denied. Nothing had been done inconsistent with the privileges granted. On the other hand British armed vessels had seized fishing vessels and crews and allowed their men to go on shore and commit depredations, in spite of the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, which were shown the captain of the vessel.

The Refugee Commanders assured Messrs. Folger, Paddack, and Gelston that the people of Nantucket would not be molested so long as they adhered to their own votes.

little: we consequently are dependant on the Continent for this article, which has for a long time been brought to us very sparingly from the risque occasioned by the frequent passing of British Cruisers, but a total stop for some time hath taken place * * * many other necessities of Life we are in great want of, particularly Meal which added to that of Firewood, with the consideration of the nigh approach of Winter, and the uncertainty of the way being opened for providing those articles, exhibits a very gloomy prospect." The memorial further sets forth the important place the Island had held in the affairs of the Colony and hoped to occupy and prayed the favorable consideration of the General Court.

This memorial was read in the House of Representatives October 8, 1779, and referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Nichols, of ———, and Mr. Phillips, of Andover, with such as the Honorable Council might join, to consider and report. To them the Council added Francis Dana Esq.'r.

The Committee appears to have met at once for under the same date as that of their appointment appears the following: "The Committee above named beg leave to report that the foregoing petition be referred to the next session, and Capt. Jenkins, late an Inhabitant of the Island of Nantucket, but now residing at Lynn in the County of Essex, be by the Petitioners notified to attend the Gen'l Assembly on the second Tuesday of the next session, to be examined touching the Conduct of the Inhabitants of said Island." Both houses accepted this report.*

At the December session the matter came again before the General Court. On December 16 the Council appointed Thomas Cushing and Samuel Adams Esq.'rs and the House appointed Wm. Greenleaf, Major Cross and Col. Gerrish a committee to give a hearing to the petitioners and report.

In meantime Thomas Jenkins had preferred a complaint which came before the Council December 16, 1779, and which was as follows:

"To the Honorable the Council, and the honorable the House of Representatives in General Court assembled, at Boston, Nov.'r 1779.

Thomas Jenkins humbly sheweth—That as a true and liege subject to the State of the Massachusetts Bay, as well as from enormous personal Injuries received, he is most strongly urged to lay the following representation and complaint before the Supreme Legislature of the State.

Your petitioner complains of Dr. Benj. Tupper, Timothy Folger Esq'r, W. Rotch, Samuel Starbuck, & Keziah Coffin, all of

*It would seem that for some reason Dr. Tupper was detained in the Suffolk County jail for under date of December 18, 1779, he petitions the General Court for release setting forth that he is seriously ill and that the charges against him are false and asking to be released on bail. On December 17 the Court "Resolved that the Sheriff of the said County of Suffolk be and he is hereby directed to procure for the said Prisoner such Assistance and Accommodation within the said Goal, as shall be conducive to his Comfort so far as may be consistant with his safe keeping, until the further Order of this Court or he be discharged by due Course of Law." The prisoner was to bear the extra expense occasioned by this leniency. (Mass. Archives, Vol. 225, p. 407).

the Island of Nantucket, as persons dangerous and inimical to the freedom and Independence of this and the other United States of America; as encouragers, aiders & abettors of the Enemy, in making inroads on the State Territories, & depredations on the property of the good subjects of this State.

It can be clearly proved (should your Honors think fit to order an inquiry) that reiterated attempts have been made by some of the above Persons, to induce the Inhabitants of s'd Island, to settle a correspondence with, & openly join the Enemy.

In particular the s'd Timothy Folgier applyed to the Selectmen of the Town of Sherbourne, in a written request, subscribed with his own hand, to call a convention of the Town, in order to chose a Committee to treat with the British Commanders at New York and Rhode Island; & also to determine whether it was expedient for the Town any longer to pay Taxes to this State; & upon the s'd application being reprobated by the Selectmen as highly prejudicial & inimical to the Honor & interest of the State, s'd Folgier declared several of the principal Inhabitants of the Town were of his Opinion; & then insolently told the Selectmen they deserved to be damned if they refused to comply with this proposal. This treasonable proposition will be proved by the Selectmen.

That there was a private correspondence carried on by some or all of the aforesaid Persons with the Enemy can be proved by the annex'd list of Witnesses No. 2— And that the Commander of the predatory Fleet which came to Nantucket last spring, confess'd that they never should have come there on the Design they executed, had they not been repeatedly called upon & invited for the purpose, by the Friends of the british Government, in the infamous Number of whom the Persons above complain'd of were notoriously enrol'd. Dr. Samuel Gelston will prove this Confession.

That upon the arrival of the renegade Fleet at the bar of the Harbour, the afores'd Rotch and Folgier together with one Josiah Barker, (without any appointment or Consent of the Town) went on board the s'd Fleet, and after tarrying some Time, came on shore in company with several of the principal refugee Officers, & immediately went to the s'd Rotch's House, where, after calling in three or four other men of the same inimical character with themselves, a long consultation was held.

In about an hour the Council broke up, & one of the s'd Officers with a number of his People proceeded immediately to some Ware houses of your Complainant, & robbed him of — 250 barrels of Sperma Cati Oil, 1800 wt. of Whole Bone, 2300 wt. of Iron, 1200 wt. of Coffee, 20,000 wt. of Tobacco & a number of smaller articles all of which they carried off, together with a Brig't one moiety of which he owned, to the loss of your Complainant, Twenty five hundred Guineas at least.—This property was pointed out to them by the s'd Dr. Tupper and Keziah Coffin. That other Effects of the true & liege Subjects of this State were particularly pointed out to the Enemy for Plunder, by some of the persons above complained of, & especially by s'd Starbuck, can be amply proved.

—Your Complainant begs leave further to add, that after the Enemy had got possession of his Brigantine above mention'd, frighten'd with a false alarm, they precipitately left the Harbour, & the s'd Brig't behind them, with only five men in her, upon which some of the well dispos'd Inhabitants proposed securing her, which might with ease have been effected; but the s'd Folgier and Rotch with some others of the same complexion & sentiments interpos'd and dissuaded, & oppos'd the intention of the People;

by means of which the said Brig't and Cargo were finally carried off, after a Pilot was procured by the Enemy, who was induced to take charge of the Vessel by the advice of the aforesaid William Rotch.—

To put the inimical and treasonable Sentiments and designs of the s'd Doc'r Tupper beyond all Dispute, after he had return'd from New York, with s'd Starbuck & Rotch, where they had gone on an illegal & dangerous errand, upon a Town Meeting being convened, said Tupper after having menaced & abused all those Persons, who had been opposed to the s'd Triumvirate going to New York, he moved that a Committee should be chosen, for the purpose of seeing that the King's servants, meaning the adherents & officers of the British King, should receive suitable respect & Protection & be kindly used, & that all refractory Persons (meaning such liege subjects of this State as were opposed to their traitorous Proceedings), should be apprehended & sent where they would meet their Punishment.

Innumerable other Instances of the most dangerous & illegal Conduct in some or all the Persons now complained of can be produced, should your Honors think fit to order an Inquiry to be made; which your Petitioner & Complainant humbly prays may be order'd, as well for the public Interest, as that some reparation may be made to him, & his other suffering Brethren, who have sustained very heavy loss, by this cruel & treasonable management of those People; and that such Order may issue from your Honors as shall compel the persons charged as above, to answer to these Articles of complaint, and that summonses may be granted for the Witnesses whose names are herewith handed to your Honors, to attend at such time as your Honors shall order the inquiry to be made.

And your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray.—

THOMAS JENKINS.*

Mr. Jenkins' petition was read December 16 and was referred to the same Committee having under consideration the Memorial from the Town presented by Timothy Folger. The House subsequently appointed Mr. Cushing in place of Major Cross who was absent. Subpaenas had previously been issued for the witness named by the complainant.

The Committee reported on the 27th of December recommending the reference to the next session of the Court of both petitions. It is only reasonable to presume that some way was provided to relieve the distress of the people at Nantucket.

During the year there had been little or no relaxation of the embargo placed by request of the Continental Congress on the exportation of foods and fuel from the various colonies to the necessities in other colonies, such as were represented by the people of Nantucket. As early as February 1, 1779, delegates from Rhode Island and Massachusetts presented resolutions recom-

*Mass's. Archives Vol 137, pp 272-292. The witnesses for whom the complaint asked that summonses be issued were John Waterman, Benjamin Folger, Walter Folger, Shubael Barnard, Peter Macy, Ebenezer Coffin, Dr. Samuel Gelston, Benjamin Hussey, Stephen Hussey, Seth Jenkins, Shubael Worth, Stephen Fish, Paul Pinkham, William Hammett, John Ramsole, George Hussey 2d, and Francis Chase, of Nantucket; Timothy Fitch, of Medford; Shubael Downs, of Walpole; and Marshall Jenkins, of Martha's Vineyard.

mending that New York and Connecticut repeal their state embargoes insofar as a reasonable and safe supply to the petitioning colonies was concerned. The resolutions and accompanying papers were referred to a Committee consisting of William Ellery, of Rhode Island, William Paca, of Maryland, Eliphalet Dyer, of Connecticut, Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, and William Floyd, of New York.* The Committee on February 8, presented a resolve recommending the States of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, "to permit such vessels from the States of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to load with bread vouchers from the executive bodies of said States that such vessels have been authorized to import such bread and flour for the Said States and have given bond and security for the execution of said trust."† It was also recommended that vessels belonging to the States of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina be permitted to export bread and flour to the States of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, under proper restrictions. Those resolves were adopted. A letter from the President of the Council of Massachusetts was, however, referred to the Committee and seems to have resulted in a separate report which was read and ordered recommitted. The Committee reported again February 26.‡ The resolves reported were similar in character to those of February 8 and were adopted, all the delegates voting affirmatively excepting those from North Carolina who opposed the exportation from that State..

On April 14, it being represented to the Congress that the General Court of Massachusetts had directed the Board of War of the State "to purchase flour and grain for the use of the inhabitants, who are greatly distressed by the want of bread," it was voted to recommend that Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York permit the export of such flour and grain as has been or may be purchased under authority of the Board of War.**

The general embargo, however, appears to have continued to be operative, despite efforts to have it removed. The embargo was really a matter of state jurisdiction and in its regulation the function of the general government seems to have been only advisory. There was apparently a surplus harvest in 1779, and one of the recommendations made to Congress was that for the common convenience the several States remove the embargoes laid by them on or before October first.††

August 19, the subject of continuing the embargoes was referred to a Committee consisting of John Matthews, James Forbes

*Journals of Continental Congress. Vol. XIII p. 130.

†Id p. 151.

‡Journals of Continental Congress Vol XIII 257.

**Ibid p. 449.

††Page 953.

and Jesse Root, with instructions to report the next day.* The report was made and ordered recommitted.† Later Governour Morris of New York moved to further postpone consideration of the report, but the motion was lost— New York and Delaware voting in its favor.‡ It was then voted that it be earnestly recommended to the several states to remove every restriction on inland trade between the states.

It would seem as though Congress was apprehensive of traffic by sea because on August 30, on being informed by a letter from the President of the State of Delaware that the embargo act of that State expired September 1, Congress adopted a resolve that he be informed that it is the wish of Congress to continue the embargo until further notice.** On September 8 Congress voted to recommend to the several states to continue the embargo until January. A motion to substitute October for January was lost— Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey and South Carolina voting aye; New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia voting nay; New York and Maryland being divided.†† On December 15, Congress passed a resolve recommending a further continuance to April 1, 1780.‡‡

Those were the embargo conditions that made the life of the people of Nantucket at that time a continual struggle against a threatened starvation.

Early in the spring of 1780, the charges of Thomas Jenkins against Dr. Benjamin Tupper, Timothy Folger, William Rotch, Samuel Starbuck and Keziah Coffin came again before the General Court for settlement. On March 22d the Council appointed William Leonard and Daniel Davis Esq., a Committee to hear the parties concerned. To them the House added General Lovell, Col. Freeman and Col. Prescott.

The Selectmen had sent the following statement, which appears in evidence:—

These may Certifie all whom it May Concern That we Selectmen of the Town of Sherborn Did Desire Will'm Roatch, Josiah Barker & Timothy Folger, Last April after we heard the Refugees were at falmouth and Coming hear that if they came as we Expected, That they would wait on them and Treat with them and Try if they Could Stop them from Plundering the Town of any thing. when they Came they waited on them and Tryed to their utmost to Stop them from Taking anything of the Place as they say and there hath not anything Appeared to us Since. But that they Did Try to their utmost to Stop any Depredations Being Com-

*Page 984.

†Page 994.

‡Page 1007.

**Page 1036.

††Page 1383.

‡‡Page 979.

mitted hear upon any persons. if they Did otherwise it hath not Com to our Knowledg.

Nantucket ye 1 ye 12 mo. 1779.

SILV'S STARBUCK	}	Selectmen of the Town of Sherborn.
PETER FOLGER		
PAUL GARDNER		
WM. STARBUCK		
BENJ'N HUSSEY		

The testimony of the witnesses was far from being corroboratory of Jenkins' charges. Benjamin Folger testified that early in 1779, Timothy Folger delivered him a paper, directed to the Selectmen, requesting a meeting of the Town to consider the matter of taxes, and the advisability of petitioning the British commanders at New York to consider the people of Nantucket as neutral, and to acquaint the General Court with their proceedings. Walter Folger remembered sending the paper to the Selectmen, but as it was over a year ago he could not recall the particulars and the paper had been destroyed. He recalled the fact that when the Refugees were at the Bar William Rotch and the others went off to them, but he did not know by what authority as he was not then one of the Selectmen.

George Hussey was sick and sent a deposition to the effect that he had carefully examined the complaint and did not know that either of the persons named was guilty of the crimes charged and could not give any evidence in support of the complaint. He was one of the Selectmen at the time and to the best of his recollection the paper referred to contained a request to have the Selectmen convene the inhabitants of the Town to see if they would petition the British commanders at New York as well as the State of Massachusetts Bay for permission to remain neutral. There was something said about taxes which he did not remember. His deposition was signed George Hussey 2d.

Benjamin Hussey testified that Rotch, Folger and Barker were appointed by the Selectmen to go aboard the Renegade fleet and that Folger and Rotch did dissuade the people from endeavoring to retake the Brig. John Ramsdell sent a deposition asserting entire lack of knowledge regarding the allegations. Ramsdell attended the Court but was excused on filing his deposition. Shubael Barnard was lame and did not attend, sending instead his deposition alleging ignorance of any evidence to sustain the charges. John Waterman was sick and did not testify, Dr. Gelston was not present and Paul Pinkham was out of the State.

In his Memoranda, William Rotch referring to this affair, says --

"I now come to the most trying scene in my experience during the war, which was being, with four others, impeached for High Treason by _____, where there was no step between being clear and death.

"The laws of this State at that time, made it High Treason for any person to go to a British Port without the consent of the Court. We were well assured that if we applied we should be refused, and if we did not apply to the British we should, from every appearance, be destroyed by them. Under serious consideration, I was willing to be joined to the two others before mentioned,* and proceed as with our lives in our hands. This was made one of the great Charges in the Impeachment, a Copy of which will be annexed.

"We were examined before a Committee of the Court on the Impeachment, but knowing we were to appear again, when the witnesses should attend, we made no defence, which we afterwards found was an error in judgment.

"By this means the Court thought us guilty, and were about making out an Order to the Grand Jury to find a Bill against us and commit us to Prison, which if it had taken place would have been in the severe winter of 1780. But happily my much valued friend Walter Spooner Esq., a member of the Court, just then arrived, perceived the business before the Court,† and came to us for information. We told him that we had reserved our Defense for the second examination. He considered us in an error and said we must send for ———— who resided at Lynn, and have another examination, and he would get the Court to stay their proceedings until this should be done.

"We accordingly all met before the Committee, Gen. Ward, a worthy character, in the chair. It was put to me first to answer to the high charges, (when I rose he politely told me I need not rise. I thanked him, but my heart was so full that my tongue seemed incapable of utterance while sitting). I answered to the Charges in such a manner as fully to convince the Committee of our innocence. When it was finished the Chairman, I have no doubt from a desire to put our minds at ease, asked me when we expected to return home? My answer was that he could better judge on that than I could, (being now in custody).

"He then asked me if I could take the Subpenas for the Witnesses at Nantucket, and deliver them to the Sheriff. This was to console our minds. I answered in the affirmative if he thought proper to entrust me with them. I accordingly took and delivered them.

"In the Spring following we appeared again with twelve out of twenty witnesses, who were all I could get to attend, and then had another full examination. Before we entered upon it, I desired liberty to ask ———— a question, which was granted. Some of his friends had propagated a report that I had offered him money if he would withdraw his Complaint. I then put the question to him whether I had ever made him any offer of the kind, but it irritated him. I therefore went no further in a question to him, but desired liberty to make my declaration, before we entered upon the Charges in the Complaint, which was readily granted. I then said, 'I now declare in the most solemn manner, that I never have directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any person for me proposed or offered one farthing to ————† to withdraw or in any way mitigate the Charges in his Complaint now exhibited.

"I looked over the Charges, and made my defence, article by article, and when I had gone through the whole, I observed

*Dr. Benjamin Tupper and Samuel Starbuck. †Mr. Spooner was a Councillor.

†In no part of Mr. Rotch's story does he give the name of the complainant. This was in conformity to his principles as a friend.

to the Committee, that if I had not answered clearly to their satisfaction, if they would put any question that they thought would throw any more light on the subject, I would answer it without equivocation or mental reservation. The Chairman, Gen. Ward, made me a low bow, and asked no question, by which they appeared satisfied. Then they took the complaint and examined the witnesses, one by one, upon each charge. "What do you know of this Mr. Such a one?" (reading the charge). "Nothing," and so to the next, and throughout the whole Charges, and the whole witnesses, when "nothing" was the universal answer except from Mr. ————. He began to tell what the Refugees told him at the Vineyard, when they returned from Nantucket. The Chairman stopped him and said, 'Were you at Nantucket?' His answer was 'No.' 'Then you can give no evidence.' One charge against me was corresponding with the Enemy. The correspondence was a letter given to Ebenezar C——— addressed to Gen. Prescott, requesting the release of his son, and assuring him that he had not been in an armed vessel. This same Ebenezar acquainted his brother Alexander that I had furnished him with this letter, who used his utmost against me. The Committee were composed of the two Branches the House and the Senate, who reported to their several departments. The House then took the vote, and cleared us fully except one single vote, but the Senate in their vote held us. The House then desired the Senate to appoint a Committee of Conference, and they would do the same. They met and reported, each Branch adhering to their former vote. Thus we were discharged by the House and held by the Senate, (but not detained) and so it remained until we were set at liberty by the Peace."

Referring to the charge of preventing the retaking of the brig, Mr. Rotch says— "I suppose that was the case by reasoning with the owners of the vessel then present. The seven armed vessels were now gone over the Bar, and anchored, waiting for the flowing of the tide to take the Brig out. It was then suggested by some hot-headed men that they could retake her. I admitted it, but asked the owners if it would be an even stake, observing —'They have now got what they will take at this time, and if this vessel is stopped it will bring the whole seven armed vessels into the harbor again, and no doubt the destruction of the Town will be the consequence.' For there was no effective force to prevent it. 'If you (the Owners) will let her go I am willing to contribute to the loss of the vessel and goods on board, in the same proportion that I should pay in a tax of equal amount.' A great number of people were present, who generally united in the proposal. The Owners let the vessel go, and I contributed \$720. toward the loss of the property, which was more than double my proportion of a like Tax. When this circumstance was known while we were in Boston, it raised great indignation against ———, that such a charge should be in the Complaint, when I had made double compensation to what I ought."

It was evident as the examination progressed that Jenkins found that he had promised more than he could carry out, for he addressed the following letter to the Committee:

"In the Case of Complaint of Thos. Jenkins against Dr. Benj'n Tupper, Timothy Folger Esq.'r, William Rotch, Samuel Starbuck & Keziah Coffin, now lying before the Committee of both Houses, of the Gen'l Court:

"The Complainant moves—That as the nature of the Complaint was construed to extend beyond his Intention, and a prosecution was likely to go further than he wish'd to Carry it, and finding some satisfaction in Conversing with some of the persons complained of, by their own Construction of their Words & Conduct, which the Complainant had been under a necessity by his Absence from Nantucket to Depend upon other Information & Representation for and that therefore he desired to withdraw his Complaint. But the former Committee Thought it proper to Continue it to give an Opportunity to procure the Evidence to support the Charges and they being Summoned, and having an opportunity to converse with those present and hearing from those absent Find that the Charges cannot be so fully Supported as was Expected and Considering the Ill Consequences that may attend the Inhabitants of Nantucket & under the peculiar circumstances and being convinced no advantage can arise to the State Moves & Desires the Committee to make such Report at the House as their wisdom may Dictate to Influence the Court to Dismiss the Complaint.

THOMAS JENKINS.

On March 31, 1780, the Committee made the following report:

The Committee of both houses, appointed to take into consideration the Complaint exhibited by Thomas Jenkins, against Timothy Folger Esq'r. & other inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, with the papers accompanying, have attended that service & having fully examined such witnesses as had been summoned to attend & were present, ask leave to report that upon the strictest Examination, it does not appear to your Com.'ee that the charges alleged by the said Jenkins against Folger and others were supported.

That the complainant Thomas Jenkins was personally present before your Com. on the Examination & informed com. that from the representations made to him at that time, he apprehended the facts set forth in his said Complaint might be made fully to appear by the persons he therein named, but having since had an opportunity of conversing with some of the Inhabitants of Nantucket he was convinced he had been misinformed with respect to some of the matter contained in his Complaint and was therefore desirous that he might have leave to withdraw it. Your Com. are therefore of opinion that the said Thomas Jenkins, agreeable to his request, have leave to withdraw the complaint.

which is submitted

W. SEVER, per order.

The Council evidently did not agree with its committee and took action as follows:

In Council March 31, 1780.

Read and not accepted, and ordered that the complaint exhibited by Thomas Jenkins against Timothy Folger & others be referred to the Hon'ble Robert Treat Paine Esq'r Atty. Gen. of this state who is hereby directed to take cognizance of said matter & proceed therein as to Law and Justice shall appertain.

Sent down by concurrence.

JOHN AVERY, D. Secy.

In the House of Representatives March 31st 1780.

Read and unanimously non-concurred and the House accept the Report of the Committee.

Sent up for Concurrence

JOHN HANCOCK, Spk'r.*

In Council March 31st 1780.

Read and non-concurred and the Board adhere to their own vote. (Sent down for concurrence).

JOHN AVERY, Secy.

So ended that episode which involved the Town as well as those immediately accused.

Under date of September 13, 1779, John Adams, writing from Braintree, addressed a letter to the General Court in which he said "While I resided at Paris, I had an opportunity of procuring from London, exact Information concerning the British Whale Fishery on the Coast of Brazil, which I beg Leave to communicate to your Honours, that if any advantage can be made of it, the opportunity may not be lost.

"The English, the last year and the year before, carried on this Fishery to very great advantage, off the River Plate, in South America in the Latitude Thirty five South and from thence to Forty, just on the Edge of soundings, off and on, about the Longitude sixty five from London. They had seventeen vessels in this Fishery, which all sailed from London, in the Months of September and October. All the Officers and Men are Americans.

"The Names of the Captains are Aaron Sheffield, of Newport, ——— Goldsmith and Richard Holmes from Long Island, John Chadwick, Francis May (Macy?), Reuben May (Macy?), John Meader, Jonathan Meader, Elisha Clark, Benjamin Clark, William Ray, Paul Pease, Bunker Fitch, Reuben Fitch, Zebbedee Coffin, and another Coffin ——— Delano, Andrew Swain, William Ray, all of Nantucket, John Lock, Cape Cod. four or five of these Vessels went to Greenland. The Fleet sails to Greenland, yearly, the last of February, or the Beginning of March. There was published, the year before last, in the English Newspapers, and the same Imposture was repeated last year, and no doubt will be renewed this, a Letter from the Lords of the Admiralty to Mr. Dennis De Berdt, in Colman Street, informing him that a Convoy should be appointed to the Brazil Fleet. But this, I had certain Information, was a Forgery calculated mainly to deceive American Privateers, and that no Convoy was appointed, or did go with that Fleet, either last year or the year before.

"For the Destruction or Captivity of a Fishery so entirely defenceless, for not one of the Vessels has any arms, a single Frigate or Privateer of Twenty four, or even of Twenty guns, would be sufficient. The Beginning of December, would be the best Time to proceed from hence, because the Frigate would then find the Whaling Vessels nearly loaded. The Cargoes of these Vessels, consisting of Bone and Oyl, will be very valuable, and at least four hundred and fifty of the best kind of seamen would be taken out of the Hands of the English, and might be gained into

*It is possible that Speaker Hancock exerted some personal influence in the matter. He had had business relations with Mr. Rotch and was doubtless very well informed as to Nantucket and its affairs.

the American service to act against the Enemy. Most of the officers and Men wish well to this Country, and would gladly be in its service, if they could be delivered from that they are engaged in. Whenever an English Man of War, or Privateer, has taken an American Vessel, they have given to the Whalemén among the Crew, by order of Government, their Choice, either to go on Board a Man of War, and fight against their Country or go into the Whale Fishery; Such Numbers have chosen the latter as have made up the Crews of these seventeen Vessels.*

"I thought it my duty to communicate this Intelligence to your Honors, that if so profitable a Branch of Commerce, and so valuable a Nursery of Seamen, can be taken from the English, it may be done. This State has a peculiar Right and Interest to undertake the Enterprise; as almost the whole Fleet belongs to it.

"I have the Honour to be, with the highest Consideration,
Your Honours most obedient & most humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. Adams' letter was referred to a committee who reported a recommendation that it be sent to the President of the Continental Congress. This was done and the letter was read but there is no indication that anything ever was done about it, not even so much as referring it to any committee or department.†

There seemed to be an entire harmony of opinion among the predatory chiefs, whether it was Leonard of the Refugees or Dimmick of the Continentals, and the point on which they agreed was that Nantucket was a fine field in which to work. In May, 1779, Major Dimmick made a return of sundry goods "taken by Men In Arms * * * From the Island of Nantucket," the operation being performed under his personal direction. The list included chairs, tables, hand-irons, large lever, trunks, book case, low chest of drawers, small box, bedsteads, old rug, high chest of drawers, several casks of oil etc., etc. Christopher Hussey Jr., and Daniel Starbuck, in whose custody the articles were, made affidavits as to the ownership of the goods.‡ It is difficult from any present view point to see of what use the majority of the articles taken could be to the captors.

*Mr. Adams gives the names of 20 Captains, 16 of whom were from Nantucket. One Nantucket man captured was Captain Nathan Coffin. He was urged to enter the British Service. His reply was, "Hang me if you will to the yard arm of your ship, but do not ask me to be a traitor to my country." "Every effort," says Bancroft, (*History United States* Vol IX p. 313) was made to gain recruits for the (English) Army and Navy. Threats and promises were used to induce captive American sailors to enlist in the British service. This "(the reply of Capt. Coffin)" expressed the spirit of them all."

†Mass. Archives, Vol. 210, p. 16. The Massachusetts Committee consisted of General Warren and Mr. Davis on the part of the Council and Moses Gill on the part of the House, and was especially enjoined to secrecy.

A somewhat abbreviated copy of the letters appears in Wharton's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*. Vol III p. 385. It would appear that nearly 400 Nantucket whalemén were attached to that fleet.

‡Mass. Archives Vol 169, p. 160 (1877 Jan 13) May 13, 1779 council in response to a petition from Joseph Dimmick Committed Silas Hatch Jr. commander of the boat Defence, 8 tons burthen, mounting six swivels manned by 15 men, and Ebenezer Nye, commander of the Shaving Mill, 2 tons burthen. One swivel and eight men, to cruise in Vineyard Sound. (Mass. Archives Vol 170, p. 95).

The year 1780 opened even more depressing than 1779. Macy says— "Greater suffering was experienced by the inhabitants of Nantucket, in the year 1780, than at any other period during the Revolutionary War. During the winter of that year, denominated the hard winter, the distress of the people was, on many accounts, very great. The greater part of the people had previously been reduced to a state of penury. The cold weather set in early, and prevented the little supply of wood and provisions which was expected. The autumn had been so uncommonly wet, that but a small quantity of peat could be procured. These circumstances, added to the common calamity of war, produced a state of the most fearful anxiety."*

The harbor was frozen over the latter part of December 1779, and by the 15th of January, 1780, people travelled over the ice to Quaise.† No water was in sight from any part of the Island. Fuel was not obtainable in the swamps or from the ground because of the ice and snow. The poor were enabled, because of the ice, to get supplies of fuel by transporting the scrub oaks and junipers from Coskata, a laborious and at times dangerous task.* There were many of the widowed and the fatherless, whose natural protectors had fallen victims to the war as well as those whose husbands and fathers were undergoing the rigors of English prison ships.

The fall of 1779 had been a propitious one for the farmers and they had, generally, a surplus of vegetables and grain. The more wealthy of the citizens provided themselves with considerable quantities of food stuffs, before the ice put an embargo on imports that was more effectual than British privateers, and these extra supplies were disposed of in small quantities to the less fortunate, at a reasonable price to those who were able to pay, but gratuitously to those whom the pinch of poverty had deprived of means to buy. The skill of the women in carding and spinning wool and weaving it into cloth stood them in good stead, and the Islanders were, at least, warmly clad. Considerable flax also was raised and its product added to the amount and variety of woven fabrics.

The people of Nantucket had reason to believe that permits could be obtained from the English commanders to carry on whaling, if proper application was made. Under the Resolve of the General Court, passed June 23, 1779, however, the people were debarred having any communication with the enemy. The situation was so serious, nevertheless, that something must be attempted to relieve their distress. A Town meeting was, therefore convened

*Page 107. †Kezia Fanning diary.

*Macy p 108. Mr. Macy says that during the Revolution the proprietors of the Island "Caused to be laid out and assigned to each owner, a number of large tracts of land of various descriptions, for themselves and their families to improve.." In 1775 a tract of 2456 acres was laid out at the South East part of the Island; in 1778 Croskata was laid out with 349 acres; and in 1778 Squam and Pocomo, containing 2109 acres. The swamps at the westward were laid out for digging peat and the people were allowed to procure that fuel without charge.

on the 22d of May, at which it was voted "that the Town Clerk will take some measure to get Repealed a Resolve of the General Court that passed the 23d of June last, respecting the Town & the Inhabitants thereof,"* and "that Tim'y Folger be the man to proceed to the General Court in order to Endeavor to obtain a repeal of the said Resolve."

It was confidently believed, too, that remuneration could be obtained for the property taken by the Refugees in their raid in the Spring and Fall of 1779. Accordingly the following petition was drawn up:†

To the Council and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay—

The Petition of the subscribers, Inhabitants of the Town of Sherburn Humbly shows:—

That your petitioners suffer'd very Heavy Losses in the months of April and October 1779, by having their property taken from them by the Refugees that Visited the Island of Nantucket at that time—Your petitioners beg leave to mention to the General Court, that at the Commencement of the present war almost the whole (of) their property lay in Shipping for the carrying on the Whale Fishery. Since which they have Employed them in the West India and other trade till they have almost lost the whole; without the power or Ability to replace them, which has thrown your petitioners into a situation truly distressing—The property taken from your Petitioners by the Refugees consisting mostly in the article of oyl which was taken before the war, and was almost their whole dependence, for a subsistence: is by that means cut off and they rendered helpless without the Aid of the Court: Your petitioners have reason to believe that upon Application being made to the Commanders in Chief at New York Reparation will be made to them — Your Petitioners therefore pray the General Court to Authorize & Empower Timothy Folger to proceed to New York as soon as may be to get Compensation for the property taken from them. Your petitioners further desire leave to suggest to the General Court that it is probable the same may be Obtained with more certainty in some kind of Goods rather than in Specie, if that should be the Case we hope and trust the Court will so far Indulge us as to Receive and bring from thence such goods as they may be induced to Offer in payment for the property taken from your Petitioners.

We are your Friends

JONATHAN BURNELL
BATCH'R HUSSEY
WM. FOLGER
GEORGE FOLGER
EDWARD CAREY
WM. HUSSEY

ABNER BRIGGS
HUGH MACKAY
GRENOLID SMITH
PAUL GARDNER
GEORGE FREEBORN
JOHN WATERMAN

*Page 111. Under date of Friday May 19, 1780. Mrs. Fanning records the following in her diary:— "rainy after the morn * * * no rain afternoon, very uncommon weather, clouds very yellow, exceeding dark in the house so that many people were obliged to light candles. it was so for 3 hours from 2 to 5—but little wind S. W."

†Mass. Archives Vol. 228 p. 190.

FRANCIS CHASE
 SHUBAEL BARNARD
 REUBEN GARDNER
 STEPHEN PADDACK
 OBED HUSSEY

JOHN COFFIN
 ELIZABETH GARDNER
 BENJ.' HUSSEY
 SHUBAEL GARDNER
 WALTER FOLGER

Nantucket ye 23d May, 1780.

The property taken amounts to nearly £4000 Sterling."

To that petition was added the following from Timothy Folger, as authorized by the Town—

"To the Honorable the Council and the Hon'ble the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay

The Memorial of Timothy Folger Humbly shews—

That a number of the Inhabitants of Nantucket Petition'd your Honors for Leave for a person to go to New York after their property as set forth in said petition which was laid before your Honors on the third Instant: the House then thought best for the Consideration of s'd petition to be put off for some days.* Your Memorialist begs leave to Inform the Hon'ble Court that the property taken from them is nearly four thousand pounds Sterling, belonging to fifty different persons, one half of which will be left miserable without they can Recover it. And as a Fourth Fleet is expected this sumer in these Seas and in case they should carry on their operations against New York your petitioners will undoubtedly lose the Whole, without your Honors will grant the prayer of their petition for some person to proceed there as soon as possible in order to bring it from thence before such an Event takes place. Your memorialist Desires your Honors to take the same into your wise Consideration, and your Memorialist as in duty bound shall pray

TIM'Y FOLGER

Boston ye 10th June 1780. .

This petition seems to have been referred to a Committee consisting of Capt. Howes, Mr. Sears and Mr. Phelps.

At the same time, in order that the exigencies of the case might be fully impressed upon the Court, Mr. Folger addressed the following letter to the Governor:

"Boston ye 12th June 1780.

Sir:

The Inhabitants of Nantucket have a petition before the Court for leave for me to go to New York after the property taken from them in April & October, 1779, by the Refugees. I will inform your Honor of the State of their demands on the Refugees. I had leave from ye Court last summer to go to New York after the property. I accordingly went and laid the matter before the Commander in Chief, who directed me to go to Rhodeisland where the Refugees were and to demand the property taken from the peaceable Inhabitants of the Island, and to demand it upon their own printed declaration which they had published to ye World, and if they did not do it to return to New York and Inform him of it; I then went to Newport but on my arrival there I found the whole

*Archives Vol. 228. p 190.

body had left that place two days before for New York. I laid the Act before the Secretary of the Board of directors and let him know what the Commander in Chief directed me to say, and then proceeded on to Nantucket thinking to return there as soon as I heard they had returned: but before that took place they Evacuated ye s'd Island, since which we find that when that body broke up they left the Effects belonging to the petitioners in ye hands of some of the directors. we are now fearful if we do not get it from thence before the French fleet & army arrives we shall lose the whole which is nearly £4000 sterling and many of the sufferers will be miserable without they can get that property; if your Honor can assist us in leave to go after that property we shall be exceedingly obliged to you.

I am Sir Your Humble Serv't

TIM. FOLGER.

The petitions were duly considered by the Committee, who submitted the following report:

State of Massachusetts Bay—

June 12, 1780.

In ye House of Representatives: On the Petition of Jonathan Burnell and others Prays for Timothy Folger to Go to New Yorck and Bring Back their affects which he shall obtain as Set forth In his Petition*

Resolved that Timothy Foulger be and heirby Is permitted to Repair to New Yorck and bring from thence his affects to this Stait aney time within two Mounths from the time he shall Leave this Stait and all Capt or Comanders of the armed Vassels in the Sarvis of this Stait, or aney of the subjects theirot are heir By Derected and the Cap't or Commanders of aney armed Vassel in the Sarvice of the United States are requested to premit the said Timothy Folger and his affects to Pass unmolested

and It Is forether Resolved that the said Timothy Before that he Departs this Stait shall Give Bondes to the Treasurer with sufficinte surite in the Sume of ten thousand Poundes that he will return into this State with his affects within the time afoursaid the Danger of the seas and Enemies Excepted and that he will not carry any Effects out of this State nor more provision than is necessary for his voyage there or to New Yorck."

This report was accepted and concurred in by both the House of Representatives and the Council. What success Mr. Folger met with does not appear by any record or report at present known. It would appear that Timothy Folger did go to New York, but it would seem from the statement by Obed Macy that his purpose was a very different one. Alluding to the distressed conditions under which the people found themselves placed and their inability to carry on any pursuit that would earn them a livelihood, Mr. Macy says—* "Under these considerations Timothy Folger, Esq., was sent to New York to represent the situation of the people of Nantucket, and to ask permission of the British Commander-in-chief to carry on the whaling business without being subject to capture by the vessels of his government."

*The documents quoted are taken from the originals in the Archives and are intended to be quoted verbatim.

*Page 116.

He presented a petition to Sir Henry Clinton, General, and to Vice Admiral Arbuthnot "and His Majesty's Commissioners for restoring peace to the revolting colonies," which set forth that "at this time there is five thousand inhabitants on said Island, who through the unhappy dispute that hath taken place between Great Britain and the Colonies, are reduced to the most miserable condition imaginable.*

The soil will not produce a subsistence for one-third part of the people, Wholly destitute of fire wood, and but a little clothing; such being their situation and circumstances, your petitioners really apprehend, that, without some indulgencies from your excellencies, there will many people perish for want, before the end of another winter. Your petitioners hope and flatter themselves that, as they have taken no part whatever in the unhappy war that has brought on these calamities, but have remained these five years in a state of peace, without civil or military officers on the island, or any court of justice, on which account they have been denied more than once of all supplies from the continent, and likewise that more than two thirds parts of the inhabitants are of the people called Quakers, and principled against bearing arms on any occasion,—that your excellencies will take their peculiar situation into your wise consideration, and grant them such relief as will furnish them with a subsistence only.

Your petitioners do not wish, neither will they presume to ask, any indulgences that will counteract the plans of government. As the inhabitants of said island were heretofore wholly employed in the whale and cod fishery, and at present every other means of subsistence being cut off, they hope your excellencies will permit twenty fishing boats to fish round the island of Nantucket, and four vessels to be employed in the whale fishery, and ten small vessels to supply the inhabitants with wood, and one to go to New York for some little supplies; said vessels being put under such regulations as your excellencies shall see meet. Your petitioners likewise beg of your excellencies, that you will prohibit all armed vessels and armed men from going to Nantucket to take the property of the island from thence.

And your petitioners as in duty bound shall pray.

TIMOTHY FOLGER

Agent for the inhabitants of Nantucket.

New York, 9th July, 1780."

In the light of such information as we have the situation seems a somewhat anomalous one. Mr. Folger and the several signers to the petition to the General Court, asked for permission to go to the British authorities at New York, to recover certain goods, stolen from the people of Nantucket by the predatory bands of Refugees who visited the Island in 1779. The Resolve of the General Court of June 23d, 1779, forbade the inhabitants of the Island holding any communication with the British authorities without the special sanction of the Court. The vote of the Town Meeting of May 22, 1780, was to request the repeal of the Resolve, without specifying why. The petition of Timothy Folger to the British, made in accordance with the permit of the General

*The petition purports to be "of the island of Nantucket." The phraseology is a little peculiar for there was no Town meeting recorded where the petition was authorized, and there are no records of the Selectmen's meetings of the period known to be in existence.

Court to seek redress for the stolen property, makes no mention whatever of that particular matter, but requests permits for fishing privileges and a prohibition of further predatory raids. However, there seems to be no evidence that the visit to the British authorities was productive of any benefit in any particular.*

A few months later Mr. Folger addressed another petition to the General Court, as follows:—

“To his Excellency John Hancock Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, in and over the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, And to the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled—

The petition of Timothy Folger of Sherbourn in the County of Nantucket Humbly shews:

That the Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket at the Commencement of the present Unhappy war carrying on between Great Britain and the United States, were owners of one hundred and forty sail of Vessels which were Employ'd in the whale fishery and other business: Since which they have gone on other Voyages (in order to procure a Subsistence for the people on the Island) till they have almost lost the whole of them there being at this time not more than ten sail of Vessels belonging to said Inhabitants that can be fited to Sea on any Voyage: Added to which they have often been plunder'd by the Refugees from New York of almost their whole property, which has Reduc'd said Inhabitants to a state of distress and Misery not to be parallel'd by any place on the Continent nor Island belonging to the United States, to such a situation are they brought that at this day it is not in the power of the Inhabitants to raise monies sufficient to maintain the Poor that now is there, And is still rapidly Increasing—All this they have borne and followed the fortunes of the Continent with Chearfulness but what particularly Affects the feelings of the Inhabitants of said Island is, that the good people of this commonwealth should entertain prejudices against them from mere Report. Your Petitioner begs leave to mention that before the unhappy troubles they were of some benefit to Government they belonged to As they Annually took from twenty five to thirty thousand barrels of Oyl which mostly came to this market: and they hope in one day to come they may be of some service to the Community if they are not forc'd to Abandon the Island for the want of subsistence of which there is great danger. Your petitioner is very

*Macy says (page 113) “This petition, although it had not that immediate effect that was asked for, proved of much advantage in promoting the much desired object, that of whaling without the risk of capture. The subject was constantly kept in view by the inhabitants, and, as often as opportunity presented, permission was asked of the British for that purpose.” In August the Selectmen sent the following petition to the Council (Archives Vol 177 p 24) “To the Gentlemen of the Council in Boston: Whereas the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket are at this present, a great part of them grievously distressed for the Want of Bread, and the Calamity of the Times is such as renders it very Difficult to obtain Relief; We have therefore thought proper to recommend to your Notice Tristram Coffin Master of the Schooner Phoenix of Nantucket, and desire your approbation and Assistance to promote and enable the said Tristram Coffin to bring a load of Bread and Flower from Philadelphia in the said Schooner in order to relieve the sore Distress of the Inhabitants of this Town, Silvanus Starbuck, Benjamin Hussey, Paul Gardner, Alex Gardner, Wm. Starbuck, Peter Folger, Benj. Jenkins, Selectmen. The Council sent a letter to His Excellency, Joseph Reed, Gov. of Pennsylvania, recommending the favorable consideration of the mission of Capt. Coffin.

sensible that the Inhabitants of said Island suffer'd much from Reports being spread on the Continent by wicked and perfidious men, that said Inhabitants have Carried on a trade with, and supplied the British Garrisons. Your Petitioner now declares on his Honor in behalf of the Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket(as their Agent, Chosen by the free Suffrages of the people,) that they, nor Either of them have during the present War in any instance whatever sent any Vessel or boat to the British Garrisons, with or without supplies, neither brought anything from them while they had possession of Boston, Rhodeisland, or New York but by the sanction and Authority of this now Common Wealth; Excepting One Committee sent by the Town of Sherburn to New York immediately after being plunder'd as herein mention'd, and one whale Boat to Rhodeisland to Endeavour the Inlargement of two of the Inhabitants who had suffered a long imprisonment there—Your petitioner calls on all the World, Britons or Americans to produce one other Instance—The Inhabitants of said Island are more particularly Alarm'd and Astonished to find themselves pointed out in a Resolve of the General Court of the then State of Massachusetts bearing date ye twenty third day of June 1779, Ordering and forbidding the Inhabitants from holding any Correspondence or Communication with the Enemies of the United States whatever—Your petitioner Appeals to the Candour and Good sence of your Excellency and Honors: whether being situated as the Inhabitants of that Island are, seperated fifteen Leagues from the Continent, and not protected by them but left open to the Ravages & always in the power of the British fleet who Parade round that Island, come into its Harbours & lay the Inhabitants under Contribution—Whether under these Circumstances it can be criminal to hold a Correspondence with the Enemy, Or whether they are not Justified, And have an Inherent Natural right to make as good terms as can be Obtain'd.

Your Petitioner Acknowledges that the Inhabitants of the Island have more than Once been call'd upon, And been under the disagreeable Necessity (And Unfortunate is it for them) to treat with the Britons when they have made demands on the Inhabitants since that Resolve pass'd And of Consequence committed a breach of it. The Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket ever wish to pay all deference to the Laws Enacted by the power that Governs them—

Your Petitioner therefore prays your Excellency and Honors that the said Resolve may be repealed, that they may have the satisfaction to find that they are Governed by the same General Laws with the other Good people of this Commonwealth, And not to be particularly pointed out in a Resolve as persons carrying on a trade with the Britons which had its foundation in mere Reports Fabricated by the Arts of Wicked and designing men—Your Petitioner rests Assured from the good Intentions of your Excellency and Honors that as the Inhabitants of said Island are so situated and at present cannot protect them from the British fleet that you will not pass such Acts & Resolves as may hold them up as a forlorn Hope for destruction but for them to have a being which is all they Ask and Your Petitioner as in duty bound shall pray.

TIMOTHY FOLGER

Agent for the Inhabitants of Nantucket

Boston ye 6th Nov'er 1780*

*Archives Vol 186 p 370. This petition was referred to Col. Thacher, (See next page)

In spite of the poverty of the people and the difficulties they experienced in obtaining supplies of any kind for their own maintenance, the General Court continued to make requisitions on the Town of Nantucket. By a resolve passed May 4, 1780, the County of Nantucket was called upon to furnish 111 pairs of shoes, stockings and shirts, and 55 blankets, and Stephen Hussey Esq was designated as the agent for their collection.* On June 22, the Court passed a resolve to collect delinquent taxes in the counties of Cumberland, Lincoln, Dukes and Nantucket and Stephen Hussey and James Athearn Esqs were appointed Commissioners.† These requisitions, however, do not appear to have been pressed, probably because collection was not possible.

On January 13, 1781, a Town meeting was held at which it was voted to "send a Petition or Remonstrance to the General Court setting forth the Distress of the Town and praying for some Indulgence to apply to the Commanders of the British forces at New York for Relief." William Rotch, Timothy Folger, Josiah Barker, Walter Folger and Shubael Barnard were appointed a Committee "to draw up said Remonstrance and lay the same before the selectmen of the Town for their approbation." Stephen Hussey, Timothy Folger and Peleg Coffin 2d were delegated to present the remonstrance to the General Court. Under date of February 17, the record states that the Committee made a verbal report to the Town, which was considered satisfactory. There does not seem to be any accessible data as to the character of the Remonstrance or the nature of the report.

Early in July, 1781, the Refugees renewed their depredations upon the people of Nantucket. On the 8th of that month, two shaving mills from New York came into the harbor to secure provisions. They captured several small vessels and chased others into the harbor. On the 9th Major Dimmick of Falmouth, and a crew, came to the Island in pursuit of the enemy. The combatants had a brief engagement in which one man was killed and two severely wounded, but without any decisive result. The Refugees captured a schooner belonging to William Barnard and sent it to New York, allowing the captain and crew to go ashore.‡

On September 29, there was a large party of nearly 100 Refugees entered the harbor for the purpose of plundering the people. Major Dimmick again engaged them and succeeded in driving them away, but evidently did not feel that his force, which

Mr. Nye and Mr. Henshaw. The only other reference that appears regarding it is that by recommendation of the Committee, on Nov. 16 it was tabled until Mr. Folger appeared. Mr. Folger may have felt some discouragement from the fact that on Oct. 30 a previous petition (which does not appear among the Archives) was granted by the Senate but on Nov. 4 the House not only declined to concur with the Senate, but unanimately ordered the matter dismissed. As Mr. Folger sailed from Nantucket for New York Nov. 25 the indication is that he made no effort to press his petition of Nov. 6.

*Archives Vol 227, p. 479.

†Archives Vol 238, p. 461.

‡Kezia Fannings Diaries.

was only about two-thirds as large as that of the Refugees, was strong enough to pursue them.

The situation was sufficiently serious to make it necessary to convene at once a Town Meeting on October 3d, at which it was voted that Samuel Starbuck, William Rotch and Benjamin Hussey were delegated to go to New York to obtain relief. William Rotch, Peleg Coffin 2d, Samuel Gelston, Stephen Hussey and Christopher Starbuck were appointed a Committee to draw up a Memorial to send to New York.*

This would seem to be the journey of which Mr. Rotch gives the following account in his Memorandum:

"Some time in the year 1780, Admiral Arbuthnot returned to England, and Admiral Digby succeeded him. As soon as Arbuthnot was gone those plundering Refugees were upon us again, our protection having ceased by his departure. This renewed our perplexity. The Town was convened to consult about measures to

*Mrs. Fanning in her Diary gives the following story of the raid, her family being at the Quaise house at the time. "Sunday Sept. 30 Juda Robert & Johna came up before sunset. tell that there was two shaveing mills with 90 or 100 men in them came into the Harbour last night. they nave taken a number of Vessels today. the Town is in great Confusion. Mon. Oct 1, about midnight Dimick with about 60 Men came into the harbour arm'd—he & the shaveing Mills gave each other several shot: on the whole Dimick thought he would wait till day before he made an attempt:—in the morn Dimick & they fired a number of times at each other. the Refugees had taken a Brigg that was just loaded & ready to sail for the W. Indies. Dimick concluded to wait till 10 o'clock before he retook her for at that hour she would be wholly his—it would be 24 from her being captured by the Refugees—the Refugees with their shaveing mills were alongside the Brigg nigh Brant Point. they had made up Barrackadoes in the Brigg to defend themselves—Dimick with his 2 Vessels were without them. about 9 o'clock a number of Connecticut men (that had lost their vessels) and strangers from other parts, went on brant Point threw up a breast work, carried swivels & small arms & attack'd the shaveing mills so warmly that they were obliged to get off with themselves as fast as possible towards Courteau—Dimick at the same time fired from his vessels for 15 or more minutes. there was a great fireing from Dimick & the shoar—the Refugees never fired till they were out of Reach then they fired one cannon & shouted with their hatts off. they killed one from the shoar on board the shaveing mill & tis thought several were kill'd after they shoved from the Brigg—they rowed & sail'd as fast as possible out over the Bar. Dimick never persued—George Lawrence was in sight all the morn between the Point & Bar—between 8 & 9 they perceived that there was something amiss in the harbour. his men all got into the boat (left only Lawrence & his little son on board) got to the haulover place at courteau haul'd over their Boat & put immediately over here—they got up to our house about 10. Uriah Gardner, Joshua Bunker Junr Paul Pinkham & Macy, Jonathan's son, as soon as they really discovered there was no trouble in the harbour they took their cloaths & what other things they could & shoved off. Lawrence stood for the other side. a boat's crew came up from town. seeing the boat come from Lawrence they came immediately here—the 4 from Lawrence went down directly in the Boat that came from Town, left their own boat here. the shaveing mills when they got over the (bar) seeing that nobody persued them immediately persued Lawrence took & carried him away westward with a small S. E. wind. Dimick with his retook Prizes remain'd the remainder of the day in the harbour." Tuesday. Oct 2 "they say that the Owners of that Brigg are agoing to give Dimick 1800 Dollers for her. Dimick & a number of others went out about noon bound Westward." Sat. Oct. 6 "news from Town—the 2 shaveing mills that escaped last Monday on their way to N. York overtook a large Roe gally. the 2 mills with the Roe galley came into our harbour last night in the night, they cut a number of Vessels from the Wharfs before morn. they tarried all day in the harbour—at sunset they set fire to a Connecticut vessel & went off with another—as soon as they were out of Reach with their guns our people put out the fire—she was considerably burnt in her stern."

prevent destruction.* The result was to send a Committee again to New York to solicit an order from Admiral Digby similar to that which we had before. It was proposed for me to go with two others. I had then been confined nearly nine months with the Rheumatism, had just left my crutches and was hobbling about with a cane. Therefore I could not think of such an undertaking. But all others utterly refused to go unless I would accompany them. This brought a very great straight on my mind. Go I thought I could not, and to omit it seemed almost inevitable destruction. At last I consented under great apprehension that I should not live to return. We accordingly set sail, and when we were off Rhode Island, I was obliged to have them go to the East side of the Island, and lay there several days, for my pain was so great that I could not bear the motion of the vessel. But we got safe to New York in a few days after it abated. Admiral Digby had arrived, Commodore Affleck (since Admiral) still being there, and he having kindly assisted us in getting the Permits for a few whaling vessels the year before, we applied first to him. We asked him to introduce us to the Admiral, and assist us in procuring protection against their cruisers in our harbor, and some Permits for the Fishery. He looked very stern, and said "I don't know how you can have the face to ask any indulgence of us. I assisted in getting Permits for you last year, which I have been very sorry for. I find that you have abused the confidence we placed in you, for Capt. —, who cruised in Boston Bay and its vicinity, told me that he could hardly find a vessel but what had the Permits and you deserve no favor." I heard him patiently through while he was giving us such a lecture, knowing I could overthrow it all. I then answered "Commodore Affleck, thou hast been greatly imposed upon in this matter. I defy Capt. — to make such a declaration to my face. Those Permits were put into my hands. I delivered them, taking receipts for each, to be returned to me at the end of the voyage, and an obligation that no transfer should be made nor copies given. I received back all the Permits except two, before I left home and should probably have received those two on the day that I sailed. Now if any such duplicity has been practiced I am the person who is accountable, and I am here to take the punishment such perfidy deserves." He immediately became placid, and said, "You deserve favor. I am now going to the Admiral. Do you be there in an hour." We attended punctually. He introduced us to the Admiral, and informed him that his predecessor, Admiral Arbuthnot, granted the people of Nantucket a few Permits for the Fishery last year, adding "and I can assure your Excellency they have made no bad use of them." Thus after a storm came a pleasant calm. We obtained an Order as before respecting the property in our harbor, and Twenty Four Permits for the Fishery and I returned home much improved in my health. It was necessary to secrete these Documents from American Cruisers, but such was the difficulty of distinguishing them, that two were presented to American armed vessels, who immediately took the vessels as prizes. This occasioned us to pursue other means for the security of this small privilege tho' a very useful one to us."

The Committee made the following report of its doings to a Town Meeting convened on December 19, 1781, to receive it:

*The only meeting recorded in 1780, excepting the annual meeting, was on May 2 at which time it was voted to seek relief of the General Court. It must have been a public meeting instead of a called meeting of the Town.

To the Inhabitants of the Town of Sherburne in Town Meeting assembled—

Respected Friends:— Agreeably to the appointment by the Town, on the 3d of the 10th month last, we proceeded to New York, and presented your memorial to Admiral Digby, Commander-in-Chief there. We also represented the peaceable conduct maintained by the inhabitants in general, in the course of the present contest, with the exposed situation of the Island, and that recent depredations had been made upon us; upon which an inquiry into the general state and circumstances of the Island took place, which determined the Admiral to exercise his authority in our favor, and accordingly gave us his positive order to prevent any further molestation of our persons and property within the bar of the harbor, which we hereby deliver. We are your friends.

SAMUEL STARBUCK,
WILLIAM ROTCH,
BENJAMIN HUSSEY.

Sherburne, 12th mo. 19th, 1781.

The report was read and accepted and the Town voted "that the Committee have well and faithfully answered and Discharged the Duty and business of their Mission."*

The year 1782 brought little relief from the incursions of predatory or belligerent bands. Nantucket seemed to be a focusing point for small detachments of Refugees and Colonials, and quite a large number of encounters of those minor hostile forces occurred on and in the immediate vicinity of the Island. Indeed the isolated and defenceless condition of Nantucket seemed to invite just such forays. It was very difficult at times to keep many of the people from expressing a justifiable indignation and actively opposing the insolence and thievery of the Refugees, and openly

*The following copy of a whaling permit authorized by Admiral Digby is from Macy's History (p. 115):

"(Seal) By Robert Digby, Esquire, Rear Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

JAMES CHASE
OBADIAH FOLGER
GEORGE COLEMAN
SILVANUS SWAIN
CHARLES RUSSELL
PETER POLLARD
ANDREW COLEMAN
OBED BARNARD
JONATHAN BRIGGS

Permission is hereby given to the Dolphin brig burthen sixty tons, Walter Folger owner, navigated by Gilbert Folger as master and the twelve seamen named in the margin, to leave the Island of Nantucket and to proceed on a whaling voyage—To commence the first of January 1782, and end the last day of——following, provided that they have on board the necessary whaling craft and provisions only, and that the master of said brig is possessed of a certificate from the Selectmen of the said Island, setting forth that she is bona fide the property of the inhabitants of the Island, with the names of the master and seamen of her; and that she shall not be found proceeding with her cargo to any other port than Nantucket or New York.

Dated at New York, the first day of December, 1781. ROBERT DIGBY

To the Commissioners of His Majesty's ships and vessels of war, as well as of all privateers and letters of marque.

By command of the Admiral
THOMAS M. PALMER."

attacking the crews of small English privateers as well as the bands of predatory traitors to their country, who were as much worse than the more manly British armed forces, as the cowardly sneak thief is worse than the open highwayman. In not a few instances, even members of the Society of Friends seemed to have allowed their indignation, or instinct of self-preservation, to overcome their religious scruples."*

Among the instances showing the annoyance and abuse to which the Islanders were subjected may be noted the following as recorded by Mrs. Fanning in her Diaries:

Monday, March 25. "Several Refugees in the sound—have taken Riddle coming from Connecticut with provisions, & Crosby also—Ben Russel came in today & brought the news—they chased him but he escaped.

Wednesday, March 27. "William Rotch & some women were bound off to meeting yesterday & were taken by a shaving mill carried under Gay Head & anchored—Dimick went over from Falmouth just before the squall yesterday & took the mill, retook Rotch—the shavers robb'd the women's pockets, took out their Buckels & abused them much."†

Sunday, March 31. Reuben Macy was lately taken with 3000 Bushels of Salt on Board & carried into N. York.

Friday, April 5. "Peleg Eason‡ came to the Bar yesterday from Turk's Island with a Load of Salt (was gone from here 6 weeks to a day) soon after he came to the Bar a Privateer schooner out of New York came to the Barr took the Brigg into Possession—Wm Rotch jun'r & Sam'll Rodman, (owners of the Brigg) went on Board, Ransom'd her for a very small consideration this morn the Brigg came into the harbour—the Privateer has taken this forenoon a schooner from Boston belonging to John Beane loaded with Lumber; (he purchased the Vessel there in Boston & her Load) several people have been off to try to get the Vessel but they will not give her up. the Privateer & Prize went around the E end

*In all probability Capt Dimmick was of material assistance to the Nantucket people in repelling Refugee forays.

†Mr Rotch in his Memoranda thus alludes to this incident—"I was one with 10 men and 2 women friends, captured in going to our Quarterly Meeting at Sandwich by a British privateer, from New York. They had just taken a cedar Boat and ordered us to depart in it immediately, having first plundered us of what money they could find, but they took neither baggage nor provision from us. The vessel was mine and I pleaded earnestly for it, and sometimes nearly obtained a majority to give her to us. But another can of grog would be stirred up by those who would not consent to release her, and this never failed to gain several to their side. They repeatedly ordered us into the boat and to be gone, but we refused, still pleading for our vessel, till the Capt. of the Privateer called to the Prize Master to know why he did not send us away. He said "They will not go." He then sent a furious fellow to drive us off. Samuel Starbuck and myself were standing together. He approached us with a violent Countenance, and uplifted cutlass, saying "Be gone into the boat or I'll cut your heads off." I looked him earnestly in the face, eye to eye, and with a pretty stern accent, said "I am not afraid of thy cutting my head off. We are prisoners. Treat us as such, and not talk of cutting our heads off." He dropped his arm with his cutlass and seemed much struck by my boldness.

There were now two vessels coming rapidly in pursuit of them, and we thought it was time to be off. They soon retook our vessel, and pursued the Privateer, & took her, but the men left her in their boat, and got on shore on the Vineyard. They hunted them and took all except the one who threatened to cut off our heads, and he made his escape. Our vessel being retaken. I recovered her by paying salvage, as did a young man his money, who had \$200—taken from him. The shoe buckles were of silver.

‡Easton.

this afternoon for N. York, the Privateer took several Wood men but released them all."

Sunday, April 7—"the Privateer that was at the Barr last Thursday & Friday was up the Cod of the Bay middle afternoon headed for the Point towards night."

Friday, April 12 "Hathaway & Meader sailed 7 weeks ago today for Philadelphia with a load of Oyl were taken & carried into N. York they have both got home."

Sunday, April 28 "before sunset yesterday Levi Barlow with 10 men in a boat from the other side came here Capt. Nash had hired a Vessel of my father to carry him to some British port (Silv Coffin was bound master) they were near ready to sail this Barlow having a Commission & supposing her to be Capt Nash's property seized her & carried her off 11 clock last night the Selectmen & a number of the principal men used all their endeavours to prevent his carrying her away but all to no effect."*

Sunday, May 5 "an American Privateer came into the harbour at noon one Carver Commands her she belongs at Bedford—the Privateer went out of the harbour before noon May 6—met with no encouragement. tis said she came after south sea men and their property."

Saturday, June 8 "Levi Barlow went up the Harbour in his Mill this afternoon (he has been in the Harbour & about the Island for 8 or 10 days) * * * they were anchored by William Hussey's house when we got up."

Sunday, June 9 "News is that there is a large Fleet of Britains & Refugees at the Vineyard taking off sheep & cattle promising to pay for them."

Thursday, June 13 "there is a schooner at the Bar (came there since noon) which is said to be a york Privateer I imagine frd Barlow shakes in his shoes."

Friday, June 14 "middle of the afternoon the Privateer came over the Barr & came into the harbour anchored near the L wharf—Barlow on seeing them enter the harbour onrighed his Mill stove a Hole in her & retreated with his people to the head of the L wharf where he made a breast Work with Wood in order (as he pretended) to defend himself but the inhabitants instantly destroyed it on which he & his people wisely took to their heels out of Town not letting the grass grow under their Feet†—the people

*Nash and Mr. Butler (Rev. Zebulon) went to the main land May 1. Nash who it seems was on parole, went to Boston to get it enlarged: Butler went to recover the vessel. Barlow libeled the vessel and decided to leave the matter to the Courts. (Fanning Diaries).

†The Independent Chronicle (Boston) of July 25, 1782 makes this report of that raid: "We learn from Falmouth, that Capt. Levi Barlow, in the armed boat called the Speedwell, who hath lately captured a number of those infernal South sea illicit traders, frequenting Nantucket & was drove into Nantucket harbour a short time since, by a privateer schooner of superior force, manned by tory refugees, and sheep-stealers from New York. A certain Burgess who went off from Wareham, commanding, and Ansolm Bourn, who run away from Sandwich, second. Barlow having landed his men on the wharf, hove up a breast work and prepared to defend his boat from the shore, but was prevented by the forceable interposition of some of the inhabitants of that island. concerned in trade, and drove off, by means of which his boat was taken by the privateer, and destroyed; some scattered men of his crew pursued and were fired upon by Bourn's party, whose savage disposition induced him to order his men if they discovered any of Barlow's people, to fire on and kill them before they could have opportunity to surrender as prisoners. Capt. Barlow with his men made their escape to the main, and Capt. Lot Dimmick, of Falmouth (brother of Col Dimmick) (See next page)

out of the N. York Privateer landed on the S wharf & immediately destroyed Barlow's mill & then persued him & his People out of Town with all speed they got sight of Barlow & several of his people but their haveing so much the start they dogged into the swamps where they hid & were not any of them to be found—the Refugees behav'd very civil not hurting any one—tis said that some of Barlow's men hid under houses some in swamps & some got on to Tuckanuck."

Saturday, June 15, "the york Privateer went out of the harbour some time in the night past & is no where in sight today. Hannah Gage came last night with Sears—were taken by the Privateer treated very handsomely & let go they took several little vessels but sot them all at Liberty. Major Bourn's son of Sandwich was first Lieut on Board—he was on shoar & in our shop yesterday—Barlow & his people crawl'd out of their Holes one after another today & before night got on board a little Vessel & sot out for the Main. * * * the Refugees found Barlow's swivels & sails yesterday & carried them off."

Tuesday, June 18, "the york Privateer that was in the harbour last week was off the south side yesterday chased Silas Pad-dack on shoar south side (he was from the West Indies) went on board the Vessel & fired her. People went down & attempted to get on board to put out the fire—but the Privateer fired on them & kept them off for some time, but after a while the Privateer left her the People went on board & put out the fire & got the most of the cargo on shoar. A few hogsheads of molasses was burnt. the Vessel's stern was most wholly burnt—her main deck was mostly burnt. the Privateer chas'd several Vessels off that were bound here."

Saturday, June 22, "Lot Dimick in an American Privateer came in here this morn—soon after noon a small British schooner Privateer came to the Barr. Dimick took a small sloop went off showing only 2 men on Deck (20 went off) they ran alongside the schooner. the schooner fired on them slightly wounding Levi Barlow (he came here with Dimick). Dimick & his people immediately rose fired on the schooner ran alonside & rush'd on board, took her without further resistance. both vessels came into the harbour—the Capt of the schooner is thought to be mortally wounded* & one more slightly wounded. Dimick went away before night with his Prize & Prisoners, all but the Capt."

Thursday, August 15 "Levi Barlow with several armed men came to this Island 2 or 3 days ago (in pursuit of Prey) this afternoon Barlow with his crew went from here not meeting with any success—on his way westward not far from this Island they met with a boat which they pretend they thought to be a Refugee—they chased her she supposing them to be Refugees

mick) and Capt. Barlow, with a part of both their crews, proceeded immediately to Nantucket in Dimmick's shaving mill, and another small boat, in order to take them: when they arrived there, they found the privateer schooner laying off; upon which they took a wood sloop lying at anchor, and with their crew went aboard her, making 19 men, including the two captains, and immediately bore down upon the schooner; and in spite of a warm attack from their musquetry and swivels boarded and took the privateer, with Bourn and 27 others, prisoners, and brought them into Falmouth."

Mrs. Fanning's report is without doubt the more correct in details. The imprudence of allowing either side to throw up breast works for a street fight is obvious.

*The captain died June 23.

endeavour'd to make her escape but finding that impossible hove too—they ran alongside fired several guns—they own they discovered them to be Americans immediately after the boats were alongside & Barlow in his supposed enemy's boat demanding of the Capt. his Papers one Swift one of Barlow's Pirats Put up his gun & fired at the Capt. wounded him in the Belly—Swift owns that he knew them to be Americans before he fired & the only excuse he pretends to make for himself is that he heard somebody say fire—both boats immediately put into the harbour, got in about 9 o'clock sent immediately for the Doctors—but they thought his wounds mortal—the Bullet went into his Belly & came out at his back. * * * His name is Wood, a Bedford man * * * he was taken about 2 years ago & carried into Philadelphia & there married about 5 months ago he procured him a boat & a load of flour & went to Bedford to see his widow mother & his relations—hearing that Flour sold well here was bound here to sell his provision when these pirates met him."*

Sunday, August 18. "Barlow came in last night & took McFarland's Vessel that was in the harbour. McFarland came in here in a Flag she sail'd last may from Bermuda a Flag for here with Prisoners for the East & for the West the Eastern Prisoners rose just before they got in & carried the Vessel down to Portsmouth from there she was sent to Boston & has there been detained till the week before last—when she was sot at liberty & was a Flag to some British Port. he put in here in distress his Vessel not being fit to go to sea got leave of the Selectmen to heave down & fit his Vessel—last night he bound out when Barlow with his Banditti† stopt him & has carried him this morning to Falmouth—his pretence for takeing him is that she being a flag had no right to go into a harbour & heave down."

Sunday, September 1 "an American shaving mill came into the harbour this afternoon."

Monday September 2 "after 12 clock Absalum came up here‡ on horseback for to desire Mr. Fanning to go immediately to Town Levi Barlow being at my Father's seizing the goods &c. Mr. F——g sot out on horseback, I followed him in the Calash—Levi Barlow with 2 others went into my Father's shop & then (pretended) in the name of the Commonwealth of this state to seize all the goods in the shop as British property—people began to gather & in a short time our street was lined with men women & children—Barlow began immediately to pull down the goods off the shelves & throw them down on the counter takeing an inventory of them—Persavel who is Barlow's Capt soon came in after him & a number of others. Barlow went away to dinner & when he return'd was not suffer'd to come into the house again, the doors being fastened. 3 of the theifes in the house & a number of the inhabitants indoors & out—when Mr Fanning came down he endeavoured to make peace, offer'd to Persival to give Bonds for the goods which offer was accepted—when I got into Town People had generally dispersed out of the streets. Persival & one of his Crew were in the shop, Roland Gelston takeing an inventory of the goods at mother's request. a number of People in the house & shop just before they had finished takeing the inventory. Mr.

*Capt. Wood died the next day.

†Mrs. Fanning was, apparently, not even at this period, a very enthusiastic "rebel."

‡To the house of Podpis.

Fanning demanded of Persival his commission which he with reluctance shewed him. Mr. F——g on reading it found he had no power to take any thing above high water mark— P. F. told him that as a frd he advised Persival to stop & proceed no further—he seemed all at once to recollect himself, told P. F. he would not take any bonds & on leaving the shop desired the people present to bear witness that he did not seize the goods—while they were in the shop they were insulted as much as it was possible for people to be—they went into Mr. Beanes & Timo Folgers shop & there in the name of the Commonwealth seized there goods. Timo Folger poled them out of doors & fastened his doors upon them, they were served the same at Beanes—many of the inhabitants shewed by their countenances the joy they had on the occasion—things was pretty peaceable after they left the shop—Mr. Butler armed his house.”

Tuesday, September 3, Percival and his Crew went off today, carried a small lumber vessel with them that came into the harbor a few nights ago.

Monday, September 16, “Persival came on the Island today.”

Wednesday, October 2. “a york Privateer Brigg anchored at the Barr this morn. Young Husbands Commanded her; he has been here before.”

Saturday, October 5. “the Privatøer that has been at the Barr for some days past went from there today. she has taken several little vessels, some have ransom’d for a small matter, others she has taken some trifal from & let go, she has not carried off one—tis said she fir’d a Vessel after she sailed at a great distance but just discernable”

Saturday, October 12. “Gideon Gardner was coming Through miscecit* yesterday in a Brigg (loaded with sugar, molasses &c) & was chased ashoar by a Privateer—he does not know whether an American or British as she quited her chase after he struck the shoar—he came to the Island in his boat last night—a number of boats went away this morn to take out his load.”

Monday, December 2. “an armed schooner & 2 unarmed sloops & one armed from N. York anchor’d at the Barr this forenoon—common Fame says they are loaded with goods—several of the people are on shoar.”

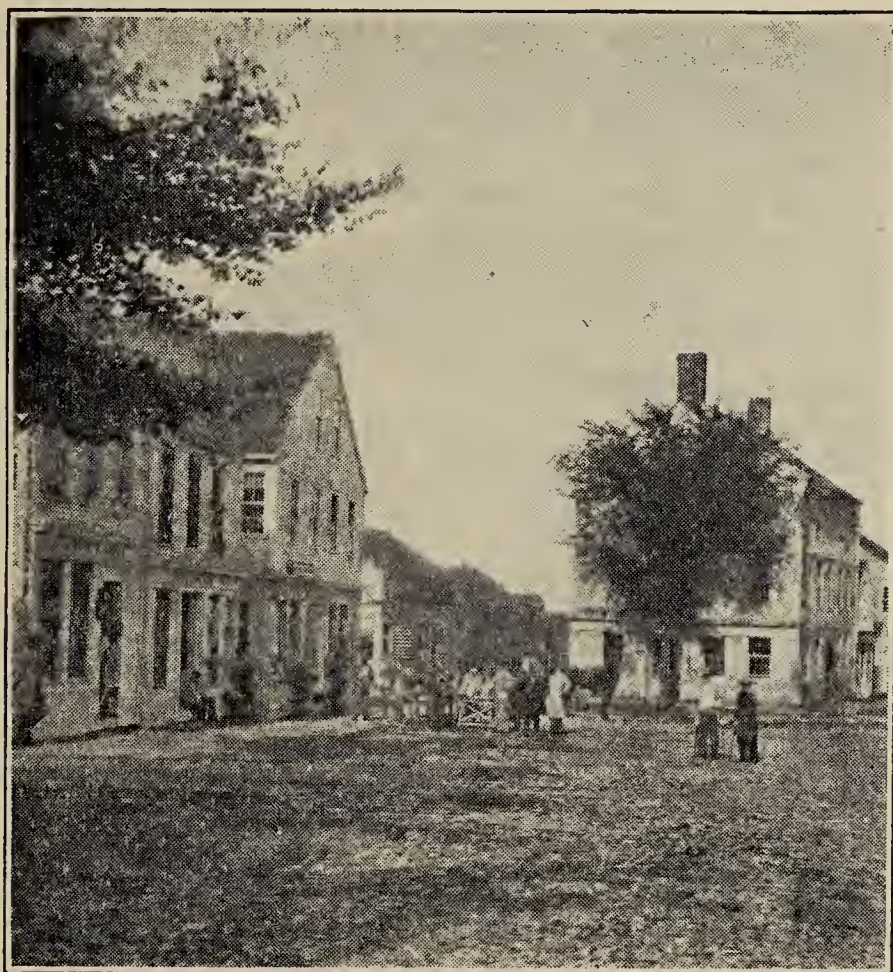
Tuesday, December 3. “the 4 British Vessels came into the harbour last night—the famous Goldsberry is on board—one Eben Coffin (originally from Boston) came in one of the Vessels.”

Tuesday, December 10 “the York Vessels sail’d this afternoon—have carried away some oyl.”

Such is the story of the raids of the Refugees, the British and the Americans during the year 1782, as portrayed by a young woman of 23, impressible and clearly not enthusiastically attached to the American cause, her feelings being strongly influenced by her immediate environment, but from her standpoint giving an excellent idea of the constant strain the people of Nantucket were under, not knowing the day or the hour when some new raid would be attempted, liable to the depredations of all three and powerless, not only physically but by the teachings of their religion, to ward off the predatory incursions of either.

*Muskeget.

Returning now to the general narration of the events of the year one of the early occurrences, which seemed to have a ludicrous as well as a serious aspect, was the seizure by Ichabod Plaisted, Naval Officer of the Port of the sloop Good Intent, for violation



LOWER SQUARE, MAIN STREET
Showing Rotch Building, Built 1775

of the State regulations in regard to trading and the exportation of goods.* Regarding this seizure, Mr. Plaisted made the following report:

“Naval Office, Nantucket 12th Jan. 1782.

Sir—

In Consequence of your order, received on the Evening of the 9th instant, I immediately went on board the Sloop Good Intent,

*Naval officers were chosen under orders of the Provincial Congress Nov. 22, 1776. Ichabod Plaisted was chosen for Nantucket and seems to have held the office through the war.

At a meeting of the Council held December 25, 1781 representation was made that Capt. Timothy Folger had lately arrived at Nantucket from London with a cargo of English goods, contrary to the express laws of the State. James Jackson, Edward Jones, Thomas K. Jones and John Leach came with him as passengers. The Naval Officer was ordered to seize the vessel and cargo (and he evidently did) and Capt. Folger and his passengers were ordered to attend the Governor and Council for examination. Capt. Folger not appearing, on February 7, 1782, the Attorney General was called in. Folger attended on February 21 after which the papers in the case were turned over to the Attorney General for further action if advisable.

and made a formal seizure of her, in the Name and in behalf of this Commonwealth. I then returned up the Wharf, and procured Two Men to go down on board her as a Guard to see that nothing was taken away. they accordingly took possession of her by my order, but soon after my absence, some riotous persons whose names I can mention, came on board, and confined the two men I had placed as Guards and then stripped her of her Sails, Cables and some Rigging, and in this situation she now remains, She has on board an outward bound Cargo consisting of Cod Fish and Onions. The Sloop lays at the Wharf in this Port where she will lay till your further orders which I request you would forward as soon as possible. She cannot be libelled at this place, that process must be done at Boston.

I am sir,

Your most ob't serv't

ICHABOD PLAISTED, Nav. Officer

JOHN AVERY, Secretary.*

The seizure was immediately followed by the following petition: "To John Hancock Esquire Governor and Commander in Chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts And to the Council of the same—

The Petition of the Subscribers sheweth—That your petitioners having freighted the Sloop Good Intent with a Cargo of dry'd Codfish and Onions for the Havannas, and when said Sloop was nigh to sail were informed that the Naval Officer for this port had made seizure of said sloop, and your petitioners Cargo then on board (he says by order of the Governor & Council) and holds the same in his possession and still refuses to deliver the same we hope the Governor and Council will not detain your petitioners property as the whole is perishable but will give Order to the said officer to deliver your petitioners the Abovemention'd Cargo, Or to Relieve them as you in your Wisdom shall see meet. Nantucket ye 1 mo ye 19th 1782.

BATCH'R HUSSEY
BENJ'N FOLGER
RICH'D MITCHELL JUNR.
EDWARD CARY
PELEG COFFIN
PETER MACY.†

*Mass. Archives Vol 204, p. 17. There seems to be among the people of Nantucket an innate tendency to rhyme which has repeatedly trifled amusingly with affairs of seeming "great pith and moment." The seizure of the Good Intent seemed to be one of those occasions. According to an account in the Nantucket Inquirer of June 7, 1824, the sloop was locally known by the name of "Copper Bottom" and was said to have been owned by William Rotch and others, one of whom was said to be Hon John Hancock. The account in the Inquirer is not strictly accurate inasmuch as it says Plaisted's report was clumsily written, but the following is the rhyming version of the affair.

"Gent. Your orders respecting the sloop Good Intent I received last night, and straightway I went On board of said vessel, and in the State's name Made a seizure thereof; but soon after came Some riotous persons, whose names I could mention, Lock'd the men I had placed as guards, in the round house, And Kept them confined, as snug as a dormouse. They instantly made what dispatch they were able, And soon stripped the vessel of sails, rigging and cable. She'd a cargo on board of cod-fish & inions, And a lot of sperm oil; (in good Whigs opinions) Was destined direct for the Isle of Jamaica, With two sets of papers, lest a cruiser should take her—In this state she remains, & I wait further orders—Which I beg you to hasten to stop new disorders,—I need add no more lest time should be wasted, But remain, with respect,
Yours Ichabod Plaisted."

†"Mass. Archives Vol 178, p. 317.

On February 21st., the Council peremptorily ordered the petition dismissed, but five days later it was read again, the order of the 21st was reconsidered, and it was voted that "whereas the Naval Officer for the Port of Nantucket hath made seizure of the Sloop called the Good Intent lately arrived from England and before said seizure was freighted with a Cargo of dryed Codfish and Onions for the Havanna belonging to B. H., B. F., R. M., E. C., P. C., and P. Macy" the Officer was directed to surrender the cargo to the alleged owners "if it shall appear to him to be their Property."

The case against the Good Intent was quite long in reaching a solution. Capt. Folger, in a letter to the Council, had denied the charges brought against him under which the seizure had been made, which were to the effect that the sloop had just returned from England with a cargo of English goods, contrary to the laws of the State. As previously noted, four passengers came with him. At the examination before the Council their testimony, which seemed to be quite as much surmise as alleged facts, was to the effect that they sailed from Portsmouth, England, in the sloop Good Intent, William Moore, master, Capt. Folger, owner. He was supposed to be owner because "he gave all the orders." The vessel was ballasted with coal, grindstones and chalk with packages of dry goods, which they (the passengers) understood were shipped on account of Capt. Folger and people on Nantucket. Capt. Folger seemed free to come and go as he pleased in England, and had a protection from Admiral Arbuthnot. The passengers had no goods on board. The oil which was exported from Nantucket (presumably the vessel's cargo to England) was owned in part at Nantucket and the rest was supposed to be the property of Champion & Dickinson. One passenger testified that the sloop was supposed to be bound to Georgia; another that she was cleared for Amsterdam; another that Capt. Folger told him he was not bound to Georgia; while the fourth testified that he supposed the vessel to be bound to Amsterdam. One witness testified that he understood that Capt Folger had a protection from Dr. Franklin. The sloop was captured between Calais and Dover by an English vessel and carried into Downs. James Jackson testified that in consequence "Capt. Folger was much disconcerted and confused." The undisputed facts seem to be that the Good Intent arrived in Nantucket, presumably from an English port, on the 21st of December, 1781, was ordered by the Council on December 25th, to be seized by the Naval Officer, was seized and taken possession of January 9, 1782, and had on board at that time an outward bound cargo of cod-fish and onions. It is a fair inference that the vessel carried a load of oil to England and returned with a cargo of some description. It does not seem to be proved that there were any dry goods.

Matters seemed to rest until the 24th of August, when the

Attorney General addressed a letter to the Governor and Council* in which he states that the vessel is libelled in behalf of the Commonwealth. He adds—"four Persons pretend they made a prior Seizure & have libelled the Vessels as forfeited to them: this seizure, if good, defeats that made in behalf of the Commonwealth. but it is supposed to be collusive." This last fact he expects to prove by witnesses on Nantucket, and he asks that Nathaniel Freeman Esq be appointed to go to Nantucket, and obtain depositions. The Council advised that this be done and evidently the appointment was made for later Mr. Freeman filed a bill amounting to £5, 2s, 3d for a ten days' trip to Nantucket with expenses. It does not appear that any further action was taken by the State. If Capt. Folger actually committed an offence against the peace and good order of the Commonwealth, contrary to the statute in such cases made and provided, those in authority doubtless realized that it was a life or death proposition the people were obliged to encounter.

In April 1782, (17th) at a meeting of the Council† a deposition of one William Daggett of Martha's Vineyard, to the effect that Capt. John Bean of Nantucket, had been carrying on clandestine trade with the enemy at New York, having been read, it was directed that His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to transmit the evidence to the Attorney General "that he may take such Measures thereon as to Law and Justice appertaineth." On April 30, the Council directed that Capt. Bean be served with an attested copy of the order of the Council on the 17th regarding the depositions.

The deponents testified that said Bean cleared from Boston in a schooner for Nantucket. The schooner anchored off the Bar at Nantucket and while there the vessel was boarded by a boat's crew from a vessel from New York commanded by one Younghusband. One Hardon, who came on board in Boston harbor, Bean having gone ashore, informed Capt. Younghusband that the schooner and cargo were designed for the English, and the English privateer accordingly took possession of the schooner and sent her to New York.

In his defence‡ Capt. Bean stated that Dagget was employed to pilot the vessel to Nantucket. There she was captured by the enemy. If any improper documents were used to save her they were forgeries. Capt. Bean asserted that since the capture of the vessel he has not seen captain, men or pilot, and does not know how they proceeded after leaving Boston. He desired to be allowed time to produce witnesses in his own behalf. As evidence that he had no design to engage in clandestine trade he cites the fact that after the capture his wife and Timothy Folger with a crew in a

*Archives vol 178, p. 493.

†Archives vol 178, p. 366.

‡Archives Vol 178 p 372

whale-boat, at serious personal risk, put off to the privateer in an attempt to ransom the schooner, but were not allowed to come alongside the English vessel. It does not appear that any further action was taken. Capt. Bean's contention seems to have been corroborated by the statement in Mrs. Fanning's diary under date of April 5.*

The pursuit of the whale-fishery under the permits granted by Admiral Digby developed its special hazards. The officers of the American armed vessels were aware of their existence and used every subterfuge to trap those who used them into displaying them. In two instances they were successful and immediately seized as prizes the vessels carrying them. To continue the business under such conditions was too hazardous. If the people were to obtain a livelihood through this pursuit, both the contending parties must grant permission.

The Town was accordingly convened in Town meeting September 25th., 1782, to consider what course to pursue. It was voted to draw up a memorial and send it to the General Court, representing "the true State of Facts respecting the Town." William Rotch, Stephen Hussey, Christopher Starbuck, Timothy Folger and Josiah Barker were chosen to prepare the memorial and Stephen Hussey, Josiah Barker a committee to present it to the General Court and speak for the Town in its behalf. William Rotch and Timothy Folger were subsequently added to the committee.† The memorial was to be approved by the Selectmen and the committee was authorized to employ counsel if advisable.

As presented to the General Court, the memorial set forth:‡
 "That your Memorialists are again under the disagreeable necessity of craving your serious consideration of the real state of this Island, whereby you may more fully enter into the views of those who are frequently circulating unfavourable reports against us, which for want of due attention to the many peculiar inconveniences we labour under, prevents the proper allowances that our exposed situation demands, which in the end may not only be ruinous to us, but greatly detrimental to the Commonwealth at large.—

*This was not the first time that the attention of the Council had been called to the acts of Capt. Bean and it must be admitted that his conduct had not been entirely above suspicion. On March 14, 1781, Joseph Lee at Cambridge and six others, a committee of the "West Church at New Boston" addressed a petition to the council setting forth that Bean had been granted a Cartel to proceed to Halifax and return to Boston and that permission had also been granted for him to bring for Mr. Lee a box and trunk of household linen etc and a "small Box Containing the Sacramental Plate &c belonging to the West Church in Boston, for which Plate liberty was granted by the Government of Halifax." The complaint alleges that Bean deviated from his Voyage and landed the petitioners' effects in his own house at Nantucket, and refuses to surrender them" alledging that as he signed no Bill of Lading or Receipt for the same, he is not Accountable to us." The petitioners pray that Bean be required to deliver the goods to William Rotch or other suitable person for them. On March 20 the Council issued an order commanding Bean to deliver the articles mentioned to William Rotch, Mr. Rotch to forward them to Boston. It is somewhat singular that in neither case cited did the Council take further action and it would seem that Capt. Bean's acts were not so reprehensible as they appear from our later point of view.

†Nathaniel Coffin 2d entered his dissent against Timothy Folger's serving.

‡Archives Petitions Vol 186—7

Circumstanc'd as we are in the course of Providence, intirely out of the line of protection by either of the powers now at War, we apprehend justice & good policy will ever dictate, to nourish & cherish rather than suffer to be destroy'd a people (whose peculiar Local situation exposes them to many insults, which the peaceable principles of some, and sound policy of others, commands them to conceal, although their sensibility of injuries may be as keen as other men's,) who perhaps have been, & possibly may yet be as useful to the community at large, as any part of its body of equal magnitude.—Our Trials have been many and severe: frequently surrounded by hostile invasions, & threatened destruction. Would it be strange if in the hour of distress, the powerful influence of the great law of self preservation should lead us into acts, which on the return of tranquility and cool reflection, we could not fully justify?—Yet through the favour of superintending Providence, our greatest Enemies can hardly charge us with any material deviations in this respect.—

People secured by internal retreats, or surrounded by numerous Inhabitants, ready at the first alarm to lend protecting aid, may have but faint Ideas of the sufferings of those that are constantly exposed to every hostile Invader; and in the hour of distress are left under Providence to the execution only of their own skill and prudence to extricate themselves; and every step in these trying moments narrowly watch'd that if any slip should be made, or little foible committed, it may be magnified into the greatest crime. We therefore hope your collective Wisdom and justice will unite in an impartial review of the true situation & circumstances of this Island, together with the general conduct of its Inhabitants; considering at the same time, the long and arduous task, we have had to pass through, & then we have no doubt it will meet the approbation, of the cool dispassionate and judicious, and lead the Court into the reasonable necessity as well as justice to relax in some measure the reins of Government respecting this place.—

We have long struggled without Expence to the publick, & we have no doubt with that incouragement which we have reason to expect we may still continue & have an existance, without any burthen to the Community.

We find there are some reports, circulated on the Continent, & in particular in the Town of Boston, charging the Inhabitants of this Town with carrying on a great trade to & from New York.* And least such reports should reach the Legislative body of this Commonwealth, & that we might thereby be injured, think it our duty to say: That notwithstanding we can as a Town disclaim every Idea of the Charge, as no Body, or Society of men can or ought

*A note accompanying the memorial says—"Perhaps some of those Reports may have originated from this—a Committee of our Island in the fore part of the year 1779, applied to some of the Members of the General Court and spread before them the peculiar circumstances wherein the Island was involved, one where of was that our Vessels whenever they passed in or out were perfectly under the control of the Britons and it was therefore necessary that permits should be obtained from them for our Vessels to proceed on the whale fishery—since which time some of them have been taken by the American Privateers for having such Permits—and we are thereby reduced to this difficulty that if we carry our Vessels over the bar without permits from the British Admiral they are made prize to the Britons—if they have such permits they are taken by our own Countrymen—and our harbour is therefore compleatly shut up—and all our prospects terminate in poverty and distress—what gives us great concern is that our people who understand the Whale fishery will be driven to foreign neutral Countries and many years must pass away before we shall again be enabled to pursue a branch of business which hath been in times past our support and hath yielded such large aids to the Commerce of this Country."

to be accountable for the conduct of a few Individuals, especially where particular Laws are in force to prevent it, Nevertheless we wish not to avail ourselves even of that right in this particular instance: for although the charge of a great Trade even as to individuals is false: Yet we shall not presume to say that no Trade hath been carried on in that channel, but we can say we believe very little hath been done by the Inhabitants of this Island, & very few have been concerned therein: We have good reason to believe that the principal part of that Trade hath been carried on by persons belonging to the Continent, who have made this the pass way for their Goods, in which the Inhabitants have not been concern'd but are injured thereby, yet this quantity we apprehend is but a small portion that the reports of our Enemies have suggested. —We now beg leave to throw a few hints before you respecting the Whale Fishery, as a matter of great importance to this Commonwealth. This place before the War, was the First in that branch of business, & employed more than One Hundred Sail of good Vessels therein, which furnish'd a support not only for Five Thousand Inhabitants here, but for Thousands elsewhere. no place so well adapted for the good of the Community at large as Nantucket, it being destitute of every material necessary in the Business, and the Inhabitants might be called Factors for the Continent rather than Principals: as the war encreased the Fishery ceased, until necessity obliged us to make trial the last Year, with about seventeen sail of Vessels, Two of which were captured & carried to New York, & one was burnt, the others made saving voyages. The present Year we employed about Twenty Four sail in the same business, which have mostly compleated their Voyages, but with little success: & a great loss will ensue: this we apprehend is greatly owing to the circumscribed situation of the Fishery; we are now fully sensible that it can no longer be pursued by us, unless we have free liberty both from Great Britain & America to fish without interruption: As we now find One of our Vessels is captured & carried to New York, but without any Oil on board, and Two others have lately been taken & carried into Boston & Salem, under pretence of having double papers on board. (Nevertheless we presume the captors will not say that any of our Whale men have gone into New York during the season as such a charge would have no foundation in Truth) And if due attention is not paid to this valuable branch, which if it was viewed in all its parts, perhaps would appear the most advantageous, of any possess'd by this Government, it will be intirely lost, if the War continues: We view it with regret & mention it with concern, & from the gloomy prospect now before us, we apprehend many of the Inhabitants must quit the Island, not being able even to provide necessaries for the approaching Winter; some will retreat to the Continent and set down in the Western Governments; and the most active in the Fishery will most probably go to distant Countries, where they can have every encouragement, by Nations who are eagerly wishing to embrace so favourable an opportunity to accomplish their desires; which will be a great loss to the Continent in general, but much more to this Government in particular. We beg leave to impress the consideration of this important subject, not as the judgment of an insignificant few, but of a Town which a few Years since stood the Third in Rank (if we mistake not) in bearing the Burthens of Government; It was then populous and abounded with plenty, it is yet populous but is covered with poverty.

Your Memorialists have made choice of Samuel Starbuck, Josiah Barker, William Rotch, Stephen Hussey, and Timothy Folger as their Committee who can speak more fully to the several matters

contain'd in this Memorial, or any other thing that may concern this County, to whom we desire to refer you.

Signed in behalf of the Town by

FREDERICK FOLGER, Town Clerk.

The memorial was referred to a committee consisting of George Cabot Esq. on the part of the Senate,* and Gen. Ward and Col. McCobb, on the part of the House. The importance of the subject matter evidently impressed itself on the committee, for, after a careful consideration, the members made the following report:

“The Committee of both Houses, appointed to consider the Memorial of the Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket and report what may be proper to be done thereon, have attended that service and beg leave to report: That altho’ the Facts set forth in said Memorial are true and the Memorialists deserve Relief in the Premises, yet as no adequate Relief can be given them but by the United States in Congress assembled, therefore it is the opinion of the Committee that the said Memorial be referr’d to the consideration of Congress, and the Delegates of this Commonwealth be required to use their Endeavours to impress Congress with just Ideas of the high worth & Importance of the Whale fishery to the United States in general & this State in particular.
per Order

GEORGE CABOT.”

This report was presented to the Senate, of which Samuel Adams was President, on October 29, was at once adopted, sent to the House, of which Nathaniel Gorham was Speaker, promptly concurred in, and approved by Gov. John Hancock.

The people of Nantucket believed it would be well to have the Town represented when the subject came before a Congressional committee and a Town Meeting was held November 23d at which William Rotch, Stephen Hussey and Samuel Starbuck or any two of them were delegated to attend to that duty.

William Rotch and Samuel Starbuck were the ones who went and Mr. Rotch gives this account of their mission: “We set off in midwinter and arrived in Philadelphia where Congress was sitting. We opened our business first to General Lincoln, Samuel Osgood, Nathaniel Gorham† and Thomas Fitzsimmons‡. The first was Minister of War, the others were Members of Congress; the last a great commercial man. To them we opened our whole business. We drew up a Memorial but did not present it until we had an opportunity of stating our case to the most influential members. Among them was President Madison,** who, as well as others, treated us with great civility, and seemed to take an interest in our sufferings.

We went to one of the Massachusetts members, who resided in Boston.†† He was extremely prejudiced against us. I fell in with him alone, and conversed about two hours with him endeavor-

*Formerly called the Council.

†Mr. Gorham was elected to Congress by the General Court Oct. 24th for one year.

‡Fitzsimmons was a delegate, from Pennsylvania.

**Then delegate from Virginia.

††Samuel Osgood. The instructions of the General Court did not seem to have influenced him.

ing to impress him with our situation, and the necessity of our having the aid of Congress, but apparently with little effect. At last I asked him these questions, which were—"Is the Whale Fishery worth preserving to this Country?" "Yes." "Can it be preserved in the present state of things by any place except Nantucket?" "No." "Can we preserve it unless you and the British will both give us Permits?" "No." "Then pray where is the difficulty?" Thus we parted. We reported this conversation to our before mentioned friends. We had now drawn our Memorial, and desired them to look it over. They approved it, and advised us to get the same person to present it. Accordingly we repaired to his Apartments, requested him to examine it and give us his judgment whether our statement appeared correct. He approved it. We then requested him to present it to Congress if it was agreeable to him to do so. He accepted and presented it accordingly. It was deliberated upon in Congress, and a disposition appeared to give their aid in its accomplishment. They eventually granted us Permits for Thirty Five vessels for the Whale Fishery.* They were delivered to us, and the next day a vessel arrived from Europe, bringing a rumor of a Provisional Treaty of Peace having been signed by our ministers and the British government, to take place when the Peace between England and France should be concluded, and it was not long before an official account of it reached Philadelphia."

The following names of Nantucket men, credited with service to the State during the Revolutionary War, are taken from the volumes published by the Commonwealth giving the names of those who served on land or water and were credited to Massachusetts. For full details as to their service the reader is referred to the volumes published by the Commonwealth on "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War."

Bagnet, Daniel

Bayley, Isaac

Barnabas, Isaac

Bateman, Charles

*The Journal of the Continental Congress gives the following report: The memorial was read March 11, 1783, signed by William Rotch and Samuel Starbuck representing the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket and was referred to Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts, John Collins of Rhode Island, and Thomas Fitz Simmons of Pennsylvania. The Committee reported the following resolve which is in the handwriting of Mr. Gorham: "Resolved. That the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in consideration of the great distresses into which they are involved in consequence of loss of the whale fishery be permitted to receive protections from the Commanding Officer of his Britannick Majesty's ships in North America for their vessels in the prosecution of said fishery and such protections shall not operate to the condemnation of said vessels in any of the Courts of Admiralty within the United States aforesaid; provided that every vessel furnished with said protection be provided with a Certificate from the Selectmen of said Island that she is bona fide the property of the inhabitants of said Island; and provided further that nothing be found on board her but the necessary whaling utensils, provisions for this voyage and the products of the fish taken therein, anything in the ordinance of—against double papers to the contrary notwithstanding." This had its second reading the following day and its third reading and passage the day following (March 22). An order was passed on the 22d granting 35 whaling licenses to the people of Nantucket "to secure the whaling vessels against the penalty from double papers. This order was in consequence of a deputation to Cong's representing the exposed situation of that island the importance of the Whale fishery to the U. S. the danger of its being usurped by other nations & the concurrence of the Enemy in neutralizing such a number of Vessels as w'd carry on the fisheries in an extent necessary for the support of the inhabitants." (1783 p.938)

Blinnd, Thomas	Bunker, David
Badtam, Silvanus	Calder, (or Caldor) Robert
Burges, Ichabod	Case, Moses
Cartwright, William	Coffin, Daniel
Chase, Reuben	Coffin, Henry (?)
Coffin, Ebenezer	Coffin, Timothy
Coffin, Nathan	Collier, Humphrey
Coffin, Valentine	Cole, James
Coleman, C.—	Cocks, Benjamin
Count, Jesse Abner	Dier, James
Daggett, Tristram	Ellis, Simeon
Ellis, Hugh	Fitch, James
Fair, David	Folger, Obadiah
Folger, Asa	Ford, Richard
Forguson, Arthur	Gage, Edward
Frost, Nathaniel	Gardner, Levi
Gage, John	Gerald, Henry
Gardner, Uriah	Harper, Richard
Harden, James	Harris, Thomas Blin
Harris, Blinn	Hunter, Samuel
Harvey, John	Hope, Jack
Hurring, John	Hussey, Paul
Hussey, Stephen	Lope, John
Manter, Gard	Marshall, Samuel
Martler, John	Masey,* Tristram
McCloud, John	Merrick, Christopher†
Mingo, Thomas	Morris, John
Moses, Moses	Murfey, Edward,‡
Murphy, Edward‡	Murphy, Edward‡
Myrick, Christopher, **	Osborn, George
Peas, Mikel ††	Pease, Michael,
Pees, Michael ††	Pease, Reuben
Plaisted, Ichabod	Pinkham, Seth
Rowlin, V.	Probey, William,
Ramsdel, William	Rowen, James
Rhoades, Nathaniel	Shadwell, Thomas
Shaw, William	Stewart, Charles
Tilley, Nathaniel	Tracey, Henry
Webster, James	Weeks,——
Whitehouse, James	Woodward, Joseph‡‡
Woodward, Joseph‡‡	Youmans, Reuben.

The foregoing list seems to contain names of prisoners as well as combatants, but it is difficult now to make a distinction.

*Macy.

†State Archives. Rev. Council Papers. Vol 168-6, p. 210.

‡Evidently the same person.

**Evidently the same as Christopher Merrick.

††Probably the same.

‡‡Probably the same.

The records contain the names of these Nantucket men who were with Com. John Paul Jones in service on board the *Bon Homme Richard* and *Ranger*: Reuben Chase (midshipman), Henry Martin, William Roberts, Thomas Turner, James Chase, Reuben Joy, Albert Cogswell, Nathan Aldrich, Latham Gardner, James Nicholson, Owen Starbuck, Seth Folger, William Nye, Freeman Lufkin, Paul Worth, Henry Gardner, Matthew Starbuck, Barzillai Folger, Stephen Folger, Nelson Aldrich, Charles Crampton.

The names of James Rowen and V. Rowlin, both seamen from Nantucket, appear on the crew list of the privateer *Brigantine Gen.*



THE NATHAN WILBUR MILL, BUILT 1746
(Now owned by the Nantucket Historical Association)

Wayne. Samuel Hunter, born in Nantucket was in Lt. Col. Doty's Co. and Pharaoh Onso was listed in Capt. Peter West's Co.*

As has been previously stated, John Adams, writing from Braintree in 1779, gave the names of 16 Nantucket whaling captains who with their crews had been captured by the English and carried into English ports. Assuming an average of 21 men to a ship, which was the customary number in those days, there would be a total of 336 Nantucket men captured as enumerated there alone.

The records of the Society of Friends show the following list of names of those who were disowned by the Society for active participation with armed men, either of the army or navy:

Thomas Marshall, 7th mo. 1775. Taking up arms.

Shubael Barnard, 10th mo. 1776.

*Probably an Indian.

Wm. Worth, 2d. 3d mo. 1777. Going to sea in a prize vessel.
 Walter Gardner, 7th " " " " " " " " " "

Reuben Barnard, 2d, 8th mo. 1777.

Reuben Gardner, 5th mo. 1778. Going to sea in a prize vessel.

Elihu Coffin, 7th mo. 1778. Going to sea in an armed vessel.

Obediah Coffin, " " " " " " " " " "

Paul Hussey, 12th " " " " " " " " " "

Obediah Folger, 3d " 1779 " " " " " " prize "

Matthew Pinkham, " " " " " " " " " "

Obed Folger, " " " " " " " " " "

David Jenkins " " " " " " " " " "

Stephen Folger, " " " " " " " " armed "

Chris. Ray, 5th " " " " " " " " " "

Silvanus Ray, 8th " " " " " " " " " "

Valentine Coffin, " " " " " " " " prize "

Obed Pinkham, " " " " " " " " armed "

Amos Marshall, 8th mo., 1779 Holding office connected with the War.

Joseph Marshall Jr., 1st mo. 1780. Going to sea in armed vessel

Simeon Folger, 3d " " " " " " " " " "

Nathl. Gardner 7th " " " " " " " " " "

Job Coffin, 8th " " " " " " " " " "

Asa Folger 8th " " " " " " " " " "

James Swain, " " " " " " " " " "

Reuben Ray " " " " " " " " prize "

Chrisr. Mitchell, 9th " " " " " " " " " "

Geo. Coleman, 10th " " " " " " " " " "

Jon. Cartwright 10th " " " " " " " " armed "

John Folger, " " " " " " " " " "

Gideon Worth, " " " " " " " " prize "

David Coffin Jr. 12th " " " " " " " " " "

Josiah Gardner, 1st mo., 1781. Went to sea with guns.

Robert Dennis, 1st mo., 1781. Belonged to a Privateer.

Ben'jn Folger, 3rd mo., 1781. Went to sea in armed vessel.

Solomon Coleman, 3d mo., 1781. Went to sea in armed vessel.

Shubael Gardner, 8th mo., 1781. Went to sea in armed vessel.

Reuben Starbuck, 10th mo., 1781. Being with armed men.

Thaddeus Gardner, 12th mo., 1781. Went to sea in armed vessel.

Robert Coffin, Jr., 12 mo., 1781. Being with armed men.

Job Folger, 12th mo., 1781. Belonged to a Privateer.

William Ray, 2d mo., 1782. Being on an armed vessel.

Tristram Ray, 5th mo., 1782. For Privateering.

Alexander Gardner, 6th mo., 1782. Going on an armed vessel.

Robert Folger, 6th mo., 1782. Going to sea with guns.

Reuben Folger, 2nd., 12th mo., 1782. Being on an armed vessel.

There are 46, all of whom without doubt were loyal to the American government.

A goodly number of the people of Nantucket, while not advocating war, aided the struggling Colonies with funds. Those who are on record as having loaned money to the Colonies are:*

Barker, Josiah,	Ally, Jacob
Barnard, Paul	Barnard, Benjamin Jr.
Barrett, Nathaniel	Barney, Robert
Beard, Matthew	Baxter, Christopher
Bunker, Batchelor	Brook, Thomas
Bunker, Joshua	Bunker, George
Bunker, Silvanus	Bunker, Mary
Butler, William	Burns, John
Barnard, Joseph	Breck, Elijah
Calder, George	Cartwright, Jona'n
Cary, Edward	Chadwick, Richard
Chase, Benjamin	Chase, Stephen
Clark, Thomas	Clarke, Henry
Coffin, Benjamin	Coffin, Elijah
Coffin, Josiah	Coffin, Micajah
Coffin, Nathan	Coffin, Peleg, Jr.
Coffin, Ruth	Coffin, Shubael
Colburn, Timothy	Drew, Gershom
Fish, Stephen	Fitch, Peter
Fitch, Timothy	Folger, Barzillai
Folger, Benjamin	Folger, George
Folger, Jonathan	Folger, Owen
Folger, Peregrine	Folger, Sylvanus
Folger, Timothy	Folger, Tristram
Folger, William	Gardner, Eliz'a
Gardner, Gideon	Gardner, Joseph
Gardner, Reuben†	Gardner, Zechariah
Gelston, Nath'el	Gelston, Cotton
Giles, Reuben	Hussey, Batchelor
Hussey, Christopher	Hussey, Christopher & Son
Hussey, Joseph	Hussey & Snow
Jenkins, Jon'a†	Jenkins, Thomas
Kelly, Daniel	Lealand, Mehetabel†
Lealand, Hopestill†	Lawrence, George
Long, John	Macy, Caleb
Macy, Seth	Macy, Zaccheus
Marshall, Josiah	Merrifield, Asa†
Mirick, Jethro	Mirick, Joseph
Morris, John	Myrick, And'w
Myrick, Jethro‡	Myrick, William
Nichols, Joseph	Paddack, Silas

*Third Report National Society D. A. R. Oct. 1898—Oct. 1900, pp. 316 to 345.

†Recorded as of Sherburne. Probably the Lealands and Merrifield were of Sherborn, Middlesex County.

‡Probably the same as Mirick Jethro.

Paddock, Stephen
Pease, Elijah
Pinkham, John
Pinkham, Paul
Roby, Joseph
Rotch, William
Russell, Sam'l Jr.
Smith, Job
Squire, David
Swain, Simeon
Worth, John

Pease, Abraham
Pierce, Jere'h
Pinkham, Jonathan
Pinkham, Tristram
Ross, Isaac
Russell, Rich'd
Smith, Henry
Snow, Thomas
Swain, Daniel 2d
Swain, Tristram
Worth, William

CHAPTER VI

THE ROBBERY OF THE NANTUCKET BANK

In June 1795* the Island community was astounded by an event which created a scandal that it did not recover from for more than quarter of a century. Its effects permeated the civil and political life of the Islanders so long as any of the parties involved lived. Indeed one can apparently trace the line of cleavage on the most serious questions involving Town, State and National affairs from a point beyond the time of the War of 1812 back to the fateful 26th of June 1795, when, with the suddenness well conveyed by the hackneyed but appropriate expression, "like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky," the people were told that the Nantucket Bank had been robbed. It is largely because of its far-reaching effects that the incident becomes of historical value.

Mrs. Fanning's Diary contains this entry—"Friday, June 26. A general alarm—the Nantuckett bank robbed of a large sum of money. tis supposed keys were made for the purpose. there was 5 locks to unlock 2 iron doors to open. it was thought to be quite secure."

The Bank had been established to facilitate business, after long consideration, and was duly chartered by the Commonwealth, with a capital of \$40,000 to be paid in three instalments. One instalment had been paid, and as the Bank had already begun business there had been considerable deposits made. The robber or robbers had carried away the entire paid-in capital and some \$8,000 additional.† "The loss of the money," says Mr. Macy,‡‡ was not a consideration, compared with the vindictive spirit which the robbery afterwards occasioned. The effects on the community at large were solemn. Many who were not immediately concerned, had to

*The name of the Town was changed from Sherburne to Nantucket June 8, 1795. There already was a town of Sherborn in Middlesex County incorporated. Its name was spelled Sherbourne and it was incorporated Oct. 7. 1674.

†The list of losses as stated is

400 pieces French coined Gold—Value	\$1733.
150 Spanish Pistoles	550.
300 English Guineas	1400.
50 English Half Guineas	116.
22 Pieces of coined Gold Called Half Joannes	176.
18 Pieces of coined Gold called Quarter Joannes	72.
In Dollars	12,007.
4430 French Crowns	4,873.

\$20.927

‡‡Hist. of Nantucket p. 145.

deplore the unhappy state in which their friends and neighbors were involved, and out of the reach of a mediator."

Nantucket at the time was a busy seaport and there must have been at all times strangers in port, and yet suspicion seemed to center on well-known and previously respected citizens. Hysteria seemed to assume the place of reason and testimony was given in Court seemingly based more on imagination than facts.

When the Directors first discovered the robbery, about a week before it actually was made public, it was agreed by them to keep it secret as a precautionary measure to prevent a run on the Bank.* The Boston stockholders advocated the immediate payment of the second instalment on the capital, and that was done, in the meantime a reward of \$1,000 was offered for the apprehension of the thieves. Men were put under arrest and haled into Court on very flimsy suspicion, and the strongest evidence against them appeared to be that of women whom it is charitable to believe were hysterical and imaginative, and of men, whose stories subsequent events proved must have been far from true. Indeed, from sufficient evidence it appears as though some of the Bank Directors had determined in their own minds on who the guilty parties were, and bent every energy to prove their convictions true, even venturing critically near the appearance of bribery to produce confirmatory testimony. The case was transferred to Suffolk County and in September 1796, the Grand Jury of Suffolk County failed to find a bill against the parties suspected. The following year the case again came before a Grand Jury of the County, who found a true bill against five Nantucket men, prominent citizens, for robbing the Bank. On September 12, the Petit Jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," for four of them, and guilty for the fifth.†

In the meantime some of the men who had been falsely accused of the crime, not satisfied with the mere verdict of "not guilty" by the Jury, set out to determine who the guilty parties were. It was satisfactorily proven that the robbery was committed by three notorious burglars—John Clark, Jr., William Witherly, alias Zeb Weathers, with sundry other aliases, and Samuel Johnson, alias Jones.‡ It does not appear that any of the money was ever recovered. The whole story would seem incredible in its unfolding, if the proof as given in affidavits, in the published history of the crime, were not so irrefutable.

So thoroughly did the venom of suspicion permeate the community that no proof of innocence, however direct and positive seemed

*Narrative of the Robbery of the Nantucket Bank p. 1.

†The Court was so fully impressed of the innocence of the convicted man that sentence was deferred and he was released by the Governor without ever having been sentenced.

‡Some idea of the long abiding bitterness engendered may be gained by the fact that in 1816, twenty-one years after the robbery occurred, two of the men unjustly accused, compiled and had printed the story of the robbery with documentary proof of who the real robbers were and the unexplained neglect through which the criminals were allowed to escape. A statement by Mrs. Kezia Fanning throws an interesting side-light on this unfortunate affair.

to suffice to convince those who had already determined in their own minds that their neighbors, hitherto thoroughly respected in the community, were guilty of this outrage. Years passed on but still "suspicion poisoned his brothers cup." It is stated that one prominent and trusted citizen, who died 20 years after the robbery, was so disturbed by the treatment which he received that when upon his death-bed, he called around him those who were locally most active in the affair and asked them to bear witness that on his death-bed he entirely disavowed all participa-



MAJOR JOSIAH COFFIN HOUSE

Built 1724

tion in or knowledge of any matter connected directly or indirectly with the robbery.

Those against whom accusations were most pitilessly directed, and who were determined that their innocence should be proved beyond a peradventure, at once set to work to ascertain if possible who the guilty parties were, but it was years before they had gathered the oral and documentary evidence, to prove beyond a doubt that no one belonging to Nantucket had any connection with the case directly or indirectly, but that three notorious criminals of extended reputation, were the thieves. The result of their investigations pursued untiringly was published as soon as completed, which was not until 1816.

The identity of the thieves was disclosed in an interesting way in January 1816 when Alexander Coffin, Jr., an officer in

the State's Prison in New York, wrote to William Coffin, Esq., of Nantucket, that they had a man confined in the prison there who gave so circumstantial an account of the robbery of the Nantucket Bank that there was little doubt but he was one of the gang. The clue was followed up, and it showed that three notorious thieves, James Witherly, John Clark and Samuel Johnson, who made some skeleton keys, after Clark had been to Nantucket three times to get familiar with the field. Apparently the only reason that the thieves did not take all the cash there was there, was because they unexpectedly encountered a locked door they were not prepared for and had to make a pewter key to unlock it and they lost two hours time. They came to the Island in a small vessel and after securing their booty left at once.

Business had begun to improve with the Islanders in spite of low prices and indifferent markets. So many discouragements had caused many emigrations from the island, but those who remained had to turn their attention to some pursuit whereby to gain a livelihood and there was nothing at which they were adept but whaling.* In 1796 twelve ships went on whaling voyages from Nantucket, going, as a rule to the Brazil Banks and to Woolwich Bay. In 1797 fifteen ships sailed from Nantucket, some of which went to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1799, came trouble from another source. The Spanish government on the west coast of South America was clearly hostile to American whalers and seized them in port upon the slightest pretext. A marked instance was that of the ship *Commerce*, Capt. Amaziah Gardner. The captain, mate and boat's crew were seized by the Spaniards at St. Mary's in January 1799 and were barbarously treated.†

*It would be an interesting matter to go into the detail of the emigrations from Nantucket caused by war, depressed business, the "California Fever" as the migration of the Forty Niners to the Golden Gate was called, and other adversities. Just before, during and immediately following the Revolution quite a colony of Nantucketers went to New Gardren, North Carolina and established themselves. From there they spread through East Tennessee, into Indianna and other parts of the middle West. Until within a very short time they have held Starbuck family reunions in Indianna every summer and on some occasions over 100 were present. Parties also migrated to Ohio, and up the Hudson river to Poughkeepsie, Hudson and Troy. Hudson is said to have been founded by Nantucketers. Quite a number of the Islanders settled in Barrington, Nova Scotia just prior to the Revolution, and after it still others settled in Halifax and Dartmouth. Some went to Dunkirk France, but as a rule they returned; others went to Milford Haven, Wales, and remained there. Another delegation went to Ravenna, Ohio. Indeed there is hardly a section of the country where one may not run across a native of Nantucket.

†The *Tryal*, of Nantucket, was seized and condemned, and the *Antonomah*, of Norwich, Conn. was seized. France lost no opportunities to harrass the English whale fishery, and the fact that she became imbroiled in trouble with the United States did not make matters any more
(See next page.)

From this time until the Second War with England, the Islanders pursued their occupation with a gradually augmenting fleet. This occurred even despite the threatened trouble earlier between England and the United States. In 1802, Nantucket increased her whaling fleet by five, sending out 20 ships, besides two small vessels. The embargo of 1807, temporarily disturbed the fishery but it recovered and in 1811, the fleet that left Nantucket for the whaling grounds numbered 24 ships, 1 brig, 3 schooners and 3 sloops.

As early as 1803, the attention of the people of Nantucket began to be more particularly directed to devising some means for overcoming the serious handicap to business resulting from the existence of the bar off the mouth of the harbor. A heavy expense was incurred by the necessity of sending ships over the bar light and receiving them again practically empty as it was necessary to employ many lighters. Some had contended that lightering had its compensations in the employment of more men, but it was necessarily a crude logic that could find it advantageous to increase the cost of a commodity one is obliged to sell in competition. Up to the year 1803, however, no plan had been devised to remedy the difficulty. In that year, says Macy*, a proposition was then made at a Town Meeting, to petition Congress to assist Nantucket, in any way which might be deemed expedient, in digging a channel from Brant Point to the outer part of the outer bar. The subject underwent a long discussion: many were opposed to it, from an apprehension that Government would not grant the request; but a committee was at length appointed to bear a petition to Congress, and to use their endeavors to carry it into effect. The Committee, on their return, reported that Congress had so far attended to the request, as to authorize the appointment of suitable persons to survey the harbor and bar, at the expense of the government, and to estimate the probable expense of the undertaking. This report was very flattering and satisfactory to the people in general, and a committee of five† was chosen to wait on the surveyors, when they should arrive at the Island, and to act as necessity should require in carrying the whole subject into effect. A larger com-

comfortable for Nantucket men pursuing the business from English ports. In 1805 Capt. Peter Bunker, commanding the ship *Falkland*. Capt. Obed Folger, commanding the ship *Ganges*, Capt Christopher Bunker, commanding the ship *Kent*, and Henry Bunker, a mate were captured by the French. The *Falkland* and probably the *Ganges* had been among those sailing under the Rotch flag from Dunkirk and they had been captured by the English. Not content with imprisoning their captives in some port the French treated them brutally compelling them to walk from the coast to Verdun, their shoes and stockings worn out and their captors continually endeavoring to accelerate their movements by prodding them with sharpened sticks, like the goads used on oxen. There they, or some of them, were held for five weary years. Their letters to their families in Nantucket were pathetic longings for liberty and a restoration to their island home. In the case of Capt. Peleg Bunker release finally came but his body, weakened by confinement, could not withstand the reaction and on being set free he dropped dead from the excitement.

*Hist of Nantucket pp 152-3-4. The meeting was held Jan 8. 1803.

†Gideon Gardner, Isaac Coffin Esq., Obed Mitchell, George G. Hussey, Francis Macy.

mittee was also chosen to assist by advice or otherwise in forwarding the important work.*

Many were now so elated with the prospect of effecting the desirable object, that their views extended from digging a channel to building stone piers from the points of Coatue and Brant Point in a northerly direction to the outer bar, or as far as should be found expedient to accomplish the end in view. This plan, differing so much from the one first proposed, met with great opposition. The subject became the common topic of conversation. The people, generally, opposed every plan but the original one, that of digging a channel, from the conviction that piers would be the means of obstructing the navigation, by causing new shoals, and that, being built of stone, they would endanger passing vessels, especially in the night.

In the summer of the same year, the surveyors arrived and very diligently attended to the business of their appointment. The Committee of the Town faithfully waited on them till the survey was completed. They had been led by observation, to believe that stone piers would be injurious to the harbor, but they proposed that piles should be driven down, eight or ten feet apart, and the spaces filled with plank, by which means they supposed that the velocity of the tides would be increased, and the channel by that means deepened without much digging.

The Town was again convened for the purpose of hearing the report of the Committee,† who stated that it would be expedient to build wooden piers: one extending from the north-west point of Coatue to the south-west corner of the black flats, the other to begin about one-third of the distance from the end of Brant Point to the Cliff, and to extend to the north-east corner of Cliff Shoal; both upon straight lines.‡ A long debate then ensued, when it appeared that the general voice was against having piers of any kind, from the apprehension that they would cause new shoals, and thus obstruct the entrance of large vessels into the harbor.** No objection, however, was urged against digging a channel, and a Committee was appointed with instructions to use their best endeavors

*Walter Folger, Seth Coffin, Francis Joy, Shubael Barnard, Shubael Coffin, Thaddeus Coffin, Gilbert Coffin, Zenus Coffin, John Cartwright, Silas Jones, Christopher Mitchell, Richard Mitchell, Joseph Chase, Zaccheus Hussey, Tristram Hussey, William Macy, Silvanus Macy, Peter Chase, John Swain, Josiah Barker Jr.

†Presumably Nantucket was not different from other Massachusetts towns. Few committee reports appear to be preserved, and if there is a synopsis in the Records it usually is unsatisfactory. Many side lights of local affairs that would prove exceedingly interesting are thereby lost.

‡Hon Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, issued an order July 25, 1803 for Samuel Cox and John Foster Williams to make the needed survey and the report followed their suggestions. The estimated expense was \$30,000. Mr. Williams advised the appointment of a Committee to urge the matter with Congress. In a letter he wrote he said of the project—"If you get it done I hope it will exceed your most Sanguine Expectations and that it will prove a Lasting benefit to your Commerce."

**The Town voted "That the Town will not have any piers built on the black flats and of from brant point." A motion at the next meeting to reconsider the vote was lost 250 to 400.

to have the original plan of deepening the water by digging carried into effect. But when Congress next met, the proposition was rejected, and thus the whole matter ended.

The whale fishery was continued with a gradually increasing fleet and with a fair measure of success up to the beginning of the War of 1812. The price of sperm oil fluctuated considerably.* but on the whole the prices appeared to be remunerative. The Embargo, following the outrageous acts of the British Government towards the American merchant marine was a temporary check not so much from the risk encountered as from the prohibitive rates of insurance.† For a while business was stagnant. In 1809, says Macy,‡ “many families, wearied with the vicissitudes almost daily experienced, removed to different parts of the country. The streets of the Town were thronged with the laboring poor, already so reduced as to be quite at a loss to know whence articles of the first necessity were to be obtained; some were quite destitute of the means of subsistence.”

Some difficulty must have been encountered in importing provisions, for in October, 1808, the Selectmen were appointed a Committee “to Investigate the Imbarrist Situation Respecting the Importation of provisions.” The Selectmen reported later in the month with a petition addressed to the President of the United States asking relief, which the meeting adopted and ordered sent.

As time passed on, the rumors of a possibility of war became more emphatic.** It seemed as though no effort was made to prevent it. The arrogance of England was mated with the determination on the part of those in America who had little or nothing to lose. There is no question but New England was at the beginning opposed to the war, although, theoretically, New England was the principal sufferer from the alleged causes provocative of it.

*In 1804, \$1.40 per gallon; 1805, .96; 1806, .80; 1807, \$1.00; 1808, .80; 1809, .60; 1810, .75; from 1811 to 1817 it ranged from \$1.00 to \$1.25.

†The Pacific Bank was incorporated in 1804; also the Nantucket and Union Marine Insurance Companies. Macy records (p. 156) that at this time of the 48 ships owned on the Island not one was in port.

‡Macy p. 156. †Ib. p. 158. By the census of 1810 there were 6807 inhabitants of whom 210 were over 70 yrs. of age; 379 widows; 474 fatherless children; 1322 families; 2055 ratable polls; 937 dwelling houses; 872 other buildings; 332 horses; 15 oxen; 505 cows; 355 swine; about 10,000 sheep.

**It is quite interesting to note the progressiveness of the people at this time. As previously shown they were early believers in inoculation as a preventive of small pox. And that belief seems to have been constant. Under date of April 21, 1810, the Town ordered the Health Committee “to superintend the business Respecting the Cow pox to Investigate the subject and Report at some futer Town meeing.” The Committee reported October 30, 1810 that “they find there are four thousand one hundred and twenty-six belonging in this Town who have not had Either the small pox or the Kine Pox and from what Information they have been able to Collect your Committee believe all who are Willing to have the Kine pox may be Innoculated for twelve Cents and a half Cent for Each person. If the Town will guarantee the payment.”

WALTER FOLGER JUNR,
JEDIDIAH FITCH,
ANDREW PINKHAM,
FRANCIS MACY,
JOSHUA COFFIN,

The Town voted that the Health Committee “Introduce & carry on the Inoculation of Kine Pox at the Town expense in conformity to the report at 12 1-2 cents per head.

The people of Nantucket had not had time to forget the distressing situations encountered during the Revolutionary War, emphasized by the fact that in their isolated situation their own country could afford them little protection

Before the year 1811 closed, Macy says, "sixty dwelling-houses were offered for sale, the owners of which intended to go into the country.* Many of those who removed went to Ohio.

*P 160.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR OF 1812

As though in response to the quotation,

“When troubles come they come not singly
But in whole battalions,”

came the report that American whalers were meeting with trouble on the Pacific Coast of South America. Peruvian privateers were continually plundering them and cutting them out from Chilean ports where they had gone to recruit. The chronic condition of affairs on that coast being a state of war, the United States Government sent the Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, to the locality to look after the interests of American commerce and see that it was properly protected. For several months, however, his remonstrances had been worse than useless. The declaration of war between England and the United States gave the Peruvians a fresh pretext to exercise their piratical proclivities. They claimed to be allies of England, and that, as such, their acts were justifiable. An expedition was equipped by the authorities at Lima and succeeded in capturing the towns of Concepcion and Talcahuano. In the latter port was a large number of American ships, many of which were whalers. Having obtained their cargoes of oil, they had put in there to recruit with fresh provisions and water previous to starting on the homeward voyage. Among the ships were the *Criterion*, Capt. William Clark; the *Mary Ann*, Capt. George Russell, Jr.; the *Monticello*, Capt. Barzillai Coffin; the *Chili*, Capt. Robert Gardner Jun'r; the *John & James* — — —; the *Lima*, Capt. — — — Swain; the *Lion*, Capt. — — — Paddock; the *Sukey*, Capt. John Macy; the *Gardner*, Capt. Isaiah Ray; the *President*, Capt. Solomon Folger; the *Perseveranda*, Capt. Thomas Paddock; and the *Atlas*, Capt. Obed Joy; all of Nantucket. These vessels were detained in the port by the Limian expedition, which consisted of two-men-of-war and about 1500 troops. They found a bag containing about \$800 on board the *President*, and, possibly thinking no one man could acquire so much real money honestly, carried her captain, ashore under a guard and imprisoned her remaining officers and crew, excepting the mate, one boat-steerer, and the cook.

Poinsett on learning of the state of affairs immediately joined the Chilean army and directed its movements. On May 15th, the two contending forces met in battle near the town of San Carlos.

The close of the day found neither side victorious. Putting himself at the head of 400 picked men Poinsett, under cover of the night, marched directly to Talcahuano, whither the Limian army had withdrawn. The town was immediately carried by storm and the detained whalers were released.* Some of the ships having had their papers destroyed, Poinsett furnished them with consular certificates. The Peruvians were taught a lesson they did not easily forget.

In 1812, there being no cessation of the infringements on American shipping by the English the United States began to prepare for war. The people of Nantucket still hoped hostilities would be averted and that the Orders in Council, on which the contention was almost wholly founded, would be revoked. Clinging to this opinion the Islanders continued to send their ships on their voyages, four being dispatched in 1812, the *Brothers*, *Charles*, *Lima* and *President*, all of which were sent to the Pacific Ocean. These all returned to the home port in safety, though with comparatively small voyages. Besides those the brig *Diana*, the schooners *Mount Hope*, *President* and *Thetis* and the sloops *Dove* and *Nancy* were sent on Atlantic voyages. Of these the *Diana*, *Dove* and *President* learned that war had been declared and came home. The schooner *Mount Hope* did not fare so well. She was the first Nantucket whaler to fall a victim to the English. She was captured July 9, 1812, and burned, with her catch of 170 barrels of sperm oil.

While it is not likely that either political party in Nantucket favored hostilities, it is entirely true that political lines in their local application were very sharply drawn and the question of sending Representatives to the General Court was provocative of the most discreditable outbreaks ever witnessed in the Town Meetings of the Island. With a singular reticence as to the actual happenings the Town Records contain no word that even remotely hints that anything out of the usual course had happened†

The New Bedford Mercury contained a letter dated at Nantucket May 2, 1812 which records one such occasion in these words—"We had this day the most turbulent Town Meeting that was ever held at Nantucket. Immediately after the Clerk had read the warrant for calling the meeting, one of the Selectmen called on the inhabitants to give in their votes for one or more Representatives. A gentleman belonging to the Federal party,‡ immediately rose and requested the people to stop a moment, as he was about to submit a motion to the consideration of the Meeting; but apparently, as if preconcerted, three or four persons while he was speaking, threw their votes into the box. The impropriety of receiving votes before the town had determined how many Representatives they had a right to send and how many they would send,

*Nantucket Inquirer Aug 9, 1824; also Inquirer and Mirror September 14, 1872. In the latter paper is an account of the affair written by Capt. Nathaniel Fitzgerald, who was a member of the crew of one of the detained whalers.

†The prominent men on the opposite sides in Town controversies seem to have been to quite a material extent the same ones who lined up as accusers and accused in the matter of the Bank robbery.

‡The Democrats were to all intents and purposes the party of today while the Federalists were the Republicans of today.

was strongly represented. While treating on the subject all was confusion; however, a motion was made and seconded, to send but one Representative—It was the first and only motion made; but the Selectmen utterly refused it and would not admit a vote to be taken on the question; and persisted in calling on the people to bring in their votes for one or more Representatives.*—At the close of the meeting, they declared that nine Representatives were chosen. Their names are Micajah Coffin, Micajah Gardner, Shubael Coffin, Coffin Whippey, Obadiah Folger, Simeon Coleman, Jedediah Fitch, George Cannon and Archelaus Hammond. The highest number of votes for the above list was 431;—the highest on the federal ticket, 337."

A remonstrance was immediately prepared and forwarded to the House of Representatives setting forth that "The subscribers, Inhabitants & legal voters in the Town of Nantucket in the County of Nantucket humbly represent that Micajah Coffin, George Cannon, Shubael Coffin, Micajah Gardner, Jedediah Fitch, Obadiah Folger, Coffin Whippey, Archelus Hammond, Esquire & Simeon Coleman, are returned Representatives for the Town of Nantucket this present year. And believing that the purity of Elections is the chief pillar of Freedom, and believing that to detect errors & irregularities in our Elections is not only a right but a duty of all good Citizens we take the liberty to remonstrate against Micajah Coffin, George Cannon, Shubael Coffin, Micajah Gardner, Jedediah Fitch, Obadiah Folger, Coffin Whippey, Archelus Hammond Esquire & Simeon Coleman, holding their seats as Presentatives for the Town of Nantucket the present year for the following reasons:

Firstly. We state that the meeting at which the above men were chosen, was illegally warned, and contrary to the practice of eighty-seven years except in two or three instances of extreme cases.

Secondly. That when the Town had assembled for the purpose of the choice of Representatives, a motion was made & seconded to determine the number they would send (which has been the practice time out of mind); the Selectmen who presided at the meeting refused to put that motion, or any other that was offered, but called for the Votes to be brought in for one or more. some voted for one some for eight & others for nine.

Thirdly. That the Selectmen who presided at the meeting were not sworn or affirmed as by Law they ought to have been.

Fourthly. That the meeting was irregular, illegal & tumultuous and the votes put in in such a manner that it was impossible for the Selectmen to determine whether all that Voted were legal voters or whether they put in one or more Votes.

Nantucket May 19, 1812.

To prove the first point in the Remonstrance we want a certified copy from the Town Record for calling Town Meetings passed the 17th day of 1st month 17 24-25 which is as follows:

Voted that the method for the future to warn the Town Meetings shall be to set up a notification on the two meeting

*The Selectmen elected at the April Meeting were Seth Coffin, Latham Gardner, Obadiah Folger, Griffin Barney, Gorham Coffin Gilbert Coffin and Silvanus Macy. Each town paid its own representatives for service, and determined how many or how few would be sent up to the limit.

houses, and the Town House, setting forth the occasion of the meeting. Unless in such a case that a meeting must be before any first day of the week happens, then to be warned after the former way;

the dates of the Warrants (on file at the Clerk's office) for calling meetings for choice of Representatives, Likewise the time that the meetings were held—however the Warrants themselves express when the meetings were to be—that must be certified by the Town Clerk.

The 2d point a certified copy of the meetings from 1784 to 1811 where it will appear that the first Vote taken was always to determine the number of Representatives they will send, likewise some depositions to prove that as soon as possible after the meeting was opened a motion was put by William Coffin to send one Representative which motion was seconded & that the Selectmen Refused to put the motion & did not put it, that they called for Votes to be brought in for one or more persons to Represent the Town, that the meeting was perfectly orderly untill after this motion was made, seconded & refused to be put, after which all was confusion, that while the confusion lasted a great number of Votes were put into the box & a number handed to the Selectmen. that one-half or more of the whole votes were collected & put into the box in such a manner that had the Selectmen have been ever so much on the watch to prevent illegal Voters or prevent people from putting in more than one it would have been out of their power, likewise that while the disorder continued two of the Selectmen viz. Silvanus Macy & Seth Coffin appeared to be the most out of order of any person present—making use of irritating language—& generally speaking that the meeting was disorderly—that the Selectmen refused to put any motion that was offered—that there was no Moderator nor Chairman—that one Selectman would call for the Votes for one or more, another would say from one to nine &c.

3rd point—That may be proved negatively by their being qualified afterwards should that be the case, certain it is that if they had been qualified before the meeting which they might have been by a Justice of the Peace, the Town Clerk ought to have known if their certificate should have been on record,—presumption is strong they had not been.*

4th point will be proved generally by the evidence on the other points.

A copy of the Warrant for the meeting with the Constable's return was presented in evidence.

Just what became of the remonstrance and what action, if any, the House of Representatives took does not appear from the Journal of the House.†

*The record of the meeting says: "At a meeting of the Male Inhabitants of the Town of Nantucket qualified by law to vote for Representatives at the Town House in Nantucket May 2. 1812 for the choise of one or more persons for Representatives to represent the Town of Nantucket at the general Court that is, to be convend and held in Boston the 27 of May 1812——The votes being brought in Sorted and Counted there appeared for Micajah Coffin 431 votes;" for Shubael Coffin 429; Micajah Gardner 424; Coffin Whippy 430; Archalus Hammond 429; George Cannon 425; Obadiah Folger 429; Simeon Coleman 425; Jedidiah Fitch 425; Benjamin Coffin 2d. 322; Thaddeus Joy 320; Thaddeus Coffin 320; Aaron Mitchell 323; David Myrick 320; Benjamin Walcut 319; Jared Gardner 319; William Riddel 319; Samuel Bigalow 319; Griffin Barney, George Gardner, Simeon Brewer, Peleg Macy Jr., Peleg Macy, Silvanus Coleman, David Worth, Simeon Coffin Jr., Joshua Coffin, Reuben R. Bunker, David Elkins, Joseph Davis, Ralf Kilborn, Benjamin Glover, one vote each.

†Unpublished M. S.

On May 9, 1812, the Town, in Town Meeting assembled, appointed the Selectmen, a Committee to prepare a Memorial to lay before Congress "on the subject of our present foreign Relations, wishing to avoid War." The Committee reported with the following:

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, the memorial of the inhabitants of Nantucket respectfully sheweth:

That from a Conviction of their Rights to assemble and deliberate in a peaceful manner, they have this day Convened in legal Town meeting, to Consider the serious and alarming situation, in which the Politics of the Nation seem to be placed. They are aware of the legal and Exalted position in which you are placed by the people, and believe you are Constantly Disposed, not only to prevent, but to alleviate, the distresses of every section of the Union. It is under that impression that they now address you; as they are persuaded their situation is not fully known to many of you, they take the liberty of a Retrospective view.

In the year 1775, they were in possession of one hundred and fifty sail of vessels, which were employed in the whale fisheries; they had also several more employed as, Coasters, and in the Merchant service. When the Revolutionary War commenced, the greater part of the seamen were Compelled to leave their heretofore peaceful occupations, and engage in a kind of employ not suited to their former habits, in Consequence of which a great number of valuable and Enterprising men were brought to an untimely end,* and hundreds of widows, with many fatherless Children, were left with only a precarious dependence on the Charity of surviving friends.

Your Memorialists would also further observe, that, in addition to the Common Calamities of Maritime War, their Harbor was frequently visited by Ravaging Enemies, whose Insatiable thirst for plunder and devastation Left but little for the subsistence of the Inhabitants, and Eventually the once flourishing Town of Nantucket was left resembling an abandoned Village.

After the blessings of peace were Restored, the spirit of enterprise again displayed its feeble but pleasing Countenance, and the progressing Industry and perseverance of the Citizens has in a degree surmounted the Evils of the War, as a general state of comfort is prevailing, while some are above necessity and others are opulant. Therefore after viewing things as they actually are and Considering that Nantucket is an Island that may be Invaded at any point and its situation without or beyond a protecting Distance from the Continent your Memorialists Cannot under these gloomy circumstances fail to Deplore the Necessity of Commencing a foreign War, and we are probably influenced in our feelings from knowing the Miseries of those that are so unfortunate as to fall within the vortex occasioned by the Conflicting powers of Europe.

It is further observable that seven Eighths of the Mercantile capital is now at sea, three fourths of which is not Expected to Return within Twelve months from the present date.

To conclude—while your Memorialists feel that Confident assurance which ought to possess the minds of the people towards their Rulers they can have no desire to controul yet they have no hesitation Respectfully to declare their belief that the declaration

*Macy p. 118.

of a Foreign War would be desolating to the Inhabitants of this Island. And it will be the Constant Prayer of your Memorialists that the necessity of such a Declaration may be averted.

Countersigned by ISAAC COFFIN Moderator

Attest JAMES COFFIN Town Clerk

Nantucket 9th 5th mo. 1812."*

Mr. Macy says†—"This memorial was read three times, and claimed the serious attention of the people; solemnity pervaded the whole meeting in a striking manner. After some pertinent remarks, it was unanimously voted to accept it, and the Selectmen were made a committee to forward it to Congress."

It seems a little singular that New England, the section ostensibly most affected by the aggressions of the British, was the section most strongly opposed to the War, but such appears to be the fact. Doubtless some of the reports of English depredations were much exaggerated as were those regarding the men from Nantucket who were impressed. Nevertheless the overbearing insolence of the commanders of English vessels of war in overhauling American vessels, even although not going to the extent of removing men from them was a thing no self-respecting nation could put up with. War was inevitable unless the English discontinued their aggressions. Nantucket was in much the same situation as

*One of the strongest arguments in justification of the war was the impressment of American seamen by English vessels of war, doubtless done somewhat but not to the extent claimed.

On March 26, 1813, the New Bedford Mercury published a list of seamen the English were said to have impressed said to be from Nantucket. They were (1) Clement Coffin, (2) Francis Coffin Jr., (3) Timothy Myrick, (4) William Bunker, (5) Jacob Smith, (6) William Fitzgerald, (7) John Rice, (8) ————Huttlestone, (9) Moses Coffin, (10) Ebenezer Clark, (11) Obed Hussey, (12) Silvanus Jones, (13) John Christian, (14) Zimri Gardner, (15) William Stewart, (16) Duncan Thomas (17) John Logan, (18) Bartlett Coffin, (19) Ambrose Giles, (20) John Black. The Washington Benevolent Society had made an investigation with these results; No 1—born in Nantucket, went to Halifax 1786, and had been most of the time under the British flag—whaling, etc. No. 2, was born at Nantucket; impressed on board the Indefatigable in 1806 and carried to Plymouth and forced into an English man of war. No. 3 was born at Nantucket and had told a Townsman that he had entered on the Maidstorm frigate. No 4 was born in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia of Nantucket parents; No. 6 was born at Nantucket, was impressed and discharged; No. 8 was born at Nantucket, volunteered on an English ship of war; No. 9 was born at Nantucket,—was discharged; No. 11, Obed Hussey, born at Nantucket, was captured and discharged; No. 12, born at Nantucket, been absent from the Island 14 years and not heard from by his parents for seven years; No. 14, born at Nantucket—sailed in 1790—changed situations with a man on a British whaler—sailed several voyages—entered British service; No. 19, A Giles, born at Nantucket, impressed and discharged—been in the Poor House since 1804; No. 20, born at Nantucket; No. 5, born at Barnstable; No. 7 does not belong in Nantucket, but a boy, Stephen Rice, was impressed out of sloop Orange, Capt. Whippey and carried to Demarara, but was discharged; Nos. 15 and 16 not Nantucket men—no authentic intelligence to be had; No. 10 is a Vineyard man; No. 13 is a Hamburger, served apprenticeship at Nantucket, was impressed and discharged. Samuel Peters, born at Nantucket, sailed on a whaler that foundered—people saved,—Sailed afterwards from England, was impressed and probably lost on Jutland in the Defence; Timothy Meader, born at Nantucket, was impressed in Liverpool—at last accounts was on a man of war bound to the Baltic. Isaac Bailey, born at Nantucket, impressed in 1810 but discharged. Four of the first thirteen Nantucketers married in England. Only three now on board English vessels and two admit having entered.

†Page 163.

during the War of the Revolution. The people were obliged to import food-stuffs and fuel and their own country could not or at least did not afford them the protection necessary to their existence.

In the Pacific the depredations of the Peruvians did not entirely cease with the punishment administered by Poinsett. They were again emboldened by the breaking out of war between England and the United States. In order to destroy the American whale fishery in the Pacific the English armed their whaling vessels and Peru afforded a port where captured American whaleships could be sent. In the Pacific coast ports where the English and American crews met on equal terms no love was lost between them. The American slogan, "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," was sure to breed trouble with the English crews, and that was just what was intended. Clashes were frequent.*

The Peruvians renewing their piratical acts, the United States Government dispatched Captain David Porter to protect American interests. He made short work of the activities of the Peruvians and effectually broke up the English whale fishery in those parts. The English whalers carried on an average nearly nine guns and were sent out with the intention that they should destroy the American fishery in the Pacific, as well as fill with oil. Capt. Porter captured 12 of them, ranging from the Montezuma with 2 guns (the only one that carried so small a number) to the Seringapatam with 14. The gallant Captain was afterwards captured by an overwhelming force, but he had given the English whalefishery in the Pacific its quietus.

The dominant party in Nantucket at this time was Democratic. The Federalists held a meeting April 30, 1812, attended by a large number of the inhabitants, probably mainly of the same political faith, "to take into consideration the present alarming condition in which the United States appear to be placed. Jethro Mitchell, Jun. was called to the Chair and Josiah Barker was chosen Secretary. After duly considering the business:—

Voted. That John Cartwright, Nymphas Marston, Josiah Barker, Wm Coffin, Peter Hussey, John Swain and Jethro Mitchell Jr., be a Committee, to draught a Petition to Congress, and lay the same before the meeting at an adjournment. Voted that the Meeting be adjourned to the first of May, ensuing.†

*The tendency of the American sailors to make the English ridiculous or to subdue their arrogance is illustrated by the way in which a whaling captain, said to be from Nantucket, treated an English Naval officer whose displeasure he had, perhaps not unintentionally, incurred. To soothe his ruffled honor, the Englishman challenged the American. As the challenged party the American had the choice of weapons and he chose harpoons. They met according to the preliminary arrangements and took their stations. The English officer stood for a moment before the poised harpoon in the hands of the Captain, and then gave way and the duel did not take place. On another similar occasion it is said the American chose pistols and arranged that they were to meet at a certain place, stand back to back, advance a certain number of paces and at the word turn and fire. When the Englishman arrived at the place he found it was the top of a hill and when the required distance was paced off the parties were out of sight of each other. English and American sailors rarely met in port on the west coast of South America in those days without a fight.

†New Bedford Mercury July 3, 1812.

At a meeting held by adjournment, May 1st, 1812, Jethro Mitchell, Jun., Chairman, Josiah Barker, secretary—The Committee which was appointed for that purpose, produced the following Petition, which was read, considered and accepted, without a dissenting voice:

Resolved. That the Chairman and Secretary sign and forward the same to the Congress of the United States.

Petition

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

At A Large number of the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, convened on the first of May, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and twelve, beg leave to express their sentiments and wishes to approach in the language of petition the constituted authorities of the nation, to whom is entrusted the preservation of their rights and the promotion of their happiness. You are the legal guardians of the interests of the people of every part of the United States, however small, and we trust you will not deem us too insignificant to deserve your favorable notice. We view with extreme anxiety and solicitude the present gloomy aspect of our political horizon." After this preliminary expression the petition goes on to represent the privations and distress that would follow and do follow in the wake of restrictions and says that war would mean death to their industries and means of livelihood. Therefore they petition for a modification of the present restrictions. They have now invested in the South Sea fishery property to the value of nearly a million dollars, which means for some their entire property. Congress is urged to take every honorable means to avoid war.

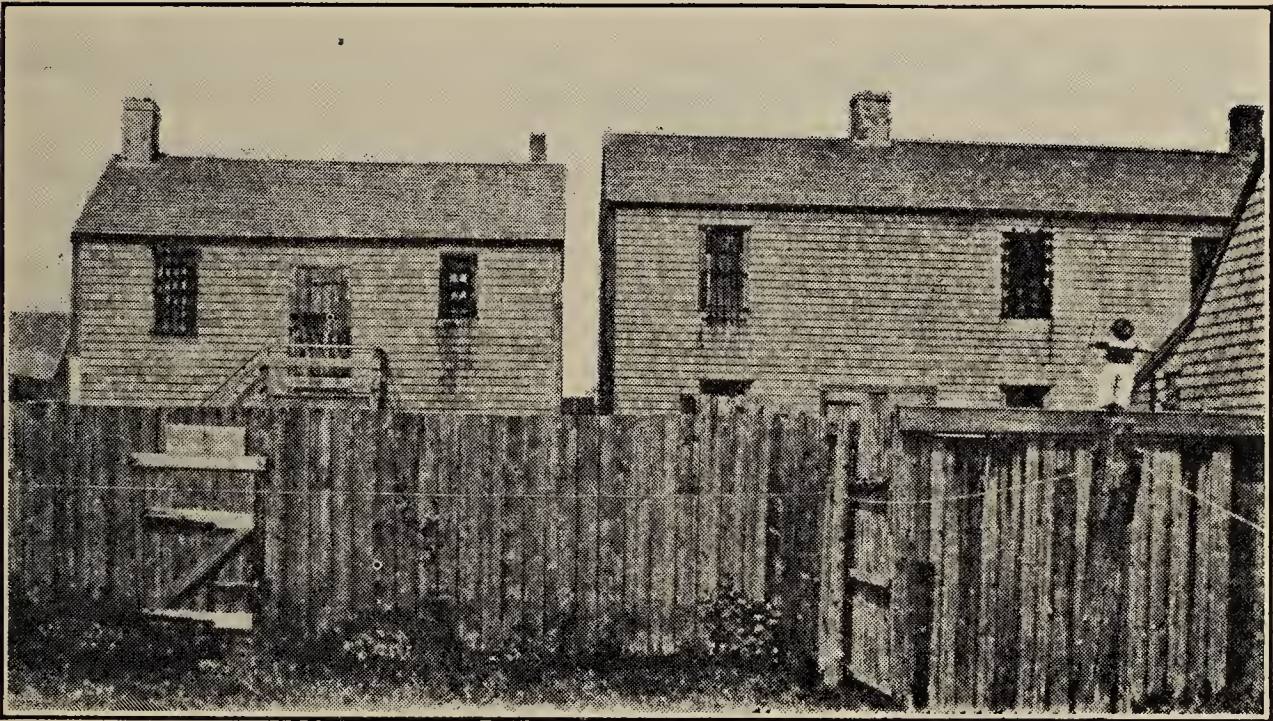
Some of the articles used in the prosecution of the Whale Fishery are imported from England and the petitioners pray for the removal of the restrictions so that the needed articles may be imported. The meetings as recorded showed the trend of the public mind but the records do not seem to show what was done or what specific action was taken on them.

Soon after the formal declaration of war seemed unavoidable the anxiety of the owners of the whaling fleet became so marked that some of the principal of them convened to consult on what measures to take to avert the impending calamity. The plan was suggested of endeavoring to secure the friendly influence of the British minister, who had not then left Washington, to intercede with his home government for the immunity from capture by British vessels of ships belonging to the Nantucket whaling fleet then pursuing their calling in the Pacific Ocean, as well as to obtain the sanction of the English Government for the people of Nantucket to pursue their regular avocations under specified restrictions. As the matter was discussed, however, the opinion arrived at was that there was little prospect of success. Macy says—"It was the opinion of many at that time, and subsequent events have strengthened the opinion, that had the Town united in the attempt, and done all in its power for the promotion of the object, very great

advantages would have resulted. The fleet at sea might, perhaps, have been saved, and the liberty secured to carry on the whale fishing without molestation."*

As it became more apparent that war would ensue business became unsettled or at a standstill. Recalling the privations and sufferings and losses the Islanders encountered during the War of the Revolution, talk of removal into the country became common, but real estate could not be transported and no one wished to purchase.†

June 18, 1812, the United States formally declared war against Great Britain. The news was received in Nantucket June 24, and



THE JAIL AND HOUSE OF CORRECTION

the last vestige of hope, that the clouds would break and peace continue, was shattered. Then followed weeks and months of privation and suffering. The National Government was unable to protect them, and to allow special privileges was a dangerous precedent. The whaling fleet was largely at sea, subject to the depredations of English vessels of war. The first to be reported as falling

*History of Nantucket 165.

†Kezia Fanning in her diary under date of Sunday, June 28, 1812, says "Ten families went away today with Capt. Robinson, bound to Amboy, then to Philadelphia and on to Ohio: Mrs. King, wife & child, Charles Rand & wife, —Butler, wife & family from Chappaquiddick & Richard Folger & family. David Folger & family, Silv. Folger & family, John Starbuck & family. Mrs. Bunker & her granddaughter moved to Wareham. August 8. Obadiah Wood & family moved today to Kennebunk. In his diary Obed Macy notes these removals in the latter part of 1812 additional to those mentioned by Mrs. Fanning: Stephen Briggs, Jona C. Rathbone, Barnabas Coffin, Hepzibah Chadwick, Richard Gardner, Rowland Coleman, Timo Folger, Andrew Pinkham, John Paddack, Charles Coffin 3d, Elisha Folger.

a victim to the enemy was the schooner Mount Hope, David Cottle master, which was captured July 9 while on a whaling voyage on the Atlantic and burned with her catch of 170 barrels of sperm oil. The crew were held as prisoners. At this time the Island fleet of whaling vessels, coasters and merchantmen, consisted of 43 ships, 47 sloops, 7 brigs, and 19 schooners; a total of 116 vessels, with a total tonnage of nearly 11,000 tons.*

The activity of English privateers and cruisers prevented to a great degree the transportation of fuel and provisions and the Islanders were speedily reduced to serious straits. Of this period Mr. Macy, who was contemporary with it, says: "British cruisers were so numerous on the coast, as to render it very hazardous for those coasters to pass, which had usually supplied the market with bread stuffs. Late in the fall no bread-stuff could be bought, and little was expected to be brought to the Island; and there was less wood than had been known for many years. Hundreds of the laboring poor might daily be seen in the streets, destitute of the means of subsistence because destitute of employment."†

With the approach of colder weather conditions became more serious. Running imminent danger of capture several vessels were dispatched to ports to the westward to procure such necessary articles as corn, flour and other provisions. In November a vessel arrived with a cargo of corn, which was sold at the rate of \$1.25 a bushel. Flour sold for \$13.50 a barrel. "Although the price was high," says Macy,‡ "the whole cargo was sold very fast; higher prices would have been obtained, if demanded. It was truly melancholy to see the people thronging and pressing to take their time to be served with articles of food, while many came on board the vessel, equally in want, but destitute of the means to buy. Such a picture of distress had not been displayed since the Revolutionary War. Previous to the war, not a beggar was to be seen in the streets; at this time many received their daily pittance from the hand of charity."

The fear of predatory visits from hostile fleets was ever present, and the Directors of the banks removed what specie could be spared and deposited it for safe keeping on the continent. The knowledge of this occasioned a brief run on the banks by anxious depositors, but it was promptly met and speedily subsided.

The advent of winter was not so serious as had been feared. The importations of provisions and fuel were more successful than were expected. The lack of opportunities for the laboring portion of the people to earn the means to purchase the necessities of life however reduced them to a condition of suffering. While the rich did not get richer the poor grew poorer. In December the troubles already experienced were made more grievous by the first really

*Macy 167.

†Macy 167-8

‡Hist. of Nantucket p. 168.

serious fire the town had experienced for over 40 years.* The fire started in a building on the Old South wharf and before it was extinguished had consumed eight buildings. Fortunately the wind, though brisk, blew from the north and there were no buildings at the leeward of those destroyed.

In the latter part of November, 1812, a number of members of the minority party, the Federalists, felt constrained to address a letter to the President of the United States to acquaint him with the discouraging situation in which the Island was struggling. Their communication was as follows:

Nantucket, November 21st, 1812.

James Madison, Esq., President of the
United States

Sir:—The Republican citizens of Nantucket are conscious, that, when the Government finds it expedient for the support of our National Sovereignty and Independence to declare war, the people must expect to submit to burdens and privations they are not accustomed to in time of peace; but the peculiar situation of Nantucket has induced us to address you.

The Island in its detached situation, being beyond the reach of protection from the Continent, is exposed to the ravages of an enemy. The Island contains a population of nearly seven thousand inhabitants, many of whom were employed in the various mechanic arts and other employments, peculiarly applicable to the Whale Fishery, who, since the declaration of war, have been without employ, and thereby reduced to indigent circumstances.

Experience has taught that the Whale Fishery, for which this place has ever been famed, cannot be prosecuted while it is exposed to the ravages of war; and should it continue, we fear it will in a great degree be lost; it has been considered of such National consequence as to induce both England and France to offer great encouragements to the citizens of this Place to remove and establish it within their Dominions.

We are aware that the Constitution of the United States provides that no preference shall be given to one State over the others; at the same time we are fully sensible, that, when a resort to arms is considered unavoidable, our Government will afford that consistent Relief to such parts of the Community as are deprived of the means of subsistence by a continuation of the war. Such appears to be the Situation we are approaching, as most of the trading Capital of the Island is now in the Southern Ocean, some of which will not be on its return within one year from the present date; and if the war continues, we fully believe the greater part, if not the whole, will fall an easy Prey to the Enemy.

As we are thus situated, and deprived by Nature from obtaining a subsistence on the Island, it seems we have no choice, but that of respectfully soliciting your attention and that of our Government, to our alarming Condition; requesting also Liberty to ask, if in your Wisdom any means can be devised to save our Fleet

*It is quite a singular coincidence that the only other serious fire up to that time was in 1769, when several buildings were destroyed on the same wharf.

of Whale Ships now in the Southern Ocean, and if any Method can be adopted, whereby we may prosecute the Cod and Whale Fisheries without the risk of capture by the Enemy.

We also beg leave to ask, if any Stipulation can consistently be effected with Great Britain, whereby the Cod and Whale Fisheries of both Nations may be exempted from the Ravages of war.

In behalf of the Republican Citizens of Nantucket, we have the honor to be with the greatest Respect, Sir, your obedient Servants."

This petition was signed by the committee which was charged with preparing it and forwarded to the President. There seems to be no report of any action on this petition.

Early in 1813, the waters adjacent to Nantucket became so infested with British vessels of war that safe passage to and from the harbor became a matter of good fortune. Some of the smaller craft laden with provisions, fuel and other supplies were captured. The small sloop Nancy, on a whaling voyage on the Shoals, was captured July 9 when but 24 hours from port. The packet sloop, which carried the mails between Nantucket and Falmouth, was captured, the mails pillaged and the vessel sent into New London. News began to come of the capture of whale ships. The Perseveranda, Paddack, was captured by the frigate Albion January 3d. with 350 barrels of oil. The Hope, Capt. Weeks was taken by the frigate Tribune with a cargo of 200 tons of whale oil; the Alligator was captured and sent into St. Thomas with a full cargo. Some ships ran the gauntlet and put into the nearest port. The New Bedford packet Maria, was chased into Woods Hole by the English privateer, Liverpool Packet. The privateer afterwards anchored off under Nantucket Point and landed some men in a boat. Three days afterwards (April 28) she again anchored under the Point and one Kimbal Perry in a sloop from Sandwich gathered 30 or 40 men armed with guns to capture her. They ran down to the Nantucket Bar but the wind came out ahead and their vessel being slow they abandoned the attempt. The more expensive vessels remaining to the Islanders were hauled up to wait for more propitious times and the cheaper ones only were used to run the blockade.*

Further news came from the whaling fleet a little later.

The Sterling, Jonathan Swain was captured and sent into the Barbadoes where she was sold; the Samuel arrived safely at New Bedford; the Edward, Seth Folger, was captured by one of the armed English whalers sent out to destroy the American fishery; the Rose, James Cary, in the merchant service with a cargo said to be worth \$400,000 was captured and sent in to the Isle of France;

*The unpublished diary of Obed Macy contains the following item which shows that, despite his being a man of peace, if there must be a fight he wanted fair play: Commenting on the capture of the Chesapeake, he writes—"most probable the victory was gained by some stratagem, which had its origin in cowardice, & not by the common method of Tete-a Tete; notwithstanding the Shannon was of superior force. "The subject must rest for farther particulars."

the Rebecca, Jethro Coffin, was taken and sent into Rio Janeiro; the Fame, Job Coffin, with 1200 bbls, sperm oil was captured by an English 74; the Renown, Zaccheus Barnard was captured by a British armed whaleship in the Pacific.*

To add to the abundant troubles with which they were beset the National Government levied a direct tax of \$5,000. The amount itself was small and ordinarily would have cheerfully been paid, but this was a case out of the ordinary and involved particular hardship. It was felt to be especially unjust because the National Government was giving the people of the Island no protection. In this extremity a Town Meeting was called and was convened on November 26, 1813. Isaac Coffin was chosen Moderator. So many voters assembled that the meeting was adjourned to the Friends' Meeting House to accommodate them. It was voted to petition Congress to suspend or mitigate the assessment of direct taxes. It would seem that some one had come prepared with the proper document for it was voted "That the petition or Memorial that has been brought into this meeting and Read be accepted." Gideon Gardner was selected to carry the petition to Congress and it was voted "That in case the petition should not be granted by Congress That Mr. Gideon Gardner is Vested with full power from this Town to accept all or any Relief in behalf of the Town that Congress may grant."

The following is the text of the memorial:

"To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled. The Petition of the Town and County of Nantucket Respectfully sheweth:—

That The unavoidable fate of the War, in which the Nation is Involved, has so reduced them in Circumstances, as seemingly to leave no choice whereby Relief can be obtained, other than by the interference of Congress. Not only as Respects their present Condition, but from distressing appearances, the reality of which, they have reason to believe, will eventually meet them.

They have already Realized the Losses by War in a very Extensive Degree; a number of valuable ships with full Cargoes of oil have been Captured and Totally Lost, and, what is truly lamentable, several of the owners, that were heretofore in opulent Circumstances, are now reduced to indigence. And they have further to anticipate a very considerable, if not a total loss of Fifteen valuable ships, now absent in the Whale fishery. Many vessels Employed as Coasters, and some in the merchant service, have also been Captured and Lost, to a great amount in value.

The Whale Fishery, which has Constantly been Considered the staple of Nantucket, must inevitably decline under the present state of things. In truth the partial failure, already Realized, appears to

*September 28, 1813, A British privateer, cruising off the Shoals, captured the Juno, Obed Ray, on a whaling cruise. The privateer's captain demanded that one of the crew go with two of his own men in the prize to St. Johns. They drew lots to see who should go and it fell upon Alexander Swain, son of Parnal. The vessel never reached port and never was heard from afterwards. The Juno was of 45 tons burden owned by Jeremiah Austin & Sons; value \$1200. (Obed Macy's diary.)

threaten a total Extinction of the means by which that valuable branch has been so successfully prosecuted.

The present stagnation of Mercantile, and also of most other Concerns, has induced, or rather, Compelled hundreds of people to Remove to the Continent, in search of the common Necessaries of life, which Could neither be afforded or procured here, as the small Remaining Capital of our Island is Rapidly Exhausting, without a present prospect of Replenishing. It is neither the Intention or wish of your petitioners to present an Exaggerated account, but merely a statement of facts, which they feel Impelled by duty seriously to Request, that if Consistent some provision may be made, whereby the Fisheries may be prosecuted, without being subject to Losses by War. Your petitioners are aware that the time for Collecting the direct tax and Internal duties is fast Approaching, Respecting which they beg leave to observe, that it appears to have been Contemplated for the defence of the Country. Their detached situation from the Continent prevents almost every benefit that can arise from its appropriation, their Exposed and defenceless Condition Considered with the natural situation of the Island, which Renders it Impossible for adequate defence to be Afforded, are Circumstances which they believe are but partially known to Congress.

The Ruinous Losses already Realized, and those that are anticipated, and seemingly unavoidable, added to a general suspension of the means of subsistence, are circumstances which, when duly Considered, your petitioners are persuaded, will Entitle them not only to Countenance and Commiseration, but to such Consistant Relief as seems Indispensable for their Continued Existance.

ISAAC COFFIN, Moderator,

JAMES COFFIN, Town Clerk."*

Nantucket, 26th., 11th., mo. 1813."

The relief given to the whalemén in the Pacific by the timely and effective work of Captain Porter was now beginning to manifest itself, for the vessels that were released started for the home port. There was much anxiety over them for fear of their being intercepted and a constant lookout for them was kept. Large rewards were offered to any who piloted them safely in or gave such information as should lead to their safe arrival.† On December 4th a chebacco vessel, the Citizen, Daniel Russell, master, from New York to Nantucket, with a cargo of 120 barrels of flour, chased by an English privateer brig near Black Point, Long Island Sound, was run upon a reef and sunk. The flour was saved and carried into New London. About the same time the whaleship Criterion, Captain Clark, which was detained at Conception by the Spaniards on the Pacific Coast, arrived in Rhode Island with a full cargo of sperm oil. The ship Chili was captured by an armed vessel in Tarpaulin

*Concerning this missison Obed Macy says in his diary that Gideon Gardner returned to Nantucket in February and reported that the President listened attentively to what he had to say. He also interviewed the President's wife "diplomatically." He succeeded in having an act passed giving the President authority to grant relief from the embargo. This was to enable the Islanders to import fuel, provisions and other necessities.

†The sum of \$500. was offered to any Vineyard pilot who was successful in getting a whaleship into port. (Mr. Macy's diary.)

Cove.* Quickly following this came the news that the ship *President*, with 1100 barrels of oil, and the *Lima* with 800 barrels had arrived safely in Rhode Island: The ship *Atlas*, *Joy*, with 850 barrels arrived at the Vineyard. The *Gardner*, captured by the Frigate *Loire*, December 4, with 400 barrels of oil was sent into Halifax, The *Monticello* was captured by the *Albion* a 75 gun frigate with 1250 barrels. As a partial offset the Ship *Charles*, Grafton Gardner, Master, arrived off the Bar February 28, 1814, with 1800 barrels worth \$80,000. This Mr Macy in his diary records as the "greatest voyage ever made from Nantucket."

An embargo act was passed in December, 1813, which was intended to effectually stop all commerce, foreign or domestic, in order to prevent supplies being carried to the English. Excepting in certain specified cases, no vessel was permitted to sail from any port in the United States to any other port even in the same State. Naturally such orders rigidly enforced meant that the people of Nantucket must move or starve. Fortunately, listening to the petition of the Islanders, Congress conferred on the President authority to mitigate the operation of the act in conditions like those at Nantucket. The Embargo Act, however, did not effect the purpose for which it was designed and in April, 1814, it was repealed.

The difficulty in obtaining food stuffs was not diminished, however, with being legalized. Says Macy†—"Some of the British vessels were constantly at Tarpaulin Cove. While engaged there in procuring water and other supplies, they sent their boats, from time to time, up and down the Sound, which captured all the coasters they met with; they plundered some, and others they destroyed or exacted a ransom for them, in money, pretty much on their own terms. These circumstances reduced the Town to such a condition that famine seemed inevitable unless a change should be brought about. There was not a bushel of corn to be bought."

In his personal diary Obed Macy draws a graphic picture of the depressed state of business and remunerative work on the Island. Under date of 3 mo, 11, he writes—"Indoors business is very much turned to manufacturing Cloth; in almost every family, more or less is done in that line; and in some of the first families, their Parlours are used to card and spin in; besides several have established factories, & others are about to be established. The old Work House is fitted with a fulling Mill by David Allen, which is wrought by Wind—by some experience already made up on this Novel plan, he is sanguine it will succeed to his expectations; he finds the work is performed as well & much sooner than with a stream of Water in the common way—the use of flying shuttles to

*Mr. Macy records in his diary, on December 8, 1813, that "60 men in four boats from the Vineyard tried to cut out the *Chili* at anchor near Gay Head, but their courage failed them though the prize had only nine men with four muskets on board." Mr. Macy, in addition to those mentioned, records the following with their catch as having been captured prior to 1814—*Ranger* (full), *Manilla* (full), *George* (1300 barrels), *Lion* (900) *Sukey* (750), *John & James* (1000), *Mary Ann* (650), *William Penn* (1300), *Brig Ocean* (full), *Brig Leo*, *Schooner Mt. Hope*. The Ship *Henry* was lost. The *Industry*, *Essex*, *Ruby*, *Thomas*, *Lady Adams* and *Martha* were not sent to sea after War was declared.

†Hist. Nantucket 179.

weave with is introduced among us, which is found to be a valuable improvement." A little further on he says that mechanics and laborers have gone away for work to Albany, Troy & Hudson.

There was no local use for workmen. The cooper, the blacksmith, the sailmaker, the rigger and workers at the various trades, that in prosperous times made noisy but cheery music as they plied the tools used in their several vocations, were without employment. Day after day witnessed the return from English prisons or prison-ships of seamen who had been captured by the British and released to come to a home already in the grip of penury.*

In May, 1814, occurred a second tumultuous Town Meeting, even more disorderly than that of May 2, 1812, and arising apparently from precisely the same cause,—the failure to designate how many Representatives the Town would send to the General Court. The lines of cleavage, ostensibly between the Federalists and Democrats, seem to one who studies the situation quite as marked by the same accusers and accused as in the Bank robbery of nearly 20 years before.

Like the meeting of 1812, above-referred to, the Clerk's record is singularly reticent as to what actually occurred. The Town Record itself gives the following report of what took place:

"At a meeting of the Male Inhabitants of the Town of Nantucket qualified by law to vote, for Representatives. Met at the Town house in Nantucket on Saturday the seventh day of May 1814 at two o'clock in the afternoon for the Choice of one or more Representatives to Represent this Town in the general Court appointed to be Convened and held at the State House in Boston on the last Wednesday of May Instant. The votes being brought in sorted and Counted The whole number of votes was two hundred and two votes.

There Appeared for Micajah Gardner two hundred and One votes.

There Appeared for Joseph Winslow one vote."

There is no hint of anything unusual having occurred at the meeting; nothing to make it in any way note worthy, unless one might, in the general condition of political affairs, wonder at the practical unanimity of the vote for Mr. Gardner.

The first intimation the general student would get of anything wrong would be through the Journal of the House of Representatives, where, under date of May 26, 1814, occurs this entry: Remonstrance of William Coffin and others of Nantucket read and committed to Committee on Contested Elections." That Committee consisted of Mr. Tillinghast of Taunton, Mr. Ware of Wrentham, Mr. Crosby of Brookfield, Mr. Davis of Boston, and Mr. Brown of Lexington.

*Mr. Macy writes under date of 5 mo., 1813 "The cry of the poor is daily increasing. Great numbers of poor children are begging from door to door."

The remonstrance was addressed "To the Hon'ble the House of Representatives in General Court assembled," and was in form as follows:

"The subscribers inhabitants and legal voters in the Town of Nantucket in the County of Nantucket & Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Respectfully represent that Micajah Gardner, returned a Representative for the Town of Nantucket to the General Court for the present year, has not been legally chosen, and believing that the purity of Elections is the chief pillar of freedom & that to detect errors & irregularities in our elections is not only a right but the duty of all good Citizens We take the liberty to remonstrate against the aforesaid Micajah Gardner holding a seat as a representative for the Town of Nantucket the present year for the following reason We state that immediately after the meeting was opened by the Chairman of the Selectmen by reading the Warrant a motion was regularly made and seconded, that the Town send no representative this year. The Chairman peremptorily refused to put the motion & to stop all debate called instantly on the people present to bring in their votes for one or more Representatives without making any statement of the number which they had a right to Vote for, so arbitrary did the proceedings of the Selectmen appear & so contrary to the long settled practice of this Town that a considerable proportion of the people then assembled, immediately left the meeting disgusted at the proceedings all of which is believed to be contrary to the Constitution & laws of this Commonwealth."

This was signed by the remonstrants*

The Journal of the House for May 31, 1814, contains this entry: "Memorial of the Selectmen of Nantucket with accompanying papers read and committed to the Committee on Contested Elections." This Memorial is addressed "To the Honourable the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to be convened at Boston last Wednesday of May instant," and is as follows:† "The undersigned Selectmen of the town of Nantucket, in the County of Nantucket do hereby respectfully represent that a remonstrance from a number of inhabitants of this town, has been prepared to be sent to the House of Representatives with the avowed intention to set aside the selection of Micajah Gardner, our representative, and thereby to deprive us of our lawfull representative.

In reply to which we beg leave to observe, that the Inhabitants of this Town were legally convened on the 7th by virtue of a warrant issued in the usual manner on the 2d Inst. After the meeting was opened and the chairman of the Selectmen had read the warrant it was proposed to send no representative after which a motion to that effect was made & seconded and the principle strenuously supported for a considerable time, and untill the Selectmen, by their chairman, declared the present was not a meeting for debate, neither was discussion of the proposed Question contemplated by the warrant or by the law. they then refused to adhere to the motion and immediately proclaimed their readiness to receive the

*The originals of some of these documents do not seem to be on file at the State House. Those used here were taken from copies of the originals made by one of the remonstrants. The names are not appended to the copy.

†This was not a document ordered by the Town Meeting but the act of the Selectmen.

votes of the people, for one or more Representatives and a number of votes were then presented and accepted.

When the advocates of no representatives discovered the question would not be taken, they became tumultuous and riotous, several of which then and there denounced the Selectmen as rascals and Tyrants, and made a proposition forcibly to take the Box from them into which the votes were put as they were received—they Continued in a Riotous manner to disturb and embarrass the meeting, untill the chairman found it Necessary to order the Sheriff to read the riot act—which was accordingly done, after which the greater number of the rioters dispersed and the Selectmen continued to receive all the legal votes that were presented, untill the poll was closed, when it appeared all the votes excepting one were given for Micajah Gardner, who was then and there declared to be duly elected.

DAN'L COFFIN
JOSEPH CHASE
ISAAC COFFIN
FRAN'S MACY
GEORGE GARDNER 2d
GIDEON FOLGER
Selectmen of Nantucket."

The statement of the Selectmen was duly affirmed to by the Selectmen May 19, before Charles Folger, Justice of the Peace.*

The contestants filed depositions to prove their case. The depositions were signed by William Coffin, Griffin Barney, Robert Barker, Daniel Barney and others.† One, quite numerously signed, says of the meeting—

"The warrant for the above purpose was posted up in several public parts of the Town on tuesday the 3d of May which expressly said all legal voters were warned to vote for one or more Representative or Representatives.

After the meeting was opened by the Chairman of the Selectmen the warrant was read. Mr. Wm. Coffin first addressed the Chair & observed in his opinion it would from the situation of this place be best not to send any Representative for this year, and was in favor of taking the question by vote, whether the Town would send any Representative or not, in some of his speeches, & also observed that the meeting was illegal as it was not conformable

*As they were Friend they affirmed instead of making oath.

†On May 11, 1814, four days after the Town Meeting was held, a gathering of the dissatisfied citizens was held in Washington Hall in response to the following notice: "The Federal Republicans and friends of Peace (who find themselves dissatisfied with the conduct of the Selectmen at the last Town meeting) are requested to meet at Washington Hall this evening at 7 o'clock, then & there to adopt such measures as shall be consistent with the Constitution and laws of this Commonwealth for the due investigation of our Corporate Rights—Wednesday May 11, 1814." At the meeting Timothy G. Coffin made an address, for which the thanks of the meeting were tendered him through a committee, and the acts of the Town Meeting recently held under the warrant were considered. It was also voted to choose a committee of seven to contest the election of Micajah Gardner in such a manner as seemed to them advisable. The committee chosen were: William Coffin, Jethro Mitchell Jr., Albert Gardner, Aaron Mitchell, Josiah Hussey Peter Hussey and Thaddeus Joy. Those doubtless were the names signed to the protest sent to the General Court.

to a Vote of this Town passed in 1724 which was that the warrant should be put up at the two meeting houses & stand over one sabbath* & spoke some minutes in favor of not sending any Representative. Gideon Gardner answered Wm. Coffin that in all cases a Town could only act upon what was expressed in the Warrant, and as the words of the Warrant were to vote for one or more Representative or Representatives & the warrant was legal, no question could be legally taken in this meeting. Wm Coffin answered Gideon Gardner the Warrant was correct, & that a Town could not Act upon anything that was not expressed in the Warrant. Walter Folger Jun explained upon the Constitution & the Law of this State which the Warrant was conformable to and that no other question could be legally taken that was not contained in the Warrant & spoke some minutes against the legality of any other question about this time Mr Micajah Coffin observed he came to the meeting to act agreeable to the Warrant & offered his Vote. the Chairman of the Selectmen informed him the votes were not called for & that he should not receive any votes before they were called for. Wm. Coffin spoke against receiving any Votes before the question was taken whether the Town would send any Representative or not & observed (the exact words are not recollected but so far as memory serves) that if the votes were received before the question was taken, whether the Town would send any Representative or not it would be a Rehoboth meeting. several spoke in favor of taking the question & several spoke against it. a motion was made by some person, not recollected, that the Question should be taken whether this Town would send any Representative or not, which was seconded by several & many called the question the question. the Chairman of the Selectmen proclaimed they were ready to receive the votes. several votes were immediately received & put into the Box. many continued calling very loud, the question the question. I demand my rights, my rights are taken away. Tyranny, rascallity & one called take away the Box and such kind of language which made much confusion. about this time the Chairman of the Selectmen ordered the Riot act to be read & handed it to the sheriff, who read the Act & called on the people to disperse. Wm Coffin observed that as the sheriff had read the Riot act and commanded the people to disperse he was of the opinion it was best to go & went out of the meeting & many others who were for the question to be taken whether this Town would send any Representative or not followed Wm Coffin & left the meeting after which it became very quiet, those who had not given in their votes proceeded to give them in to the Selectmen they received them & put them into the Box the poll was closed the votes were counted & proclaimed by the Chairman of the Selectmen to be 201 for Micajah Gardner & one for Joe Winslow & that the meeting was dissolved."

This deposition was signed by Gideon Gardner, Geo. Bunker Jr., Seth Coffin, Robt Barker, Charles Folger, Reuben R. Bunker, Freeman Gardner, Shub'l Coffin, Trist'm Barnard, Geo. Clark, Dan'l Barney, Jonathan Morris Jr., Jacob Barney, Coffin Whippey,

*The vote as recorded on the 18th, 11 mo. 1725-6, was: "Voted yt ye method for ye future to warne ye Town Meetings shall be to set up notifications at ye two meeting houses and ye town house setting forth ye occasion of ye meeting unless in such case that a meeting must be before any first day of ye week happenes then to be warned after ye former usage."

Gardner Coffin, Robert Hussey, and was sworn to before different Justices of the Peace.

Other depositions signed by Griffin Barney and Robert Barker, recited substantially the same facts giving them an individual tinge, and agreeing that it was a very turbulent meeting up to the time of the reading of the Riot Act.* According to one affidavit the most boisterous one there appeared to be the High Sheriff until directed by Walter Folger Jr to sit down "which he did." Others called the Selectmen "Rascals and Scoundrels and tyrants."

It is evident that after studying the evidence the Committee agreed with the remonstrants for the Journal of the House for June 8, 1814, contains the following entry:

"The Committee on Contested Elections in the case of the Remonstrance of Wm Coffin & others against the election of Nantucket Reported that the supposed election of Micajah Gardner as a Representative from the Town of Nantucket to this House on the 7th day of May now last past was utterly void and of no effect and that his seat be declared vacated. Read and accepted 96 to 60."†

There was an aftermath. Under date of June 25, William Coffin, Peter Hussey and Aaron Mitchell addressed a letter to the Selectmen in which they said—"we feel disposed, however, coolly to consider the aggressions we have suffered & to ascertain from you whether the late proceedings in Town meeting were the result of a settled plan to deprive the Corporation of its rights,—or whether a misconception of principles led to the result we have experienced—if the former we expect no concession on your part you was wrong, & no disposition to repair the injury by a pecuniary in-

*By the statute of 1628, it was "ordered that every towne shall beare the parts of their own magistrates and deputies, and to allow for a magistrate 3 shillings 6 pence a day and for a deputy 2 s. 6d. a day from the time of their going to the Court until their return for their diet and lodging." It is uncertain just how long this continued to be the law, and whether it did not survive many years after the establishment of the Constitution. The pay for Representatives varied with the fluctuations in the value of Paper money. In 1780 it was 12s per day; in 1781 it varied, running from 15s. to 30s. per day and running down to 9s. In 1782 it was 8s. In 1800 to 1804 it was \$2.00 per day. What leads one to believe that the towns paid the expenses is the fact that an act was passed Feb. 3, 1812 which provided: "That in the future, the members of the House of Representatives shall be paid for their travel and attendance to and during the session of Legislature, in the same manner as the Council and Senate of this Commonwealth are paid, any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding, and that the said pay shall not be chargeable to their several towns." As this Act was repealed June 14, 1813, the inference is that the towns paid the bills and with finances in a poor condition it made an important difference whether Nantucket sent one Representative, nine or none. Undoubtedly the necessity of avoiding active participation in politics because of their defenceless situation was an important factor.

†The New Bedford Mercury somewhat elaborates the Committee's report, on what authority does not appear. It says the action of the Selectmen in refusing to entertain motions and leaving their places caused all the trouble. Votes given in "a most singular manner being handed from one to another." The action of the Selectmen was "unconstitutional and illegal." There was "no justifiable cause for reading the Riot Act. No riot existed at the time nor any disorder except what was produced by the Selectmen themselves." The action of the Selectmen in refusing the right to vote on sending a Representative was a surprise to the Committee.

demnification of the expences we have necessarily incurred—If the latter we expect, that a disposition to repair the injury so far as is in your power, will become apperant by accepting a proposition which we shall now make you—which is—that if the necessary & reasonable expences we have been at, in bringing the question of the constitutionality of the late Representative meeting before the Legislature for their decision are paid, we shall be disposed to bury in oblivion all that has passed, & impute the error to mistake, more than design, but should this proposition meet your refusal or contempt & the proceedings of the meeting be further justified—we shall consider ourselves not only injured but insulted, & shall accept the invitation that was given us that day, to repair to the judiciary, where you are amenable for your proceedings.”*

It would appear that the Selectmen ignored this communication, as it is recorded under date of July 5, 1814, that no answer had been received, and that the return of the letter had been requested. It does not appear that any further action was taken.

One would think that the experience of the Town had been such as to lead to some display of caution but the Town Records of May 6, 1815, announce a Town Meeting called for the choice of one or more Representatives to Represent the Town of Nantucket in the General Court that is to be Convened and held in Boston on the last Wednesday of May, 1815.

The votes being brought in Sorted and Counted they Appeared as follows:

Micajah Gardner had one hundred & thirty one votes Aaron Mitchell had one.”

That is absolutely all there is to the record. There is the same suspicious unanimity that attached to the announcement of the result in 1814, especially suspicious when we consider that at that time Nantucket must have had about 2,000 ratable polls to entitle it to nine Representatives and that party spirit ran high and the parties were fairly evenly divided.

The Journal of the House of Representatives for June 1, 1815, shows that a “Remonstrance of Wm Coffin and others against the Election in Nantucket” was Read and committed to the Committee on Contested Elections.”

According to the Remonstrance, which is signed by William Coffin, Peter Chase, Josiah Barker, George Myrick, Richard Mitchell Jr., and Thaddeus Joy, and dated May 18th., 1815, the proceedings at the meeting followed with singular fidelity those which described the troubles in 1812 and 1814, excepting that it does not appear that the Riot Act was read.

It would appear that the question was raised whether a Town could decline to send a Representative. The case was put to the Supreme Judicial Court for a decision, whether a town having a right to send a Representative to the General Court could legally vote not to send any.

*Unpublished M. S.

The opinion of the Supreme Court as delivered by Justices Isaac Parker, George Thatcher, Charles Jackson, Samuel Putnam and Samuel S. Wilde, was in substance, that while it is a corporate duty as well as a corporate right for a town to send a Representative, for the neglect of which the House may impose a fine, but which neglect they are under no obligation under the Constitution to punish, a town might legally refuse to be represented and the House could impose a fine for neglect of duty. The Court pointed out as an extreme case that under a compulsion to send Representatives, such officials might be chosen by a minority less in number than themselves. The report, which was presented to the House January 24, 1816, was received, read and ordered committed to the Committee on Contested Elections. That Committee on February 3, 1816, made a report declaring Micajah Gardner "not duly elected and not entitled to a seat in this House" The report was read and accepted.

In the meantime the question of subsistence became more and more pressing.* Small predatory armed vessels tenders of the large English craft were very active near the Island. A chebacco boat, reported to be a tender from the English frigate *Nymph*, in June and July, 1814, cruised between Tuckanuck Shoals and Great Point, overhauling every passing vessel and either plundering them of any articles of value they carried or exacting a ransom from the unfortunate victims. There was much indignation among the Islanders because of what she did, so much so that a party was assembled to capture her, regardless of the reprisals such an act might and probably would entail. The Selectmen, however, dissuaded the men from the attempt. Two of the Selectmen, Daniel Coffin and Isaac Coffin, were sent to endeavor to persuade the privateersmen to seek some other field but they were unsuccessful.

"On one occasion," says Macy,† "an officer was sent on shore to receive ransom-money, which added to the agitation already heightened by repeated losses. The streets were immediately thronged with a large concourse of people, who feeling themselves so injured by so insignificant a force as a small Chebacco boat with only ten men, could no longer restrain their feelings, and publicly uttered threats of hostility. The persons foremost in this proceeding were principally strangers, who had been plundered of provisions and fuel which they were bringing to the Island. It was deemed advisable to persuade them to be quiet, and consider that the use of force by the people of the Island would only invite a greater force in return, and one which nothing but madness could prompt them to resist. Under these considerations, the Selectmen and others interfered and were successful in their attempts to quiet the crowd. The officer was permitted to depart with his booty.‡

*Hist. Nantucket p. 179. Josiah Barker, Zaccheus Hussey, Benjamin Coffin, Samuel Bigelow and Josiah Hussey, Justices of the Peace, sent to the English Commander urging the need of relief and praying, that the Recovery, of which Christopher B. Hussey is Master, and George Myrick, William Coffin, Peter Chase and Obed Mitchell are owners, be permitted to go to Matomkin and return to Nantucket with a load of corn for the needy inhabitants. (Unpublished M. S.)

†Ib. p. 181.

‡He carried away several thousands of dollars in specie, besides sundry other articles.

The affair, however, occasioned increased distress to the inhabitants, for many of the coasters determined not to come again to the Island, until there should appear a fairer prospect of avoiding the grasp of the enemy."

On the 15th of September, the privateer returned and the Captain had a plainly visible chip on his shoulder. He had seen a letter from Nantucket in the Boston Daily Advertiser* and it vexed him exceedingly. It was not a letter that was complimentary to him. He demanded that the author recant his disturbing statements or that the Town should send him a memorial to the effect that the obnoxious letter was not an authorized document. If consolatory action was not taken by three p.m., he promised to come into the harbor and rectify matters by burning the principal houses. The people in general were not alarmed by his bluster but a memorial, signed by about 50 of the people, stating that the letter was unauthorized and that the writer was unknown to them, was sent. It is said, nevertheless, that the statements made in the letter were true.† He sailed away, but he was not fully mollified and threatened to come again.

He did return again as he promised and continued to threaten, but no attention was paid to his bluster and he was given no opportunity or excuse for active hostilities.

The time came when the situation was not endurable. The harbor had long been blockaded by British armed vessels. The lights in the light-houses were discontinued when it seemed necessary, and the buoys on the shoals and bars taken up, but the receipt of supplies was effectually blocked. There was no wood for the winter's necessities, and the stock of provisions was seriously reduced. The United States Government seemed utterly powerless to afford any relief. It appeared to be a question of starvation, or of making some terms with the English commanders.

A meeting of the Washington Benevolent Society, which seemed to be mainly a Federalist organization, was held July 14, 1814, at which the following circular was prepared: "To whom it may concern:—These may certify that the Washington Benevolent Society

*The following is a copy of the letter from Capt. Charles Goullett the irate commander of the tender of the Nymph: "His B. M. Frigate Nymph Tender: Gentlemen—Having read in the Boston daily advertiser, a paragraph stated to be an extract of a letter from this Town wherein a number of Falsehoods are stated which although to absurd to obtain general credit might have sufficient effect on the weak minded to create a belief that the circumstances therein stated are correct, I have come to a determination that the author of the letter shall make an apology in the same paper, for his malicious and unfounded assertions, and I should wish that a number of the principal Inhabitants to sign a Memorial of their unbelief of the above mentioned paragraph. as I understood the latter part of my request is at present in agitation I shall wait until 3 P. M. to hear your determination thro' a flag of truce, before I commence a Fire on the Houses of the Principal people, previous to which I anxiously wish the removal of the women & Children.

Charles Goullett Commdg His Majestys Frigate Nymph Tender."

†Unpublished M. S.

having by their Committee applyed to Capt. Milne,* commanding Ship Bulwark & Commodore of his Britannic Majesty's squadron stationed in Boston Bay & having obtained liberty for Vessels to proceed from Nantucket to Kennebeck or other eastern ports for the purpose of bringing firewood **only** for the **sole** use of the inhabitants of this island—they now have to request that the bearer hereof will in their behalf apply to the commanding officer of the Blockading squadron off New London & to ask as a favor that Vessels be permitted to bring firewood for the use of the Inhabitants of said Island from ports and places to the Northward & westward thereof.

WM. COFFIN Pressd't
C. W. CARTWRIGHT, Vice do
BENJ' COFFIN.

NATH. BARNEY, Sec.

Admiral Milne's reply to the original petition, is not to be found, but the following letter shows that some parties were trying to make trouble for the people of the Island:—

H. M. Ship Bulwark
Boston Bay, 5th Aug, 1814.

A petition having been presented to me in the Name of the Washington Benevolent Society of Nantucket, the bearers whereof were Messrs David Myrick, Isaac Gardner and Joseph Plaskett and signed by C. W. Cartwright, Vice President of the Society, representing the calamitous and distressed situation of the Inhabitants and soliciting relief &c &c &c.

In consequence of which said petition, I agreed to allow the Inhabitants in general to send one of their own Vessels for Provisions for the Private use of their respective Families, such Vessels to have a general Manifest of the Cargo, declaring the names of the different families to which the provision belonged—

I also allowed the Vessels belonging to Nantucket to carry Wood for the private use of the different Families.

Instead of a proper use being made of this Indulgence the very first Vessel spoke with by the squadron, belonging to Nantucket was loaded with provisions belonging to **two** individuals or **one** and intended to be sold at a profit or otherwise not to the advantage of the Inhabitants in general, but to the benefit of the **Two** or **one** of the persons on board the Vessell.

In consequence of such a wicked and fraudulent proceeding I give notice that not a Vessel or boat of any discription will be allowed to leave or go into the Island of Nantucket, so far as the Squadron under my Orders can prevent it and private property of any discription will be captured or destroyed."

DAVID MILNE."

"To the Washington Benevolent Society of Nantucket."

There can be no reasonable doubt that matters were grossly misrepresented to Admiral Milne, for it is inconceivable that with the people actually suffering for fuel and provisions, and the licensed vessels liable to be overhauled daily and compelled to show their permits, any captain would be so crazy as to violate the terms

*There does not seem to be any record regarding this application. The Society long ago went out of existence.

under which he sailed. There were enemies unscrupulous enough and ready to make such charges, and they too often were spoken into willingly credulous ears.

The student of affairs of those days can but notice that even in negotiating with the English for the means whereby to live, there was little unity of purpose between the Democrats and the Federalists. The former still continued to dominate the Town meetings, while the latter carried on their negotiations merely as a group of citizens, without official responsibility or backing. The marked division was especially noticeable in 1814. It was apparently late in the summer of 1814* that a petition was addressed to Admiral Cochrane signed by 225 citizens. The petition represented that "We, the undersigned, Inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, and of that class generally called Federal Republicans and Friends of Peace, who have been universally opposed to the War which now exists and which has prostrated our happiness, and taken away the means by which we have lived, Ask leave respectfully to approach you with our petition for relief, with a degree of confidence becoming a people in absolute want, who are dependent on the generosity of the British Government and her naval Officers, famed for their disinterested and generous conduct in relieving the miseries of the distressed, by a mitigation of the rigors of War. We are situated on an Island at the distance of thirty Miles from the Continent. Our soil is light and infertile, and its productions insufficient for the support of one eighth part of its inhabitants; nor have we the pecuniary means to enable us to remove to more fertile regions, or to engage in occupations with which we are totally unacquainted—A large proportion of the undersigned are destitute of Capital or employment, with large and dependent families—Our Island has not a tree of natural growth, and we are consequently dependent on the continent for our fuel—We are in all parts accessible and unfortified, and our Town is in a peculiar manner exposed to depredations. We are wholly dependent on the clemency of a Generous and magnanimous enemy—Our Island has never in any degree been protected by Government: but exempt from all military duty, by reason of its insular situation—Our stock of provisions is very limited at this time, owing to the risk attending a voyage to any part of the Continent, the only practical method being to send open boats, which should they arrive in safety will bring but ten or fifteen barrels.† Unless we should obtain assistance from you (for we do not Expect any from

*There is no date attached to the petition nor is any reply to it to be found.

†Under date of June 17, 1814 the following petition was sent: "To the Commander in Chief, or either of the Commanders of his Britanic Majesty's Ships—

Sir:—The subscribers, Justices of the Peace, for the County of Nantucket, beg leave respectfully to state, that a large proportion of the Inhabitants of this Town are destitute, not only of the means of procuring a subsistence but of even the **common necessities** of life—and that unless an **immediate** supply of provisions (from the Continent) can be obtained, the situation of many, of our Inhabitants must be deplorable beyond description—The subscribers, duly acknowledge, with Sentiments of gratitude, the many indulgences extended to the Inhabitants of this Town, by British Cruisers near our Coast—And would now take the liberty respectfully to solicit your further indulgences, and to request that the Boat named the Recovery, Christopher B. Hussey, Master, Owned by George Myrick, William Coffin, Peter Chase and Obed Mitchell, may have liberty to proceed to Matomkin and to return
(See next page.)

our own Government being without their protection) we shall be destitute of fuel and provisions and our families must be reduced to the extremes of hunger and want— If we the undersigned had been in any degree accessory in producing our calamities, we might **Justly** be forbid to complain, and be made silently to suffer: but our unwearied and continued opposition to the War, as well as to the restrictive systems which have beguiled the Nation into the fatal delusion, claim for the undersigned a speedy relief.

To whom shall we apply for relief, but to those in whose power only it is to grant it to us—Assured of your disposition to relieve us, and confident of the ease with which you can do it, we are not anxious to lengthen out our tale of WOE. We have selected from among us the following gentlemen viz. Obed Mitchell, Christopher Mitchell, John Cartwright, Robert Folger, and Thaddeus Coffin as our Agents, to ask and receive such relief as you in your wisdom, may deem expedient to grant—In making this selection we have endeavored to fix upon men, in whose integrity, discretion and uprightness the utmost confidence may be placed.*

to Nantucket with a load of Corn for the needy Inhabitants of our Town—

The subscribers would furthermore beg leave respectfully to state that the Captain and Owners of the vessel above mentioned are gentlemen of respectability; and are eminently distinguished; for their spirited and decided opposition to the present unnatural, unnecessary and destructive War:—

We are, with all due respect,

Your humble Servants

JOSIAH BARKER
ZACCHEUS HUSSEY
BENJAMIN COFFIN
SAMUEL BIGELOW
JOSIAH HUSSEY

Signed

Their commissions, signed by Gov. Strong, were certified to under oath before Benjamin Gardner Esq. Notary Public.

*It is quite interesting to know the signers of the above petition and note the names of prominent citizens, always remembering that a large number of New Englanders were opposed to the War. Those who signed were:

Benjamin Winslow
Thadds Coffin Junr
Sam'l Barker
Sam'l Bigelow
Fred'k W. Mitchell
Geo. Myrick
Jos. W. Plasket
Owen Folger
Rich'd Hozier
Reuben Starbuck
Aaron Snow
Ariel Coffin
Chs. H. Barnard
Obed Cash
Christ'r Starbuck
Levi Starbuck
Albert Hussey
Wm. Hussey
And'w Myrick
Geo. Russell
James Easton
He'zh Pinkham
David Worth
David U. Giles
Brown Coffin Jr.
Aaron Mitchell
Charles Coleman
Sam'l Riddell
David Coleman
Peter C. Myrick
Thadd's Folger
John Gorham

Alex'r Ray
Reuben Glover
James Law
Shubl Barnard Jr.
David Myrick
Jos. Winslow
Uriah Gardner
Isaiah Ray
John Fitch
David White
Edw'd Dixon
John Widderhold
Elisha Folger Jr.
Paul Mitchell
H. B. Gardner
Edw'd J. Gardner
Jos. Earl
Wm. Riddle
James M. Hosier
Thos. Smith
Isaiah Crocker
Thos. King
David Cushman
Matt'w Barker
Thad's Joy
Latham Bunker
Josiah Macy
Joshua C. Riddell
Sam'l Burnell
David Baxter
Edw'd ———
Roland Gelston

Josiah Hussey
Geo. B. Cartwright
Wm. Coffin 2d
Peter Hussey
Robert Swain 2d
Dan'l Gardner
Charles Pitman
Rich'd Mitchell Jun'r
Joseph Starbuck
James J. Coffin
Benj'n Worth
Walter Folger
Charles Macy
Obed Fitch
Dan'l Thornton
Christ'r Wyer
Axel D. Bunker
Benj'n Whippey Jr.
Valentine Long
Uriah Swain
Seth Clisby
——— Starbuck
David Jenkins
Thaddeus Coffin 2d
John Riddell
Zep'h Hayden
Rob't Swain
Rob't Coggeshall
Wm. Coleman
John B. ———
Jona E. Barnard
Henry Riddell

(See next page.)

Just what answer was returned to this memorial does not appear. The situation, however, continued to grow more serious, and the Selectmen were finally requested to call a meeting of the Town, that some official action might be taken. The meeting was held July 23d. At that meeting the Town, after due consideration, voted: "That we appoint the Selectmen of this Town a committee, with full powers to make use of such means as may appear to them most Eligible for this Town to pursue, which the Constitution and Laws of our Country do not forbid, for the inhabitants to bring wood, provisions and other necessities, from the Continent of the United States, for the consumption of the inhabitants of Nantucket."

Under the authority vested in them by that meeting, the Selectmen prepared to communicate with the commanders of the British naval forces, to endeavor to procure some concessions which would allow the Town to be supplied with provisions' and fuel. Accordingly they fitted out the sloop Hawk, David Starbuck, master; and qualified her as a flag of truce. They appointed as Commissioners to represent the Town Silvanus Macy and Isaac Coffin, Esquires and officially qualified them for that duty. They were instructed in writing to proceed to the commanding officer of the British naval forces on the North American coast, and to represent to him fairly and impartially the conditions confronting the

Nath'l Chadwick	Alfred Alley	Moses Joy
Thos. V. McCleve	Joseph Davis	Jer'h Lawrence
Jona Colesworthy	Robert M. Joy	John Swain
Jos. Folger	Peleg Macy Jun'r.	Paul Coggeshall
Gorham Coffin	Roswell Marsh	Abner Swain
James Barnard	Wm. Whippley	Albert Gardner
Henry Clapp	James Moore	Wm. Coffin
Wm. Coleman Jr.	Gorham Macy	Josiah Barker
Elisha Starbuck	Gideon Worth	Abner Briggs
Geo. C. Chase	Wm. Nichols	Paul Hussey
David C. Chase	Thos. Cary	Obed Luce
Reuben Barnard	David Joy Jr.	Edw'd Cary
Geo. Easton	Wm. Gaston	Zebulon Fisher
Geo. Cobb	Jara B. Wood	John Bunker
Alex Cartwright	Micajah Swain	Sim'n Russell
David Pease	Eliphalet Paddack	Obed Clark
Geo. Brown	Peter Macy	James Gurney
Wm. Cobb, Jr.	Thos. Hiller	Francis Hussey
Cromwell Coffin	Sam'l Cary	Silv. Crosby
James Bunker	Reuben Swain 2d	Will'm Cobb
Josiah H. Riddle	David Coffin 2d	——— Coffin
Charles Hussey 2d	Simeon Macy	John R. Caswell
Wm. Simson	Matthew Myrick	John Elkins
Charles Easton	Charles Gardner	David Chadwick
Jonnathan Hall	Zacc'h Hussey	Edmund Gardner
James Chase	John Brock, Jr.	Owen Swain
Isaiah Ray	George C. Pinkham	Obed Marshall Jr.
David Wood	James Athearn	Seth Cleveland
Ebenz'r Coffin	Lindzey Riddell	Sol'n Smith
Kimble Starbuck	Wilson Rawson	Elihu Marshall
Stephen West	Ab'm Gardner	Edw'd Swain
Reuben Baxter	Francis Coffin	Jethro Mitchell Jr.
Charles Macy	James Coffin	Seth F. Swift
Jas. McCleare	Alex. Macy	John M. Beebe
George G. Coffin	John Fitch	Reuben Chadwick
Sam'l Raymond	Eben'r Drew	Reuben Russell
Obed Marshall	Valentine Swain	Shub'l Barnard
Peter Paddack	Benj'n Walcutt	Thad's Hussey
Seth Folger	Clement Folger	Arnold Rawson
Wm. Joy	Brown Coffin	Henry M. Pinkham
Barna Coffin	Wm. Perkins	Charles Alley
Joseph Chadwick	Geo. Russell, Jr.	Reuben Joy
Charles J. Hilborn	Trist'm Starbuck	David White
	Edw'd Dixon	

people of Nantucket, and to obtain if possible permission to import wood, provisions and other necessaries and leave to whale and fish along the coast. The instructions given by the Selectmen were as follows:

"By this present instrument you are hereby appointed and legally qualified, by the Selectmen of Nantucket, as Commissioners, to embark in the sloop Hawk, Captain David Starbuck, who has received instructions to carry you without delay to the British naval Commander-in-Chief on the North American Station.

"When you may meet the Commander-in-Chief, you will carefully and faithfully represent to him the present state and condition of the inhabitants of this Town, adding, also, that they are seriously apprehensive of the overwhelming effects of famine, which it seems can neither be evaded or eluded except permission can be obtained of the Commander-in-Chief to import the necessary provisions and fuel from the Continent to the Island; but as you are acquainted with every particular, it is considered needless to add anything more on this subject, than to mention our confidence that you will give it all the attention which its importance may seem to demand.

"You are also so well acquainted with the exhausted state of our finances, and the necessity of ways and means to replenish them, and that the fishery has heretofore been our constant dependence for that purpose, but little need be said on the occasion; we would, however, recommend that you mention the facts of things to the Commander-in-Chief, and, if possible, to obtain permission to prosecute it as heretofore.

"It is presumed we need not add anything more, than to call your pointed attention to the several particulars herein contained.

(Signed by the Selectmen.)*

Nantucket, July 27, 1814."

*The asperities of modern politics hold no monopoly over those of the days of our forefathers. The correspondent of the New Bedford Mercury, under date of July 28 thus records the above event from the Federal Republican standpoint:

"A strange event occurred here. Some days since our War Hawk Selectmen notified a Town Meeting, for the purpose of authorizing them to **'take means to obtain the introduction of provisions and fuel into this island.'** Accordingly an assemblage of about 100 democrats, including the most insolent brawlers for the present War, convened and voted, unanimously, to clothe the Selectmen with the authority desired; and the Selectmen immediately appointed Isaac Coffin Esq and Sylvanus Macy, Commissioners to proceed to the British fleet, to solicit of Ad Cochrane the permission desired: And this morning these Commissioners sailed in the (War) Hawk, David Starbuck, master, in search of the British Admiral. Great pains were taken by the leaders of democracy to obtain a numerous meeting: but notwithstanding the peculiar sufferings of the people of this island, only the above number could be found to support a measure so **inconsistently** proposed by the most noisy advocates of the War, and voters for the administration who so unjustly and improvidently made it.

What success will attend the proceeding is unknown. The productions of the soil of Nantucket are insufficient for the support of one-eighth of its inhabitants; and there is not a tree on the island of its natural growth. The people, also, have been deprived by this wicked War, of the **Whale Fishery**, their principal support; and they are dependent on the continent for fuel and provisions. The war men now find that unless those whom their darling Rulers have made **enemies**, take pity on them, and permit supplies to pass to them, that **starvation** must be their lot and portion: Such, then, is their situation, and their misrulers, who have involved them in the calamity, cannot, or will not help them! the most violent war men now confess in the third year of the war that they lie at the mercy, and are compelled to supplicate the magnanimity and generosity of their denounced enemy. How such war men and British cursers as Isaac Coffin and

(See next page.)

The following orders were given for the guidance of Capt. Starbuck:

"To Capt. David Starbuck:

"It having been determined by the Selectmen of the Town of Nantucket to despatch the sloop Hawk, now under your command, to Chesapeake Bay, or elsewhere, as a **flag of truce**,—you will, with all possible convenience, prepare your vessel for that undertaking, and, after being equipped for the voyage, you will embrace the first favorable opportunity, and proceed to the place of your destination, subject, however, to the following instructions, viz:

"You are to display the white flag at your topmast head, and continue it abroad (as occasion may require) during the time you are considered as a cartel.

"As Silvanus Macy and Isaac Coffin, Esquires, will embark with you, as Commissioners, to negotiate or transact the business of the Town, under direction of the Selectmen, you will, in every case, be subject to their control, and attentive to their orders, keeping constantly in view that one important point of your duty will be to convey them to the British naval Commander on the North American Station, with the least possible delay.

"You will not admit any passenger or article of merchandise whatever, at any time during your voyage, to be taken on board your vessel, except it be by the express direction of the above-mentioned Commissioners.

(Signed by the Selectmen)

"Nantucket, July 27, 1814."*

The Commissioners sailed on July 28.

Macy says (p. 188) that "A private vessel was also sent at the same time, with a committee, and, as was said, for similar purposes, but, as this was a measure taken by individuals, and not by authority of the Town, we shall say but little about it; not being in full knowledge of their commission, or of the effects thereof." It is not unlikely that this party was the one carrying the Memorial previously alluded to as signed by a large number of Federal Republicans.

The log of the Hawk gives the following particulars of the cruise of the Commissioners:† On August 8 at 1 p. m. they anchored in the Harbor of St. Georges, where they found the sloop Charlotte, of Nantucket, George Cartwright, master. On inquiring of the Governor of the Island they ascertained that Sir Alexander Cochrane, the Commander-in Chief, had sailed for the Chesapeake. Evident-

Sylvanus Macy, can make up their mouths to ask favors from Admiral Cochrane, puzzles many; and shews at once the folly and servility of democracy. Thank Heaven the friends of Peace on this Island have done their duty—Before the war was declared, they forewarned the advocates of it of the evils it would entail on the country, and particularly on this island. But the democrats were deaf as adders to the admonition or loaded the men who gave it with every foul-mouthed reproach."

*Macy pp. 187-8. The Selectmen were Joseph Chase, Francis Macy, Daniel Coffin, George Gardner 2d, Gideon Folger.

†The log of the voyage was kept by Isaac Coffin Esq. one of the Commissioners, and was among some papers that were preserved by his descendants. The first part of it seems to have been lost for the first entry is on August 8, and begins in the middle of a sentence. At that date they were at the Bermudas.

ly the Commissioners had been informed that Admiral Cochrane was at the Bermudas and hoped to find him there. While they were there George Meader arrived from Edgartown in the schooner Betsy, with a deck load of sheep. They learned that William Chase, son of Judah, was a prisoner there on board the Ardent, Prison Ship, and made an attempt to get him liberated, but orders recently received by the Governor required that all prisoners be sent to England. The Governor promised to try to get a mitigation of the order and if he could Chase could return on Meader's vessel.

They were informed on Thursday, August 11, that they must sail under convoy of the frigate Madagascar, the Commander of which would put them in touch with the Commander-in-Chief.

They sailed on Sunday, in company with a frigate, two brigs and the Charlotte mentioned above, and on Tuesday, August 23, passed Cape Henry. They were boarded by a barge from the Asia, a new 74 gun frigate. They anchored under the stern of the Asia and were informed by her Captain that the Commander-in-Chief was up the Bay. The Commissioners went on board the Asia and dined with her Commander, and remained until midnight. They found on board the Asia Peter F. Coffin, Jacob Barney and Alexander Russell, who had been captured with the sloop Earl, of Nantucket, off Cape Henry.

On Wednesday, August 24, in company with the Madagascar, frigate, the 18 gun brig Fairy, two transport brigs and the sloop Charlotte, they started up the Bay in search of Sir Alexander Cochrane. On August 27 they were informed that there were three British Admirals in the Petuxen River—Admiral Cochrane, the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Cockburn and Admiral Malcolm.

On the 28th, they arrived where Admiral Cochrane was. In his fleet were "seven line of Battle Ships, a Large number of Frigates, a Large Number of Transports and some Briggs of War, besides Schooners, Sloops, Swedish Vessels and some small Crafts."

The next day the Commissioners went on board the Frigate Surprise which was Admiral Cochrane's Flag-ship. They were treated politely and invited to call on him the next day. They requested the release of Capt. Peter F. Coffin and Jacob Barney and his crew. The log says—"we Represented the Distressed situation of the People of the Island of Nantucket. the Commander in Chief Informed us that he did not wish to starve the People of our Island, but that he could not nor would not grant us Permission to Fish or Whale on the American Coast, or on any Coast, for that would be declaring us to be in the King's Peace, and we were a part of the Government of the United States of America, but as he was engaged he wished us to call tomorrow morning at Nine of the Clock."

The next morning they went on board the Admiral's ship, but he had gone ashore, leaving orders for the Commissioners to follow him, but they failed to receive the word. They remained on board the Flag-ship, dining with the officers, and being courte-

ously treated. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the three Admirals returned to the Flag-ship, accompanied by Major General Ross and a Chaplain. The Commander-in-Chief at once disposed of the Commissioners, telling them all he was willing to grant them, and directed them to proceed to New London, with dispatches for Rear Admiral Henry Hotham, Commander of the Blockading Squadron, a passport for the Hawk, and an order to Captain Alexander Skene, Commander of the Asia, to release to them Peter F. Coffin, Jacob Barney, and Alexander Russell and liberty to convey Ammiel Elkins to Nantucket in the Hawk. The Admiral also granted a passport to the sloop Charlotte to proceed to New London.

Under date of Wednesday August ye 31st, 1814, the log says: "This Morning small Wind. Weighed Anchor and Sailed down the Petuxent River in Company with Twenty Five Sail of Vessels Ships of the Line, Razees, Frigates, Sloops of War, Briggs Schooners and Transports bound out for the same New Expedition The Admirals, Generals and Troops being on board. the Sloop Hawk lead the Van and we had the Wind baffling all Round the Compass. at Night we Anchored in the Mouth of the Petuxent River in Company with the Fleet. had it calm the most of the Night. so ends the 24 Hours. all well."

The next day the Hawk got under weigh again. On Saturday, September 3, they boarded the Asia, which was at anchor off Cape Henry, and took on board the three Nantucket men who were released. Despite the nearly doubling the men on the Hawk they were unable to purchase any supplies from the commander of the Asia.

On Sunday they got under weigh again and on September 7, they sighted Long Island. The next day they were close in with Gardners Island. There they found the Superb 74 gun ship, the Flag ship of Admiral Hotham. They found also that Joseph Chase, Zenas Coffin, Josiah Barker Esquire and Aaron Mitchell, who evidently were a Committee from the Federalists, had interviewed the Admiral and already "made an Arrangement with him." There seemed to be nothing more for the Commissioners to do, so on the afternoon of Thursday, September 8, in company with the Charlotte they weighed Anchor bound for Nantucket. They passed Tarpaulin Cove early on the morning of the 9th., and found there the Frigate Pomona and the Sloop of War Nimrod. They were brought to by two muskets fired over them and the Pomona sent a boat with an officer who examined the Hawk's papers. A little later the Hawk ran into the Cove and anchored without molestation and the Commissioners "bought some Mutton, Gin, Potatoes and Onions and other things." Early in the afternoon they weighed anchor again and resumed their voyage to Nantucket where they arrived on the morning of September 10.

Following the journal of the voyage is a memorandum giving a more detailed account of the interview with Admiral Cochrane on August 29. After some delay their boat was allowed to run up

alongside of the Flag-ship. Commissioner Coffin was first up the gangway, and called for the Officer of the Deck, who at once responded. "I Asked him if the Commander in Chief was on board. he said he was but he had his doubts whither he could be spoke with and Asked me what Complaint we had to make. I told him none; then what Names must I tell the Commander-in-Chief? I told him Silvanus Macy and Isaac Coffin of Nantucket who came in the Sloop Hawk. he returned in five Minutes and said the Admiral wished to see us Immediately, and said 'please to follow me.' we did into the Great Cabbin. he spoke to us handsomely and Asked us to set down by him which we did, and shewed him our Papers. he said the Papers were Correct and we were a proper Flag of Truce. he then Asked me whither we were of the Democratic Party or the Federal Party. I told we were of the Democratic Party, but we had not come to him on any party Business but as the Representatives of the Town of Nantucket, the Representatives of the whole Island. he then Asked who fitted us out whither the Selectmen fitted us out. I told him that they did. he then told us that we should meet with a very cool Reception from him if what he heard or Received was true and he believed that his Information was Correct. He said we were two of the Select Men of the Town of Nantucket, that the whole board of Select Men the Captain and all the Owners of the Sloop Hawk together with others had Addressed President Madison and made him a Tender of their Lives and fortunes to prosecute the War with Energy against Great Britain, and had Actually furnished him with Money to carry on the War. I told him that it was all Incorrect, he said what that I am Informed so is Incorrect;" I told him no, I hoped I had more manners than to tell him so. he said he hoped so too. I told him that Statement was no part of it true. he said you have a good right to Contradict it if it is not true, but you must tell me truths. he then went to his Scrutare and brought out A Letter and shewed it to us, under such an Injunction of Secrecy that we never can tell any body who the writer was, nor cannot ever speak to the Writer on the subject; but he Received it before we got here. He then asked us if we were in favor of the American Government. Silvanus Macy then told him the People of Nantucket were mostly Quakers and they had no unity with Wars at any time, but that we were fond of our Government until they declared War, that it was Intirely Inconsistent with the Quakeristick principle to fight at any time. he said you can find Money and that will answer the same purpose at any time, but we told him we had no Money nor Men: He said then Gentlemen if all he had heard was so he did not see how we could have the face to come to him on this Mission: Silvanus Macy then told him he was not one of the Select Men, he said then you are one of the Magistrates, he said no it is my Friend here that is both, he said you are both Represented to me as two of the strongest Democrats belonging to the Island; which we see by his Letters. we told him we were counted in the Republican party, but were no Advocates for War; He said that he never despised a Man for being in favour of his Government so long as that Government acted right. he then said now give me a plain statement of Facts which you can support if they are Combatted: which we did as follows Vizt. The Sloop Hawk which we are in, is Owned as follows Peleg Mitchell $\frac{1}{4}$, David Starbuck $\frac{1}{4}$, Paul Gardner & Sons $\frac{1}{8}$, Samuel M. Macy $\frac{1}{8}$, James Barker $\frac{1}{8}$, Isaac Coffin, myself $\frac{1}{8}$. The above are all Quakers excepting myself, and we none of us did ever loan one Cent of Money to the Government of the United States, at least I have no knowl-

edge of any such thing: The people of Nantucket are a Defenceless People and mostly Quakers. They never did Address the President of the United States with a tender of their Lives and Fortunes to support the War with Energy against Great Britain. The Island of Nantucket doth not Raise provisions enough for One Quarter part of the Inhabitants— They never owned a Privateer nor Letter of Marque in this War nor have they had a man in the Sea or Land Service of the United States Employed by the Town of Nantucket. they never had a Privateer nor Letter of Marque fitted from there or Owned there in the Last War, neither has there been an Organized Militia there these Fifty years last past. There is not a Tree on the Island of Nantucket of Natural Growth for Fuel. The Harbour of Nantucket is very Shallow not more than Nine and a Half Feet Water at full Sea Spring Tides.— We are the Representatives of the Whole Island and not of a Party. We have Spermaceti Oil and Spermaceti Candles, but no Cattle— We have not nor Cannot have Prisoners to Exchange for any of our Men that has or may be taken by his Britanic Majesty's Forces. We have had Twenty Sail of Whale Ships taken since this War Commenced besides Merchantmen and Small Vessels in the Coast-ing business, besides Cod Fishermen. We then made a full statement to him concerning the Sloop Earl from her Sailing from Nantucket up to her being taken and sent to Bermuda and about Peter F. Coffin, Jacob Barney, and Alexander Russell that were in the Sloop Earl. he said that Vessel ought not to have been taken, but it was too late now, and there was no help for it, but he would take it into Consideration about the Men and decide upon it tomorrow. as for Whaling on the American Coast or any other Coast he said he could not nor would not grant any permits neither would he do anything about Fishing for that would be Completely Declaring us to be in the King's Peace and we were a part of the Government of the United States, and it could not well be otherwise, that he could send some Troops there and Erect the British Standard but he believed that would only worst us he said; that he did not wish to starve the People of Nantucket, but this matter needed much Consideration. he hoped we had given him a statement of Facts which Could not be Controverted for he see that we were determind to have something done from him, that if we (he) Granted us any Indulgence we must not convey any Intelligence to the Americans and he would not request any from us. he then looked over our papers again and when he came to Captain David Starbuck's Name he then Asked us whither we were Acquainted with Mr. Starbuck that Moved from Nantucket to Halifax, Nova Scotia.* we told him we were well acquainted with him and all the Rest that Moved there. then Silvanus Macy Informed him that his friend I. Coffin was one of the very people that went there and Sailed from there five or Six Years. then he asked in whose Employ and I Informed him the Cochrain. then he quite Insisted upon my going there and Reassuming my Alliance and carrying on the Whale Fishery from there. he said Great Britain had seen their Error in not Carrying on the Business from the Colonies and giving Bounties for the Encouragement of it as she did from England. he then Informed us that if we wished it he would Write to the British Minister on the Subject, and he

*Probably Samuel Starbuck. On the 27th of the 7th mo. 1785, Samuel Starbuck and his son Samuel and their families went to Halifax hoping to establish the whale fishery there. Conditions did not seem propitious, so they did not remain. On the 29th of the 7mo. 1793 they formally left Nantucket for England where they with quite a number of Nantucket people, founded in Wales the whaling post of Milford Haven.

Insisted on my sitting down with his Secretary at his Table and Writing to the British Minister on the Subject, of the People of Nantucket moving to Dartmouth Nova Scotia. he said we should quickly have an Answer and he would send an Armed Force to take us to Halifax with (out) Expence as many as had a mind to Remove there. we Informed him that our business was to get Relief from starvation from him at this time, but that we would lay his offer before the Select Men of the Town of Nantucket and we thanked him Kindly for his Offer. he said we were Charged with no such mission it was True and it was prudent in us not to act upon anything we were not Charged with, but he was Confident that we should find our Account in it if we Acted upon it and I want you should write home to England on this Business. now he said you can Whale & fish. he then told us he was going to send a Dispatch to England giving an Account of the Destruction of Washington City, and wished something of this kind to go forward at this time. there were several Captains of the Men of War a Waiting a standing with their Hats in their Hands—He then said you will state what you want of us which we did. Vizt: We wished to get Liberty to Whale and Fish as we did under the British Admirals Arbuthnot and Digby in the American War as he was pleased to call it—He said that could not be done and he went largely into Explanations why it could not be done and why it was done in the Revolutionary War, but the case was altered. We then Asked for Permission to bring Provisions and Fuel for the Consumption of the Inhabitants of the Town of Nantucket—He said he would take that into Consideration and act upon it. We Asked then for Permission to carry a load of Bread Stuff to Nantucket in the Sloop Hawk but he said he hardly thought that would be Granted, but he would take it into Consideration. We then Asked for the liberation of Peter F. Coffin, Jacob Barney and Alexander Russell as we had not nor could not have any Prisoners for to Exchange for them. he said he would take that matter into consideration, and decide seperately on our several Requests but signified that it was better to have our request in Writing as is done in paper Number Three.* he then Dismissed us handsomely as many people were waiting and told us he would wait upon us tomorrow morning at Nine of the Clock observing that he hoped we had given him a Statement of facts for if we had not, that he should find it out. so we left him and left the Ship and Returned on board Our Vessel between Eleven and Twelve of the Clock at Noon (Returned on board of the Hawk).

“In the Afternoon at Four of the Clock the Admiral’s Cutter came after the Captain David Starbuck Silvanus Macy and Isaac Coffin. now what was going to take place we did not know. we went on board of the Surprise Frigate and found it was a Mistake in the Officer of the Cutter that we were not sent for by the Admiral but it was the Charlottes Crew so we were not to be Hanged or Burned at this time neither—The Admiral told us in the presence of Major General Ross and Ten Captains of the British Men of War that he was very sorry that his Officers had given us so much Trouble for nothing. we told him we were satisfied as we had nothing else to do but to wait upon his Excellency: He then Reprimanded Benjamin Coffin severely† and told us to call tomorrow Morning as he was going aShore with the General and the Captains of the Men of War Immediately. so after hearing the Band of Music we Returned on board the Sloop Hawk not much

*Probably not preserved.

†What Benjamin Coffin had been guilty of does not appear.

displeased with the Rout Number Two—To Morrow Morning then we are to know whither we are to be Hanged or Burnt as our Friend Obed Mitchell said we should be.” What followed the interview with Admiral Cochrane has already been fully described in the Journal of the voyage. The Memorandum seems to end as abruptly as the Log began, much of the manuscript doubtless being lost or destroyed.

In the meantime matters had assumed new conditions at Nantucket. On the 22d of August the English privateer brig *Nimrod* anchored off the Bar and sent a boat ashore with a flag of truce.* The Selectmen at once met and sent a messenger to the officer in charge notifying him that they were in session and ready to receive any communication he had to make to them. The officer informed them that he had a communication from Commodore Hotham, which would be delivered on board the *Nimrod* to the person or persons designated by the Town to receive it. The Selectmen appointed a Committee from their own membership† and the following morning the Committee repaired on board the brig where they were courteously received by Capt. Newton and his officers. The Captain told them his mission was to arrange for an agreement of neutrality, to be observed by the people of Nantucket. He read to the Committee a communication from Commodore Hotham to the effect that if Nantucket would maintain a strict neutrality during the war, he would permit a specified number of vessels to import wood, provisions and other needed supplies. Naturally the Committee did not feel impowered to act on so important a matter without consulting the Town and so they came ashore for further instructions. They were promised a copy of the Commodore’s proposition but notwithstanding the fact that the *Nimrod*’s barge came ashore at the same time as the Committee it was two hours before the message reached them. In the meantime their associate Selectmen had been summoned so that the full Board awaited the pleasure of the officer of the boat. When the communication was received it was found that the action of the Town was required and a meeting was called forthwith convening at 6 o’clock the same afternoon. Jethro Mitchell Jr. was chosen Moderator. There was so large an attendance that the Town House could not accommodate them and the meeting was “Adjourned out of doors Round and about the Town Cistern,” which was located near the Friends’ South Meeting-house.

The communication of Commodore Hotham was read and proposed “That the people of Nantucket shall observe a strict neutrality between the two contending powers during the existence of the

*Mr. Macy in his personal diary says of this affair—Members of the Federal party treated them “with more familiarity than any strangers ever here before.”

The Hawk returned to Nantucket Sept. 10, 1814.

†July 23 the Town appointed the Selectmen a committee with full powers to use such means as they legally could to secure permission to import fuel, provisions and other necessities of life from the continent.

present war; shall refrain from taking up arms against the subjects of Great Britain; shall surrender up all public arms, guns, ammunition, and all other public property of every kind and nature.

"In case of a compliance the British authorities would permit a limited but a small number of vessels to import wood, provisions, and other necessities, to the Island, and if a surplusage should appear, all British vessels coming to Nantucket should have liberty to purchase refreshments, provided it did not distress the inhabitants; and that a deputation from the Town should meet the Commodore at Gardners' Bay to conclude the treaty."

There was a brief discussion as to the terms and conditions, the general purport of which was that they were not unreasonable, and if complied with would bring a much needed relief. The opinion was generally expressed that where our own Government was unable to help the people of the Island it could not reasonably object to the Town availing itself of this opportunity to avert an otherwise assured condition of severe suffering. To many it seemed a matter of life or death. The Town thereupon voted:

"That This Town will not take up arms against Great Britain during the present War between Great Britain and the United States of America severally or Individually.

"That This Town will surrender up all such publick Arms, Ammunition, and other publick property that shall be found in said Town.

"That this Town will not take up Arms to Defend any publick property.

"That this Town will make no opposition against any Brittish Vessel Coming into this harbor to Refresh.

"That this Town will choose a committee to await on Commodore Hotham, in Gardner's Bay or Elsewhere agreeable to his Request.

"Voted that the Committëe provide a Vessel for them suitable for their purpose."

The Committee chosen was Capt. Joseph Chase, Zenas Coffin, Josiah Barker, Mr. Aaron Mitchell.

It was voted "That the Committee inform Captain Newton, Commander of the Brigg Nimrod, of the proceedings of this meeting, and that they are appointed to wait on Commodore Hotham in Gardner's Bay, or elsewhere."*

*Under the caption of "Nantucket Neutral!" the New Bedford Mercury of Sept. 21, published the following extract from a letter from Nantucket, dated Aug. 22 to a man in Boston—"Since I wrote you on the 20th the whole island has been in an uproar.—The British brig Nimrod, Capt. Newton, came up and anchored just outside the bar yesterday afternoon—a lieutenant came on shore with 16 men in a barge, with some kind of a mission to the Selectmen; they tarried till near dark and returned.—We knew nothing of the nature of this proceeding till this forenoon.—The Selectmen and two or three of the principal inhabitants went down in two boats with flags, at about 10 o'clock. In about an hour they returned with Capt Newton and several of his officers.—the Captain went up into the Hall of the upper office, where about 150 of the inhabitants were assembled, and delivered to the Moderator of the Meeting a paper containing sundry proposals. Previous to his arrival, however, a letter was read in the hall, which was brought by the Nimrod, from Com. Hotham, dated yesterday off Gardner's Island, on board, H M. ship Superb—this letter stated that the Vice Admiral (Cochrane) had received the communications of the
(See next page.)

Macy says* "The forementioned communication from Commodore Hotham appeared, from its tenor and other circumstances to have originated from certificates given by the Selectmen and magistrates of Nantucket, to qualify a vessel to go and meet the British commander-in-chief, and from him to endeavor to obtain permission to bring a load of bread stuff from Virginia for the sole consumption of the inhabitants, stating the distressed situation of the Island at that time. Admiral Cochrane, on receiving this in-

magistrates of Nantucket" (dated June 17) "requesting relief, and representing the inhabitants to be in a state of starvation, and that he had sent the Nimrod to inquire into the truth of the statement. The paper handed by the Capt. contained proposals to this effect, viz—The inhabitants of the Island shall declare themselves neutral, and continue so during the war. They will be allowed to import from the continent, fuel and provisions, in a small and limited number of vessels, which are to be licensed by the British Commodore. All government property, if any, shall be given up or destroyed—such as artillery, arms, ammunition &c (there is none here.) The inhabitants will not be allowed to carry on "their fishery"—(I presume he meant the **whale fishery**)—they may **export** as well as import—such articles however as will not pay a duty to Government—oil and candles I presume, pay no duty. Should any of his Majesty's vessels arrive here, they are to be allowed to take whatever provisions and supplies they may want, not distressing the inhabitants therefor, paying for the same. A deputation of the magistrates or Selectmen are to proceed hence to the Commodore in Gardner's Bay, tomorrow, if possible, to conclude the treaty.

There is to be a town meeting this evening. All the inhabitants are rejoiced at the prospect which this arrangement affords them—particularly the Democrats—who are the **first** to beg favors from the very enemy whom they have insulted and abused. Capt. Newton is quite a gentleman—He has been treated as such by all those who bear the same character themselves. He stayed on shore nearly all this day, riding out of town, &c. He dined on shore with several of his officers.

"This evening at 6 o'clock, the inhabitants met in the open street near the Town House, that building being too small for their accommodation. The proposals of the British Commodore being read, they passed the following resolutions, **nem. con.**—1. We will not bear arms against his Britannic Majesty during the present War.—2. We will deliver up all public property on the Island.—3. We will not oppose any British vessels who may arrive here for provisions, &c, such as may be spared without distressing the inhabitants,—paying for the same.—(This vote was originally expressed thus, by **recommendation** of a **Democrat**; "We will supply the British vessels of war with such provisions as they may demand" which being **opposed** by a **Federalist** was **modified** as it now stands).—4. A committee of four of the Selectmen and Magistrates shall proceed forthwith to the British Commodore to ratify this arrangement.—5. This Committee shall consist of Joseph Chase, Zenas Coffin, Josiah Barker and Aaron Mitchell (two demos and two feds).

"The inhabitants of this Island by this measure are inconceivably relieved—They will soon be supplied with abundance of provisions, fuel, &c by means of those vessels which will be licensed for the purpose. Those who have not paid the Direct Tax, will get clear of the same—for the U. S. jurisdiction over the Island, ceases, I presume during its **Neutrality**. Vessels will be going direct to Boston. There will not be any obstructions to the navigation of the Island, while the Deputation is away—the Nimrod being ordered to convoy the vessel conveying them. (the packet sloop Experiment,) to Gardner's Bay. It is expected they will be absent about a week.

"23 Evening.—I have just returned from on board the Nimrod, where I have been treated with great politeness and hospitality. We were saluted and cheered as we left her. About 70 vessels have applied for licenses: It is not likely they will all be granted."

*Hist. of Nantucket p. 192. The New Bedford Mercury reported the English Frigate Pomona at Holmes Hole Aug. 16 waiting for a pilot for Nantucket. The pilots told the Captain she drew too much water to go to the Island. He did not credit the story and sent another boat to bring a pilot or six men. Capt Peter West went off and was treated very civilly. The Captain said he had written orders to go to Nantucket and relieve it and give the people liberty to trade with the continent. His designs on Nantucket were not ill but good. Capt West advised him to go around South of the Vineyard as it was not safe on the Shoals. He thanked him and went, and evidently met the Nimrod south of the Island.

formation, directed Commodore Hotham to send a vessel to Nantucket, and make the foregoing provisions of neutrality."

But the journal of the Hawk under date of September 7, says that a Committee evidently "from the Federalists had already interviewed Commodore Hotham and made an Arrangement with him." This was before he received the dispatches from Admiral Cochrane carried by Commissioners Coffin and Macy. It would seem therefore that this was a Committee of which no record was preserved and of which Mr. Macy makes no mention.

The day after the Town meeting at which the Town had voted to remain neutral the Experiment, carrying the Town's Committee, sailed for Gardner's Bay, accompanied by the Nimrod. On August 30 the Committee returned having successfully accomplished its mission. Commodore Hotham received them on his flagship, the Superb, and treated them very courteously. They gave an account, in some detail, of the distressed condition of the people of Nantucket and explained to him that there were no arms, artillery, ammunition or other warlike stores nor any other Government property of any kind on the Island, save the two lighthouses with a scanty supply of oil, barely sufficient for the season which they desired they might be allowed to retain. Negotiations were completed satisfactorily and the Commodore signed the following agreement:

"By the Honorable Henry Hotham, Commodore, commanding His Majesty's ships and vessels employed on the coast of North America, betwene Nantucket and the Delaware:

"The Island of Nantucket having been this day declared neutral by a deputation appointed at a legal Town Meeting, held on the 23d instant, to wait on me to stipulate for the relief of the inhabitants, who engage they shall take no part whatever in the war between Great Britain and the United States of America, and that such refreshments as it can afford, without distressing themselves, shall be as free for the use of His Majesty's ships as at other friendly places; and having, by the direction of Vice Admiral, the Honorable Alexander Cochrane, K. B. Commander-in-Chief, &c &c. &c., in consideration thereof, granted them permission to import provisions, live stock, fuel, and other necessities of life, from the Continent of the United States, and furnished certain Vessels with passports to perform such voyages, unmolested by the Ships and Vessels of His Majesty and by the private armed Vessels of his Subjects:—

"These are to request and direct, that no hostilities nor depredations be committed by those which may arrive at or communicate with that Island.

"Given under my hand and seal on board His Majesty's Ship Superb, off New London, the 28th of August, 1814.

"HENRY HOTHAM.

"To the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels, and of the private armed Vessels of his subjects.

"By command of the Commodore
JOHN IRVING."

Agreeably to the terms of the agreement, Mr Macy states that three passports were granted to go to the Delaware, and three to go to New York; to procure provisions, and other necessities; fifteen vessels were licensed to bring wood.*

The following is the particular form of permit granted: "(Seal)

By the Honourable Henry Hotham, Commodore, commanding His Majesty's ships and vessels employed between Nantucket and the Delaware.

"Having, by the direction of the Vice-Admiral, the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B., Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c., stipulated with the magistrates and Selectmen of the Island of Nantucket for the Neutrality of that Island, and, in consideration thereof, granted permission to the Inhabitants to import provision, live stock, fuel, and other necessities of life for their use, from the United States of America:—"These are to require and direct the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels, and of the private armed Vessels, not to molest or interrupt the Sloop ——— of about fifty-five tons burthen, navigated by inhabitants of Nantucket, carrying no guns or other arms of any kind, in the employment of conveying the above described articles from the Delaware to Nantucket; or sperm candles or oil from that Island, provided she be not found carrying on any other trade, or commerce, with His Majesty's enemies, nor fishing in the open sea; in either of which cases, she will be committing an infraction of the agreement made this day by the aforementioned parties respectively, and will be liable to capture.

Given under my hand and seal on board His Majesty's ship Superb, off New London, 28th August, 1814.

"HENRY HOTHAM."

"To the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels and of the private armed vessels of his subjects.

"By command of the Commodore.

"JOHN IRVING."

The permits as granted were so limited by restrictions that they afforded but little relief. The people could not fish or whale

*Hist Nantucket p. 194. Mrs. Fanning in her Diary thus describes this affair: Monday Aug 22. "The British Brig Nymrod, is at our Barr sent this afternoon ashore her Barge as a flag—1st Lieut: in her—with a Lett from the British Ad to the Magistrates of this town, the purport of which is—that if we will declare ourselves Neutter & suffer them to come here unmolested—& grant them any little refreshments if we have them to spare, we shall be permitted to bring provisions and fuel to the place.

"Tues Aug 23—Officers ashore from the Nymrod—Capt. & other officers—are treated with the greatest politeness—invited among the Mitchells & others—to dine, tea &c—eve.-6 o'clock. Town meeting call'd all unanimity—Feds & Demos—Voted That this Island should be Neuter during the War. That we will suffer British Vessels to come here unmolested—that if they are in want of refreshments we will supply them, they paying for the same. Voted that Zenas Coffin, Jo Chase (Demos) & Josiah Barker & Aaron Mitchell feds should be a committee to go to the British Ad & conclude the negociation—all harmony—the Demos are obliged to comply & fall in with the feds.

"Wed Aug 24 "the Maria Packet went off to the Nymrod—Large numbers of Gentlemen & Ladies went off—had a dance on board some tarried till 9 o'clock.

Fri Aug 26 "Nymrod sail'd today—Experiment in Co with our Committee bound to L. Island."

Tues Aug 30 "Our Committee returned 3 vessels licensed to go to Philadelphia—2 to N. Y."

nor could they carry fish to market. The passports being granted to specified vessels could of course only be used by them and their capacity was not sufficient to supply the reasonable needs of the people. Naturally those whose vessels were lying idle at the wharves chafed some at not being able to use them, but that was a condition naturally to be expected.

The danger that some evil-minded person might maliciously misrepresent to the Government at Washington the arrangements with the British authorities became a source of worry. So forcibly was this danger impressed upon the people that a Committee was selected to wait upon Vice President Elbridge Gerry and state candidly the situation. Mr. Gerry had not gone on to Washington, but was at his Massachusetts home. There the Committee found him and told him frankly the condition the people were in and what they had been forced to do for their own preservation. After attentively hearing them he told them that he could not condemn their action, and that he knew of no other way in which they could have accomplished the needed results. He promised to bring the matter to the attention of the Government and do all in his power to secure its approbation. He recommended further that a statement of facts be forwarded to Congress.

In the meantime the Commissioners who had returned from the expedition in the Hawk to interview Admiral Cochrane made a report of their stewardship. A postscript had been added to the dispatch which the Admiral had delivered to them to the effect that "If Nantucket paid the Direct Tax, or internal duties, the stipulations entered into for their relief &c., should become void." This injected a new and entirely unexpected complication into the situation. The Commissioners were at a loss to see how that restriction could be complied with.*

The communication which Commodore Hotham sent by the Commissioners read thus:

*The dispatch given the Commissioners for transmission to Commodore Hotham read:

"Surprise, in the Patuxent River 30th of August, 1814.

"Sir:—A deputation from the Island of Nantucket having waited on me in this river, under a flag of truce, to solicit permission to obtain supplies of food and fuel from the continent of the United States, I have referred them to you, and you will be pleased to grant, them such indulgences as you may deem proper, consistently with what is prescribed in my letter No. 6, of 26th July, 1814, respecting the inhabitants of that Island.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant

ALEXANDER COCHRANE.

"Vice Admiral and Commander in Chief &c &c
"Rear Admiral the Hon. Henry Hotham, &c &c

"P. S. You will be pleased to signify to the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, that, if it is found they pay any direct taxes, or internal duties, for the support of the Government of the United States, I will withdraw this indulgence forthwith, and will call on them to pay double the amount to His Majesty's Government.

ALEXANDER COCHRANE.

“His Majesty’s Ship Superb
off New London, 8th September, 1814.

“Gentlemen:—I have received instructions from Vice Admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane, K. B., Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c., which will require that the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket should distinctly understand that the terms, on which they have stipulated for the neutrality of that Island, will not permit them to pay any Direct Taxes, or Internal Duties, for the support of the Government of the United States of America; and that I should receive an assurance from you, that they conceive a strict neutrality will preclude them rendering any support of that nature to that Government; in failure of the execution of which, I am instructed forthwith to withdraw the Passports I have granted to their Vessels, and to call upon them to pay double the amount of the Taxes to His British Majesty’s Government they pay to that of the United States of America.

“I have the honour to be, &c.

“HENRY HOTHAM, Commodore.”

“Directed to the Town’s Committee.”

“P.S. A Nantucket Vessel having been found whaling with a counterfeit protection, orders will be given to His Majesty’s Ships to capture or destroy all Vessels belonging to that Island, which shall be found with any other than the original Protection granted to them.”

This was putting the Islanders “between the devil and the deep sea.” They were escaping the Scylla of English depredation to be wrecked on the Charybdis of American legal requirements. No recourse was open to them save to petition their own Government to exempt them from all taxation.

A town meeting was at once convened, a petition to Congress was drawn up read and accepted and it was voted to forward it to Congress. The following is the petition as it appears on the Town Records:

“To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:

“The inhabitants of the Town of Nantucket are compelled, by Calamities beyond their control, once more to petition the Constituted Authority of the Nation, to contribute at least so far to the alleviation of their sufferings, as to suspend the collection of the Direct Tax and Internal duties which, by Law, are, or may be, liable to be exacted of them. they are convinced that a Reiteration of the peculiar, Multiplied, and overwhelming evils which assail them, is not Essential to procuring the Relief for which they are Now Constrained to petition. Exposed to the free and undisturbed access of the Declared Enemies of the Government of the United States, it is indispensable to their Existence as a component part of that Government that They should not during the Existence of the War, Contribute to the means by which it is carried on. Indisposed as your petitioners sincerely are to Injure their own Country, or to Contravene its wholesome Laws, they cannot be less anxious to avoid affixing the Seal to their own misery and destruction. It is Evidently certain that while they Continue without the protection of the Government of the United States, and Exposed to all the

depredations that may be Committed upon them, they cannot justly be Reduced to misery and starvation, for a pecuniary Contribution so inconsiderable to the Government, as that which is Required of them. this Consideration alone is not only sufficient to justify the Respectful application, but it ought we believe to Claim for it that attention which will lead to a complete attainment of its object.

"Signed in behalf and by Direction of the Town of Nantucket, in Legal Town meeting Assembled on the 15th day of September, 1814.

"Attest— JAMES COFFIN, Town Clerk."

At the same Town Meeting it was agreed to send a letter to Commodore Hotham, of which the following is a copy:*

Nantucket, 15th September, 1814.

"The Honorable Henry Hotham, Esquire, commanding his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of North America, from Nantucket to the Delaware:

"Sir—We have the Honor to Acknowledge the receipt of your Communication, dated on the 8th instant, and we now beg leave to reply to the Subject of it. The Inhabitants of the Island are under a full Conviction of the heavy pressure, the Payment of the Direct and other taxes would have upon them at this time of increased and increasing distress, but they have had to act on this subject with much obvious embarrassment, reflecting on the effect that a refusal of the payment would have on the one hand, while they contemplated on the other, with no less anxiety the intimations that the payment should cause the generous privileges granted them to be withdrawn. In this extreme, critical, and perplexing condition, they assembled in Town-meeting, and resolved to petition the Congress of the United, if not to remit, at least to suspend the collection of the taxes during the existence of the present unhappy conflict. But to remove all doubt of the intention of the inhabitants fully to comply, as far as practicable, with the requisitions of the Honorable Sir Alexander Cochrane, the officer deputed to collect the taxes upon the Island was prevailed upon immediately to resign his commission.

"We feel confident, that no inhabitant of the Island will accept the appointment as collector, and that no stranger will expose himself so much, as he necessarily must, to hold this undesirable office. Under these circumstances, we are persuaded no taxes will be paid; but we think ourselves justified in believing, that a public and direct refusal will not be required of us; for the peculiar favors already granted to this place evince, in his Brittannic Majestys Government, and in his naval commanders a determination not to embarrass and distress, but to aid and relieve the unoffending inhabitants.

"Respecting the counterfeit protection referred to in your honor's communication, we have made strict inquiry, which has produced in our minds a conviction that the supposed counterfeit papers were merely an attested copy of the votes of the town, and a copy of the protection granted the town, attested by a notary public. These copies were procured to show the neutrality of the island, in the event of the vessel's capture and destruction, to induce the discharge of the men, if such discharge should be consistent with the instructions given to his British majesty's commanders. We do not discover that any injury can result from these copies; but if this use of them, as thus explained, does not comport with your honor's

*Macy Hist. of Nantucket, p 203.

views, no pains shall be spared on our part to suppress the use of them.

"In order that you may be better able to judge of the tenor of these instruments granted, we here inclose you a true copy of all the papers which have been given to those vessels who have no protection.

"We have the honor to be, etc."

"(Signed by the Committee)"

A letter was received from Commodore Hotham soon after by the Committee demanding to be informed by the Committee "whether the Town is determined to refuse the payment of the Direct Taxes and Internal Duties, which are or shall be required by the Government of the United States?" This was a question that the Committee did not believe they had authority to answer and it was referred to the Town. A Town Meeting was convened on September 28, 1814, at which Josiah Barker, Esq., was chosen Moderator.* At that meeting the following action was taken:

"Voted That this Town will not pay any Direct Tax or Internal Duties during the present war between the United States of America and the Government of Great Britain."

"Voted That there be a committee appointed to Carry into Effect the Neutrality which is agreed on with Admiral Henry Hotham which shall consist of four persons."

The Committee elected comprised Aaron Mitchell, Jr., Mr. Roland Gelston, Mr. Benjamin Coffin, Josiah Barker Esq.

"Voted That the Committee above chosen be a Committee to Treat with the Commanders of all Publick and private Armed British Vessels that are or shall be visiting our shores."

"Voted That the Town do now discontinue all other Committees that hath been heretofore appointed by said Town to Treat with any of the Commanders of his Britannick Majesties ships or Vessels in behalf of the Town."

"Voted That the Town will prevent the Carrying away any provisions from off this Island more than shall be permitted by Admiral Hotham."

A delegation from the Committee was sent to Commodore Hotham to communicate to him the above votes. They made an ineffectual attempt to obtain further concessions from the British commander.

For awhile the protections granted by the English were of material benefit and were properly appreciated but their limitations

*The close observer of political affairs will note that temporarily the Federal Republicans have displaced the Democrats in public affairs. Mr. Macy does not allude to that feature at all but he says (page 205) "Many of the inhabitants, believing that the business was about to be conducted in a way that might bring the censure of their government, if nothing more, upon them, concluded that it would be safest for them not to attend the meeting. The meeting was, therefore, slimly attended. At this lapse of time it is difficult to see what justification there was for the Democrats to avoid a meeting to act on a report from their own Commissioners."

fomented jealousies not only among the Americans but among the English as well. Their value soon became greatly lessened and those who owned them hardly dared venture away from the home port.

On the 10th of October, 1814, one of the most remarkable conflicts in naval history took place off the south side of the Island. The Privateer Brig *Prince de Neufchatel*, 310 tons burthen, hermaphrodite rigged, mounting seventeen guns and accompanied by a recent prize, the *Douglas* from Jamaica with a valuable cargo of sugar, rum and cotton, had anchored off Maddequecham, the wind light, from the northward. The Privateer had taken several prizes and was laden with the most valuable parts of their cargoes. Manning them to send them into port had greatly reduced the number of her crew, and several from Nantucket went aboard to assist her crew in getting into port.* Among them was Charles J. Hilburn, who acted as pilot. A large ship was discovered wide in the offing to the south-west, which proved to be the British Frigate *Endymion*, the commander of which, evidently not daring to stand in too far on account of the shoals, thought to cut out the Privateer with his boats. Late in the afternoon five barges, loaded with men, were discovered coming from the Frigate, and Captain Ordronaux of the Privateer, prepared to give them a warm reception. At about 9 o'clock they came within musket shot of the *Neufchatel*, and the action commenced. The plan of attack was one barge on each quarter, one on each bow and one on the stern. The boats carried 111 men,† all told. The action continued about 35 minutes, every attack made being promptly repulsed, at the end of which time the English cried out for quarter which was granted. One barge, containing 43 men had been sunk and only two of her crew saved; one barge was captured; and three drifted from alongside with apparently no living person on board. Captain Ordronaux stated that he was unable to save the drowning men as he had no available boat and only eight men who were unhurt.‡ Six of the crew of the Privateer were killed, 15 severely and nine slightly wounded. Pilot Hilburn of Nantucket, was the first man killed.

The second lieutenant of the Frigate, three midshipmen, two of whom were severely wounded, with one master's mate, who was also wounded, were taken on board the Privateer. The remaining prisoners, 15 seamen and marines, were kept in the launch astern all night, as the Captain did not dare to take them on board, having already 37 prisoners from other vessels confined below.

*Coggeshall in his "American Privateers" makes the date Oct. 11 (p. 242). He locates the Privateer half a mile south of Nantucket and tells of Captain Ordronaux sighting the *Endymion* "off Gay Head," an impossible condition. (Macy in his history (p. 202) as well as in his personal diary fixes the date on the 10th. As Mr. Macy was within hearing of the guns he is more likely to be correct.

†A semi-official report in the *Boston Advertiser* says 104 men.

‡Coggeshall states (p. 243) that at the commencement of the action the Privateer had only 33 men including officers, at quarters.

The next morning, the captured officers signed a parole, for themselves and the seamen and marines, not to serve against the United States during the war, unless regularly exchanged, and were then landed on Nantucket. Mr. Macy says in his Diary two of the English prisoners died of their wounds and were buried at the South Shore. On the 12th, he continues, "the Privateer landed some of her wounded at Sesachacha; several of them appear to be mortal. Such as could bear the fatigue were brought to Town,* the others remained at Sesachacha. The Brig then stood northward around the Point. The prize had been aground on Pochick, but being afloat headed along northward. She got abreast of Squam and received information that barges were coming from the westward. It proved a fabrication, perhaps the work of some evil-minded person, who wanted the ship to come ashore, which, if so, had the desired effect, for they ran her ashore." In his weakened condition Captain Ordranax thought it wise to run into port, so he headed for Boston, where he arrived October 15. It was said that the English commander admitted a loss of 33 killed, 37 wounded and 33 prisoners. He gave the privateersmen great credit for their successful defence.

The report of the fight as published in the Advertiser of October 17 states that the Commander of the Endymion, not having any report from his boats, sent another boat to Nantucket to inquire what had become of them.†

*The Nantucket Inquirer of April 29, 1823 published the following—"In the War of 1812, after the fight between the American privateer Neufchatel and boats of the English frigate Endymion the wounded of both parties were landed at Nantucket. One of them had his under jaw badly shattered by a musket ball, and another had a wounded wrist making it necessary to amputate his hand. After the surgical operations had been performed they were soon invited to a friend's house to dinner and were observed to stick to each other pertinaciously. The company fell to: but our wounded heroes were disabled for the manual and maxillary exploits being performed around them. After having complacently surveyed the scene without any offer of assistance from the busy guests whose diffidence perhaps outweighed their inclinations, he with **one flipper**, thus sternly, though with much point of humor, addressed his broken-jawed companion: "I say Jack, since you can't grind, nor I carve, and the land-lubbers are all tucking the beef under their jackets, what do you say for splicing? **If you'll cut for me, I'll chew for you.**"

†Mrs. Fanning in her Diary gives the following report of the affair "Monday, Oct. 10 very pleasant, wind small, S. E.—about noon a privateer Brig & a ship, her prize, hove in sight to the S. W. of the Island—a Frigate in chase—The Privateer having Toe to the ship—with her sweeps gained in shoar—the air very small. before sunset the P. & prize were close in Shoar—to the south side several Barges discovered coming from the ship to her—At 9 o'clock firing of cannon & small arms for nearly ½ an hour was discovered where the Privateer was at dark."

Tues. Oct. 11. "The Barges attackted the Privateer—there was great Havvock made among them. they were repulsed & some taken—numbers kill'd & wounded—but it is not known how many—A. M.—A Barge came to the South side with over 20 wounded British—2 was dead in the Barge which was buried at the shoar—Waggons went down & brought them up carried them to Dixon's & Hannah Swain's—some very badly wounded—many were kill'd & thrown overboard—the 1st Lieut was kill'd immediately—attempting to board the Privateer—a no. of their Prisoners which they had on board previous to this engagement were put on shoar. Hilburn went out of a fishing vessel on board the Privateer as Pilot was the first man kill'd.

(See next page)

The cargo of the Douglass, as Mr Macy records in his diary, was quite freely looted. From its nature Mr Macy seemed to apprehend an unfortunate effect on the morals of some of the people.

The subject of peace negotiations was agitated prior to October, 1814, and the ministers of both countries were considering the terms under which a treaty could be made. On Thursday February 16, Mr's Fanning records in her diaries "4 men in a boat from old Town arrived at Smith's point* got to town to the lower office at sunset, brought the news that a British Flag Ship arrived at N. Y. 11 inst & brought news that Peace was signed by our envoys and the British: * * * Bells began to ring—rang till 9 shouting by the Boys &c through the streets the 2 offices were illuminated, the Lodge† & a number of Private Houses." The market during the winter had been well supplied with the necessaries of life so that the forebodings of suffering were not realized.

The war was over. It has been claimed by some that peace was negotiated without the issues on which the country went to war being settled, but the conditions were much like the older and larger boy assuming to impose on the younger and more vigorous one and the younger one resenting it. The older one is convinced that the younger is more than able to hold his own and retires from the field. Nothing was said about discontinuing the search of American ships and the impressment of American seamen, but the practices were certainly stopped as peremptorily as though stipulated by the treaty of peace.

How did the dawn of peace find Nantucket? Just before the war there were 46 ships belonging to the Island. Of these 22 had been captured and condemned as prizes and one was lost at sea;‡ exactly one-half of the fleet had been destroyed. There was much to do on those that were left to prepare them for sea but with the

"Wed Oct 12, the Americans put 14 of their wounded on shoar at Sassacercha 11 brought down—3 so badly wounded they could not be moved—the Privateer is making off with herself leaveing the ship to take care of herself—one of the British officers hired a boat last eve to carry him to the fleet at Tarpolin Cove—returned this eve with money cloathing & a Doct'r.

"Thurs. Oct. 13. People went up from Town to the E end said there was several barges & an arm'd Vessel comeing from the West hail'd the ship & gave the above information—in consequence of which the commander on board order'd her run on shoar—people have gone up to take out her cargo which is coffee, sugar, Rum & Cotton—her Cargo is invoiced at 90,000 sterling—ship cost 19,000 sterl.

"Sun. Oct 16 one of the wounded Americans died at Sassacercher last week & one of the British at Hannah Swain's. There is a great stir among the Inhabitants' getting ashore the property out of the ship * * * * they that get the most is the best fellow.

"Mon. Oct 17. ship parted last night—all her lower tear on board—the best of her sugars lost to the value of thirty thousand pounds sterl—the People say it is all the Agent's doing."

*The harbor was frozen up and the island was surrounded by ice.

†Union Lodge, A. F. & A. M.

‡Those captured were the Hope (full), Ranger (full), Alligator (full), Fame (1200 bbls), Rose, Manilla (full), Edward, Rebecca (full), Sterling (1500 bbls), Renown (full), Chili (600 bbls), Monticello (1150 bbls), Gardner (400 bbls), George (1300 bbls), Lion (900 bbls), Sukey (750 bbls), Perseveranda (350 bbls), John & James (1000 bbls) Mary Ann (650 bbls), Wm Penn (1300 bbls), Brig Ocean (full), Brig Leo. The ship Henry was lost at sea (See Tragedies).

courage born of hope the work of outfitting was begun at once. New vessels were added and by the close of 1815, there had sailed on whaling voyages 26 ships, 9 brigs, 4 schooners and 11 sloops. Nevertheless the aftermath of war left its imprint. Many people had left the Island to make their home on the continent.* Taxes for the support of the poor were nearly doubled. The direct taxes to the National Government were heavy and bore with particular force on those least able to pay, for there have been little income for nearly three years and returns from the whaling fleet must wait the issue of their voyages.

It is difficult to obtain a complete list of those from Nantucket who participated in the last war with England. It was not a popular affair in New England although this section was made the excuse for it. As fully as is ascertainable the following named were active participants and nearly or quite 500 prisoners were taken in Nantucket vessels:

Clothier Allen, served on a Baltimore privateer,
Christopher Bunker, served on a New York privateer,
John Barnard served on a New York privateer,
Amos Bowles, served on U. S. Frigate Constitution,
Thomas Barker, served in the Army,
David Bunker, served on U. S. Frigate President
Nathaniel Bunker Jr., served in the Army,
John Cottle, served on a New York privateer,
Caleb Cushman, served in the Army,
Henry Coleman, served on U. S. Frigate Constitution,
Andrew Coffin, served on a New York privateer,
William T. Coffin, served on a New York privateer
Ezekiel Clark, served in the Army,
Solomon Coffin Jr., served on the Yankee Privateer,
Joseph Elkins, served in the Army,
Daniel Fitch, served on Privateer Globe, Baltimore,

*Mr. Macy in his diaries cites these removals in consequence of the War: To Ohio— Stephen Briggs, Timothy Folger, Jona C. Rathburn, Andrew Pinkham, Silvanus Folger 2d, David Folger, Barnabas Coffin, Levi King, Hepzibah Chadwick, John Paddack, Charles Rand, Charles Coffin 3d, John Starbuck, Elisha Folger, Richard Gardner, Roland Coleman, Benj. Coleman, Richard L. Coleman, Mary Gardner and 2 children, Tristram Folger 2d, Thos. Hopkins, Edward Perry, Chas. Perry, Davis Whippey, Chas. Burr ridge, Matthew Coffin, David Giles, Isaac Sisson, Sam'l Swain, Laurence Gardner, Robt. Gardner Jr., David Upham, John Coffin, Solomon Swain & family, Wm. Cornell & family, Sarah Coffin, Jared Coffin, Benj. F. Coffin, Moses Coffin, Tristram Paddack, Alice Paddack, Jos. Paddack Jr, Geo. Macy, Ruth Barnard, Sarah Coffin, Wm. Morris, Jona Morris Jr., Matthew Macy, Abigail Macy, Nath'l Meader, Archibald Addison, Benj. Flagg, Benj. Paddack Jr., Christ, Coffin 2d, Sam'l Paddack, Joseph Paddack, Alex'r Coleman, Jos. Paddack, Heppa Smith, Thos. Myrick, Sam'l Loofborough, Abner Howard. Seth Starbuck to New Garden, N. C.; Job Chase to Adams; John Folger 2d to Hudson; Wm. Gardner 2d, Stephen Innis, Jona Cathcart, Eunice Noble, Polly Gardner, Stephen Remsen to Providence; Wm. Innis to North River, Frederick Jones west of Albany. Many of them were accompanied by their families. To those Mrs. Fanning adds Mr. King, wife and child and Richard Folger and family to Ohio and Mr. Bunker and granddaughter to Wareham, and Obadiah Wood and family to Kennebeck.

Giles Folger, served on a U. S. Frigate,
 Abishai Gardner, served on U. S. Frigate Constitution,
 Samuel Gardner, served on a privateer,
 Charles Gardner 3d, served on U. S. Frigate President,
 Thomas Hussey, served on a privateer,
 Matthew Jones, served on U. S. Frigate Congress,
 William Keen, served on a privateer,
 John Killey, served on a privateer,
 Thomas Killey, served on Fort near Boston,
 Silvanus Long,* served on a privateer schooner, Rosie
 Seth Long, served on a privateer from Baltimore,
 David R. Macy,† served on U. S. Frigate Congress,
 Gorham Macy, served on a privateer from Spain,
 Jesse Parker, served in the Army,
 Seth Pollard, served on a privateer,
 Owen Russell, served on a privateer from Boston,
 David Russell, served on a U. S. Frigate,
 Charles Swain, served in the Army,
 Barzillai Stetson, served on U. S. brig Argus,
 Francis Young, served in Fort in Rhode Island.

Other lists show:

Charles J. Hilburn,‡	Edward B. Hussey, privateer,
William Worth, (Navy),	Thomas Bunker,
Edward Allen,	J. Bunker,
Robert Bennett,	Davis Cleaveland,
Daniel Dunham,	George Chase,
Joseph Earl,	William Easton,
Benjamin Glover,	Moses Harris,
George Harris,	Henry Luce,
David Long,	David Osburne,
David Manning,	John Sylvia,
Obed Swain,	Daniel Swain,
John Smith,	Joseph Swain,
James Staples,	John Wilbur,
James Swain,	William Waterman.**
John Waterman,	

Commenting on post-war conditions Macy says: "Business was commenced with alacrity. In a very short time several ships were sent to sea. Small companies were formed by new adventurers, who made considerable additions to the fleet. Believing that the first oil imported would command a high price, many were stimulated to embark in the business, beyond the extent of their funds. Thus a system, if it may be so called, of long credits was introduced,

*Was wounded in the thigh and died in Baltimore.

†Died in service.

‡Killed on Prince de Neufchatel.

**On the second list with the exception of Hilburn and Worth all were confined in Dartmoor Prison.

which, though it promised some advantage to the community by bringing more ships into the service, and employing a greater number of men, was nevertheless pregnant with evils. Merchants were under the necessity of trusting out their wares, for an unusual length of time, and were subjected to the necessity of hiring money to purchase their stock, a practice which proved very injurious to them. And some owners, who did not meet with success, found themselves much embarrassed by thus transacting business.”*

From the close of the war until 1820, was a strenuous time for the poorer inhabitants of the Island. Not only were their finances sorely reduced but the seasons were more than ordinarily trying. During the winters of 1815-16 and 1816-17, the ice around the Island cut off communication with the mainland.† Taxes were particularly onerous because many of the small property owners were aged or widows with small estates and little income. In some cases it was necessary to sell a portion of their meager property to pay the taxes which amounted to a larger sum than their cash income for the year.‡

Says Mr. Macy, who was contemporary with the time and therefore particularly qualified to judge—“In 1817, two years after the war, its effects in some respects were more severely felt than during its existence. The people generally, and particularly the poorer classes, were more distressed for want of the necessaries and comforts of life, than when we were surrounded by the enemy. This may, at first view, seem paradoxical, but it can be explained as follows: At the close of the war, merchants and mechanics, in their avidity to extend their business to the farthest limits of their means, dispossessed themselves of nearly all their trading capital. Long voyages, and long credits put their property far beyond their immediate control. The excitement, produced by the return of peace, was succeeded by a season of languor. Want of employment compelled great numbers of the laboring poor to call for assistance. In the early part of the winter the weather was extremely cold, which obstructed a great part of the supplies intended for the consumption of the inhabitants. The price of flour presently rose to seventeen dollars per barrel, that of corn to two dollars per bushel, and there was very little of either article to be bought at even those prices. Beggars were now as numerous in the streets, as at any time during the revolution. Here was a scene which called forth the spirit of true benevolence; a field for all to labor in, whose hearts were not adamant. With many, doubtless, the precept of Jesus was carefully observed, “when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee.” The charitable hands of females, never closed and never idle when the sick and the naked called for help, were now busily employed in administering to the necessitous. The refuse of the rich was by their ingenious needles converted into comforts for the poor. The first

*Hist. Nantucket p. 210.

†February 1, 1815, the thermometer registered 11 below zero, the coldest ever known on the Island up to that time. Of the year 1816 it has passed into history as the year when there was a frost every month. Mrs. Fanning records June 7 Remarkably cold for the season—a good Winter fire very comfortable; June 8 Very cold; June 15 “remarkably cold weather for the season. Ice was on a Water Pail in the morn this week. Vegetation almost destroyed;” “June 16 very cold morning fire as comfortable as in Winter.”

‡Macy Hist. p. 211.

ray of the lamp of life, and its last expiring glimmer, shone upon their ministrations. Infancy, and disease, and age, were their peculiar care. Still neither private beneficence nor female associations were sufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger, and additional means were resorted to for affording sustenance to the poor. Soup being considered a cheap and nutritious food, an establishment was fixed upon where it was daily made, and where the necessitous were supplied free of expense, and others, if they chose, might buy. This establishment was kept open till spring, at which time business of various kinds presented, and the poor were enabled to contribute to their own wants."*

*Hist. of Nantucket, pp. 212-13.

CHAPTER VIII

1815 TO THE CIVIL WAR

Soon after this period of depression the whale-ships began to return. The long period of inactivity had resulted in increased breeding of whales and the vessels returned with good voyages. All kinds of business felt the stimulus. Merchant, mechanic and unskilled labor all felt renewed life. Ship owners were inclined to add to the number of the fleet. Candle houses and dwelling-houses were erected and once more the merry ring of the hammers of the coopers, the blacksmiths and the ship wrights made music that was sweet to the ears of the Islanders. Expenses were yet enormously heavy, but oil and candles brought correspondingly high prices. The northern whale fishery of the English had been a failure for two years, and Capt. David Porter had put a quietus on their Pacific fishery, so that England presented a good market for the Yankee whalers.

By 1819, there were belonging to the Island 57 ships and four brigs in the whale fishery and four brigs, 15 schooners and 62 sloops, mainly employed as coasters. The total tonnage amounted to 23,565 tons.

The success that was coming to Nantucket soon stimulated other Atlantic ports to engage in whaling. The depression among the shipping interests in general turned their attention to this pursuit and many entered into it with the natural result that more oil was imported than could be used.*

The Census of 1820 showed the following results:

	Males	Females	Total
Under 10 years of age	875	861	1736
Over 10 and under 16	515	490	1005
Over 16 and under 26	709	710	1419
Over 26 and under 45	763	828	1591
Over 45	484	757	1241
Totals	3346	3646	6992
Colored persons			274
Total			7266

*By 1821, Fairhaven, Hudson, N. Y., Rochester, Holmes' Hole, Newport, R. I., Wareham, Edgartown, Boston, Salem, Philadelphia, New York, New London, Conn., Dartmouth, Falmouth, Provincetown, New Haven and Stonington, Conn., Warren, R. I., and Plymouth had entered the field while those already in make renewed exertions, the aggregate result being a very serious competition.

By 1821, Nantucket had acquired a fleet of 78 ships, six brigs, 16 schooners and 59 sloops with a combined tonnage of 27,495 91-95 tons. Of these the 78 ships and three brigs were whalers, the others were coasters, in the foreign trade or engaged in cod fishery.* The Islanders' main stay, however, from the first was sperm whaling.

Whether it may have been the apparently inevitable aftermath of war, or whether the appearance of returning prosperity brought to the Island an undesirable element is not entirely clear, but whatever the cause, there seems to have arisen in 1817 an immoral condition which called for a remedy. At a Town Meeting held October 11, 1817, James Barker, Robert Brayton, Barnabas Swain, Charles W. Cartwright, Martin T. Morton, Hezekiah Barnard, Obadiah Folger, Charles G. Stubbs, Griffin Barney, Albert Gardner, Gideon Gardner John Cartwright, Gilbert Coffin, Elisha Starbuck and Matthew Myrick were appointed a Committee "to take into Consideration the subject matter Relative to the business in the Warrant and make Report at the Adjournment of this meeting." The meeting was then adjourned for one week. There is no warrant with the Records so that we must look to the report of the Committee for light.

On the 18th of October the meeting convened according to adjournment and the Committee presented the following interesting and forceful statement:

"The Committee to whom was referred the subject matter of the warrant Calling a Town Meeting on the 11th of october Instant Relative to the Recommendation of Licensing of Retailing of spirituous Liquors in this Town having given it that deliberate Consideration its importance demanded ask leave to

Report

That they are aware of the unwelcome Reception an expression of Idle propensities and vicious practices in a community is Commonly met with by that portion only who are most indifferent to the welfare and Interest of society, nevertheless your Committee feel it incumbent on them to endeavor to discharge their duty and arrest the progress of a Vice that pervades the Town, walks not only in darkness but devours at noon regardless both of the Jeers, of the profligate devotees and the ill bred sarcasm of Jesuitical obstinacy.

Your Committee have had the utmost reason to regret with many others of their Fellow Citizens for some years past the Rapid and unexampled increase of publick burthens and Can assign no so efficient Cause as that of misspending so great a portion of time and means in those fashionable places of Resort denominated Grog Shops. to the neglect of their Families and the Ruin of their Characters. Your Committee Recognize with sentiments of Veneration the safe guard and shield of defense Circumvailing the Rights of the Citizen of this Commonwealth secured by those Champions of

*From 1765 to 1775, Nantucket had 8 vessels engaged in the cod-fishery, a total tonnage of 320 tons, manned by 64 men. From 1786 to 1790, 5 vessels with a total of 200 tons and manned by 40 men.

rational Liberty the framers of our Bill of Rights and state Constitution and none, however tenacious, bow with more submission to their provisions, neither have they forgotten that Sound Maxim in social policy that in every self governed Community a portion of natural Liberty is necessarily surrendered for the security of the Remainder.

The execution of wholesome laws for infractions of their provisions is as necessary for the Body Politic as food for the body Phisical. But there are not Examples wanting of the inefficacy of Legislative and Executive severity to accomplish what has subsequently been effected by a perseverance of moral persuasion and exemplary instruction in which Cases the Latter have evinced a superior power one of which presents itself in a most emminent and impressive view in the person who was wounded for the transgressions of men. It has been experienced not only in Ancient but in more modern periods that great has been the deterioration from moral sanity, and depravity has been so predominant that it has been deemed most Expedient by the greatest sticklers for retributive Justice to avail themselves of an appeal to the publick for its direction.

Far be it from your Committee to urge defects in the Laws of this Commonwealth on the subject of Retailers of spirituous Liquors—they only Regret that they have been set at defiance by many of the venders of spirits so long that the indulgence of the magistrates whose duty the laws have made it to take Cognizance of such offenders has incorporated itself in the opinions of some among their inherent Rights. To this source may be imputed in a great degree the prevalence of the evil so Loudly Calling for immediate Correction. Many of the inhabitants of this Town have not to learn that instances have been frequent of persons bartering the scanty Earnings of a day's Labour paid in necessarys for their families use for an Odious and Intoxicating portion with the Retailers who is Recommended and Licensed as a proper person for the business and therewith approach his mansion of poverty and wretchedness to meet his fainting Wife and Hungry Children in Tears Contemplating the visionary prospect of a still longer and more distressing abstinence. Yea, further—some Retail shops have become the Repositories and Markett places for Effects procured by the liberal hand of charity as well as by the daring hand of larceny—Do not vices like these need Correction? Do not practices of this sort Call aloud for suppression? Let the publick opinion be set as a flint against them and our police officers be Called to discharge their Respective duties and ferret from the land, once the favourite abode of industry and plenty, Inniquities thus sapping the foundations of social happiness and domestic enjoyment.

Your committee have in vain endeavored to reconcile the idea with Sound Reasoning that it is unimportant to society how many retailers are licensed if they do not violate the provisions of law. The fact is self evident that the actions and conduct of men are principally influenced and governed by the force of imitation and Example. It therefore Results that the more Frequent are the Examples of a pernicious tendency to childhood and youth, the more premanent and indellible are the impressions.

With this view of the subject on which Your committee was directed to report they are of the unanimous opinion that more Licenses have heretofore been granted to Retail Spirituous Liquors in this Town than the public good or Individual Convenience Could possibly require and that they can perceive no usurpation of power from the selectmen nor any violation of the Charter of their essen-

tial Rights or the wholesome Laws of this Commonwealth in directing the attention of said selectmen to a specific subject and Request a Conformity to the opinion of the Town in Legal meeting Assembled."

There fore the selectmen and Court of Sessions are Requested not to Recommend and License more than ten proper persons to Retail spirituous Liquors in this Town the year Ensuing and that the Tythingmen be Requested to enforce a Rigid observance of the Laws in those Cases made and provided. All of which is Respectfully submitted.

The Report is signed by all the members of the Committee.

Nantucket 10 mo 18th 1817

At the Town Meeting the following spring (May 23, 1818,) it was "Voted that the Town Request the Selectmen not to Recommend any person to have a License to Retail spirituous liquor this year." That vote taken in connection with the fact that at the same time a committee was appointed to wait on the Town Clerk and request of him a copy of the proceedings of this meeting which the same Committee was further instructed to lay before the Selectmen at their next meeting excites a suspicion that the conduct of the Town fathers had not been in intimate harmony with the report of the Committee and the unequivocal trend of the meetings held October 11 and 18, 1817.

The following year (February 5, 1820), the Town addressed the following petition to the General Court:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts in General Court Assembled:

the Inhabitants of the town of Nantucket would hereby Respectfully Represent that having long viewed the Increasing Calamity and Distress brought on many people of this place and the Community at Large by the practice of too freely partaking of Ardent spirits, feel an Earnest Desire to Contribute all in their power for the Help and Recovery of those who may have been led by Custom or otherwise into destructive practice a practice which often destroys the most useful members of society by which their families are Reduced to abject poverty and Wretchedness.

From a consideration of these Circumstances we consider it a duty which we owe to our selves and the publick to use our utmost endeavors to arrest the progress of this destructive Calamity to Alleviate the Evils Complained of Your petitioners meet in Town meeting for the Express purpose and took into Consideration the Awful and Alarming subject and on Examining the Laws Respecting Licenses we are of the opinion that they might be so amended as to Cause greater Relief if not Radical prevention of the difficulties under which we suffer. your being sensible that little Can be done to accomplish this Disagreeable object without Legislative Assistance do therefore Respectfully ask your Interference so far as to Cause the laws granting licenses to Retailers of spiritious Liquors and Taverners or Innholders to be Revised so as to meet the views of your petioners. we therefore ask liberty Respectfully to propose that it be made the duty of Each Town in the Commonwealth at a Town Meeting held for that purpose to determine by a Major vote what number of Licenses may be granted to Retailers

of spiritious Liquors and Taverners for the publick good and when the number is so ascertained, for the privileges of the licenses to be sold at public auction to the highest bidder Either at the time of the same meeting or some other which shall then be determined by the vote of the Town and to such persons only as are of good Moral Character and otherwise qualified as the Law Directs, the privileges of the licenses to continue in force for one year at the Expiration of which it shall be the duty of the Town to make a new Choice in the same manner as is above stated. the profits arising on said sales of the Licenses to be paid to the Town Treasurer to be appropriated towards the support of the poor of the Town, and it shall be the duty of the Selectmen for the Time being to superintend the sales in behalf of the Town. Your petitioners having duly considered the foregoing propositions are of the opinion that if they are adopted the Effects would prove salutory. that Each Town in its corporate Capacity would be Enabled to Judge of the number Acquired for the Publick good, that it would prevent a Large number from spending their hard Earnings in an unnecessary manner, that it would Contribute to the necessities and Comforts of Life to many Destitute famalys, that it would have a beneficial Effect in Checking the Increase of pauperism: that it would yield a Revinue to Each Town which would be appreciated for the Publick benefits. We believe that many other Minor Advantages would manifest themselves on a full Investigation of the subject which we think unnesessary to Ennumbrate from a full conviction from the propriety of our petition we feel Confident that the Legislature will give that attention to the subject which its Importance demands.

Signed in behalfe and by direction of the Town
Nantucket February the 19th 1820

JAMES COFFIN

Town Clerk

ISAAC COFFIN, Moderator.*

Business continued to gain and the people to prosper and in 1830, Nantucket was recognized as the third commercial town in size, wealth and importance in the Commonwealth. Between 1820 and 1830, it is estimated that about 600 people removed from the Island to seek a livelihood elsewhere,† but the general progress of business in the latter part of the decade was such as to encourage the people to consider projects that would add to the Town's facilities as a port.

*A Town Meeting was held March 4, 1820, at which it was "Voted—That the Selectmen be a Committee to act and Transact all the business Relative to the Destressed sufferers by Fire in Savanner."

†In his private diary Obed Macy records the following removals, in 1823-24 and 25; In 1823—Josiah Macy and family, Gorham Macy (subsequently returned), John Shaw (subsequently returned), Obed Hussey and family, David Thain (subsequently returned), Jonathan D. Pope and family, Richard G. Howland, Josiah H. Riddell, all to New York, and Porter P. Neder to Tennessee; 1824—Jethro Mitchell and family, Samuel M. Macy and family, Obed B. Hussey, William W. Macy and family, Frederick Cartwright and family all to New York; 1825—Isaiah Brayton, to South Kingston; John Fitch to Kennebeck; John F. Coffin to New York; Edward Coffin, Plainfield, Conn.; Obadiah Coffin; Benjamin Folger, Reuben Swain, Milton; Obed Folger 2d, Auburn, N. Y.; Elisha Folger Jr., Laban Cottle, Eunice Macy (widow), Daniel Coffin, son of John, Scotto Wing, Kennebeck; Calvin Bunker, New York; Henry Bunker, son of Nathaniel, Connecticut; David Giles, Perth Amboy; Obed Wood, Providence; Alexander Coleman, Halifax; John Clasby, Jr., Portsmouth; Benjamin Barnard, son of Cromwell, Portland; Francis Macy and John B. Macy, New York.

The bar had always been a serious obstacle to commerce from the time when larger vessels, drawing eight or nine feet of water had replaced the sloops and small schooners that were originally used in the whale-fishery and in the carrying trade. When the whaleships had reached the size and draft that they had to have their supplies lightered to them as they laid off back of the bar at anchor, or took refuge at Old Town,* and their returning cargoes conveyed into the home port of Nantucket by the same process, the expense of outfitting and infitting was perceptibly increased. One project for remedying the difficulty was to dredge a channel through the bar of sufficient depth and width to accommodate the traffic. After considerable discussion a committee was appointed in May, 1828, to contract for a dredger to excavate for the channel. The machine arrived in November, and was set to work, and eventually excavated a channel which, if it had been permanent, would have been of inestimable value. When a similar project was considered twenty years before, it was pointed out that jetties would be needed to scour the channel and prevent the sand again blocking it up, but the expense was so heavy that the project was abandoned. The natural laws regarding tidal currents do not materially change, and jetties were just as necessary in 1828 as in 1805, so, while the project seemed for a time to promise success, the channel soon filled in again for lack of a scouring current, and the situation was not improved.

Another project which had commended itself from time to time to the Islanders as well as to the National authorities was the establishment of a "harbor of refuge," in what is called the "Chord of the Bay," the deep water lying inside of Great Point, between the Point and the Bar. Under certain conditions of stormy weather sailing vessels were unable to make Edgartown or Holmes' Hole (Vineyard Haven) and the run down Nantucket sound was perilous. Such a harbor would be of great value to the coasting trade, and save many a vessel from wreck. As elsewhere narrated an attempt was made to get the National Government to construct this harbor but it was unsuccessful. In the late winter of 1827-8, a memorial was sent to Congress renewing the effort to have this project consummated, and in December, 1828, a bill providing for a breakwater was introduced into Congress.† This followed having

*The colloquial name for Edgartown.

†On the 29th of the previous May (1828) Daniel Webster, then a Senator from Massachusetts, in a debate on the tariff, used local improvements as an inducement to enact a tariff bill. The section under consideration referred to a tax on molasses, which, he said would "benefit the Treasury, though it will benefit nobody else. Our finances will at least be improved by it. I assure the gentlemen we will endeavor to use the funds thus raised properly and wisely, and to the public advantage. We have already passed a bill for the Delaware Breakwater; another is before us for the improvement of our harbors; the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Bill has been brought into the Senate while I have been speaking; and next session we hope to bring forward the Breakwater at Nantucket." But the breakwater never materialized. It was recommended by the Massachusetts General Court in Feb'y 1828, and in Dec. 1828, it passed a second reading in the United States Senate. It got no farther.

a careful survey made to consider the desirability, feasibility and expense of the proposed undertaking. The survey and estimates had been made under the direction of Brevet Lieut. Colonel John Anderson, and the scheme was pronounced feasible and advisable. Again Congress was memorialized but the influence for Nantucket and the merchant marine was not strong enough to carry a bill through and the port of refuge has never existed save on paper.

Still another scheme was devised to overcome the handicap of the sand bar. Early in January, 1828, the subject of Dutch "Camels" was agitated in an editorial in the "Inquirer," as providing a safe method of transporting ships or other deep draft vessels in or out over the bar. It was not for some years after that the scheme materialized but in 1842, under the direction of Peter Ewer, they were built and operated.* They formed really a species of dry dock in two sections. The mode of operation was to separate the sections, submerge them as much as required by pumping in water, sail the vessel between the sections, inclose the vessel, draw the sections together again and after securing and blocking up the vessel, pump the water out again, and transport the craft out over the bar or elsewhere as desired, reversing the former operations and setting the vessel free again. The Camels were operated under their own steam. The first ship to enter them was the Phebe, but the ship Constitution was the first to put them to practical use. The first ship brought in over the bar with her cargo was the Peru. For some years the Camels were run with a reasonable degree of success, but Ichabod was soon to be inscribed on the record of Nantucket whaling industry, and after some seven or eight years of service they were pulled up ashore and in 1854, they were broken up.†

At a very early period, attempts were made to have a regular steamboat service between Nantucket and the main land. The first steamboat to make a trip to Nantucket was the Eagle, rather a crude little craft of about eighty tons, built at New London, Conn., early in the year 1818. She arrived in Nantucket on her first trip May 5, 1818, with about sixty passengers, some of them Friends, on the way to the Island to attend Quarterly Meeting.‡ Two weeks later another trip was made, and on the 25th of June, of the same year, she began making regular scheduled trips between New Bedford and Nantucket. As may be easily inferred she was not a fast boat, her record time having been made, Mr. Turner says July 30, 1818, "when she covered the distance in eight hours and seven minutes without making any stops." On July 24, 1818, she towed the whale-ship George, then just returned from a voyage with 2,016 barrels of sperm oil on board, over the bar and into the

*Mr. Ewer seemed to be quite the progressive spirit of his day. He caused the milestones on the Siasconset road to be placed (in 1824).

†Mr. Turner in his "Story of the Island Steamers" tells also the story of the Camels (pp. 102-113).

‡Mr. Turner gives much very interesting details relating to the steam-boats in the "Story of the Island Steamers."

harbor, the first instance of its kind in Nantucket history.* The steamboat was not a financial success, and in September of the same year she was sold and put upon the Boston-Hingham service.

In May, 1824, Capt. R. S. Bunker, a native of Nantucket, commanded a steamboat called the Connecticut, with which he tried to demonstrate to the Islanders the superiority of steam over canvas as a dependable means of uniting Nantucket and the main land, but his fellow Nantucketers refused to enthuse.† The Hamilton, a fifty-ton boat, was next in the field but she was one of those boats that had to stop every time she blew her whistle, or as a prominent Nantucket man of the day said—she “had not power enough to get out of her own way.”‡ She lasted in the service about six months,—quitting in the fall of 1828.

The Marco-Bozarris was the next venture. She was built and financed by Jacob Barker, and made her first trips in 1829.** She continued until the summer of 1832; when Br. Barker withdrew her, at the same time volunteering to aid, by personal service and financially, a project for acquiring a larger steamboat for the Island traffic.††

The efforts of the Island business men resulted in the building of the steamboat Telegraph, constructed especially for the duty. She was 171 tons burthen, 120 feet in length on deck, 19 feet 6 inches breadth, with 7½ feet depth of hold and with paddle wheel 17 feet in diameter. She had a copper boiler and burned wood for fuel and was commanded by Capt. Edward H. Barker, who had commanded the Marco Bozarris. Her first trip to Nantucket was made October 4, 1832. She did not begin her regular service until the following March, and then entered on a tri-weekly schedule. In 1842, business had reached the stage of prosperity when a larger and better boat was essential and the “Massachusetts” was built. She was about double the tonnage of the “Telegraph,” and better equipped in every way. She made her first trip July 4, 1842.‡‡

In 1854, the Hyannis route was opened, the Old Colony road having continued its line as far as that town, and it being thought the shorter sea route would prove preferable, the boats were taken from the Vineyard-New Bedford line and diverted to Hyannis. This was not pleasing to the Vineyard people, who temporarily put on the steamboat “George Law,” supplanting her in October, 1854, by the new steamboat “Eagle’s Wing” which was 439 tons

*“Story of the Island’s Steamers” p. 2.

†Ibid p. 3.

‡“Story of the Island’s Steamers” p. 5.

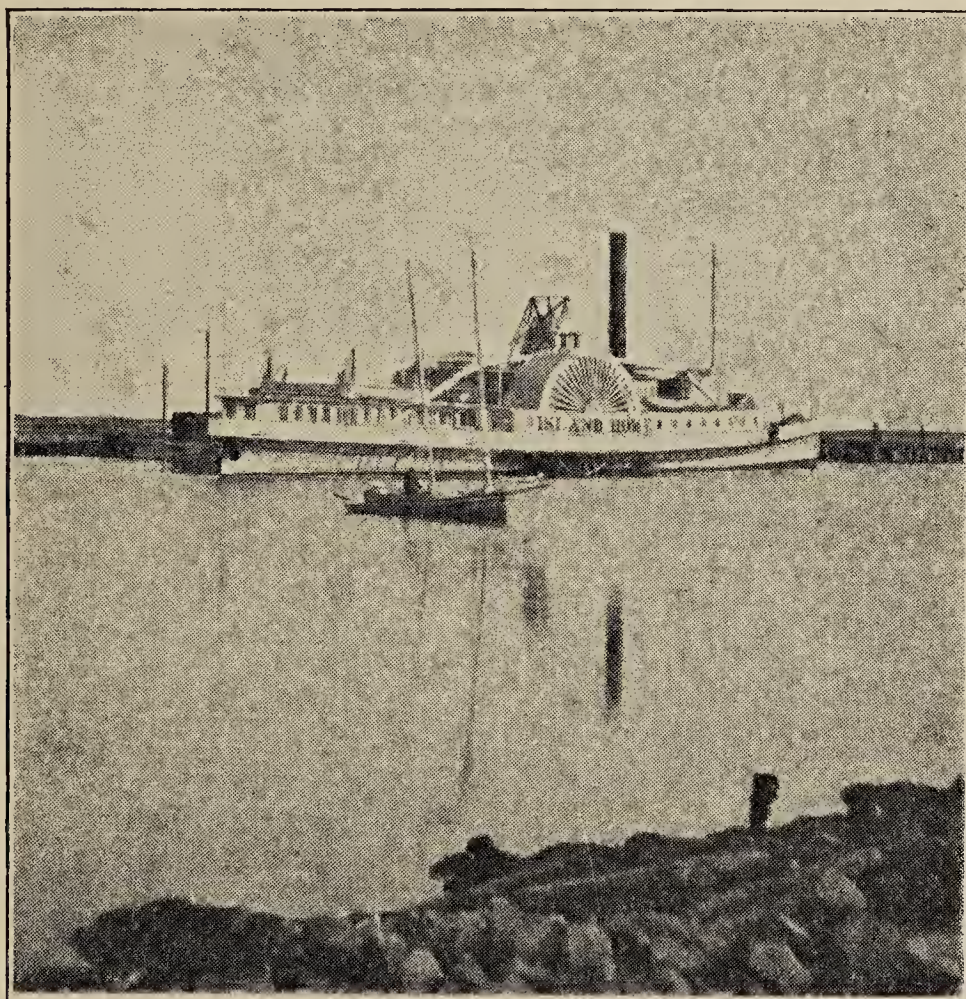
**Ibid p. 17-18.

††Ibid p. 19.

‡‡It is a singular co-incidence that she wound up her service on the National holiday and left Nantucket for the last time in company with the “Telegraph” at midnight of July 4, 1858. She was 308 tons burthen, 161 ft. 2 in. long, 23 ft. 11 in. beam, 8 ft. 4 in. depth of hold. Much of this matter regarding the steamers is condensed from Mr. Turner’s booklet.

burthen, 173 feet long, 27 feet beam, and was of the "walking beam" type, instead of the "gallows frame" as the "Telegraph" and "Massachusetts" were.

The "Island Home," built for the service, took the place of the "Massachusetts" on the Hyannis route in September 1855. She was a very superior boat and the Islanders became much attached to her. She was 184 feet long, 29 feet 8 in. beam and of 536 tons burthen. There may have been something in the name as well as



THE ISLAND HOME

in the excellence of the craft for there seemed to be a sense of personal loss among the people when she sailed her last trip from Nantucket in 1895.

In 1856-7, the propeller "Jersey Blue" run for awhile direct between Nantucket and New York, and the propeller "Osceola," in 1848, was used in a vain attempt to establish a business line between Nantucket and Hartford, but both vessels were withdrawn for want of patronage. The "Martha's Vineyard" was added in 1871; the "River Queen" in 1873; the "Nantucket" in 1886; the Gay Head in 1891; and the Uncatena 1902, and the Sankoty in 1911. The last named was burned at her dock in August, 1924. The most

recent addition is the Islander, built especially for the service, and put into commission in August, 1923.

The isolated situation of Nantucket and the compact nature of its settlement, no less than the inflammable material used in the construction of its buildings, has always made the Islanders especially alert at any alarm of fire and on their guard to reduce the danger to a minimum, so far as local by-laws and local precautions would permit.

In his History of Nantucket Obed Macy gives the following list of fires:*

Buildings Destroyed By Fire

In 1736—Friends Meeting-house, estimated loss	\$ 400
1762 Peter Barnard's house	400
1765 Mill	500
1769 Several buildings on South Wharf	11,000
" Several buildings at Brant Point	1,000
1774 Enoch Gardner's barn	100
1782 Light-house at Brant Point	1,000
1786 Light-house at Great Point	1,000
" Nicholas Meader's house at Sesacacha	100
1797 Two barns†	300
1799 Isaac Folger's shop	1,500
1802 Nathan Bebe's bake-house	2,000
1810 George Russell's shop	350
1811 Matthew Myrick's rope walk	3,000
1812 Samuel Swain's house at Phillips Run	200
" Several buildings at South Wharf‡	6,000
1814 George Myrick's farm house	300
1816 Light-house at Great Point	500
1820 Jethro Dunham's house at Tuckernuck	400
1823 T. & H. Starbuck's shop	100
1822 Isaac Coffin's barn	900

Buildings Injured

Thomas Smith's shop	1,000
John R. Macy's shop	600
Elizabeth Chase's shop	1,000
Adding to these losses \$3,000 for slight injuries at different times	3,000

\$36,000

*Page 284-5. Mr. Macy's list foots up \$36,600.

†Jan. 1 two barns were struck by lightning and destroyed.

‡The New Bedford Mercury says—Fire at Nantucket Friday morning Nov. 20 in a blockmaker's shop, burned 9 buildings, stores and shops; loss \$10,000 to \$12,000. Among the sufferers were Daniel Barney & Son, Simon Borden, John W. Macy, Samuel Burnell, Samuel Dow, Wm. Folger, Ebenezer Drew 2d, Benj. Coleman, Paul Mitchell & Co., Aaron Mitchell, Joseph Winslow, and Samuel Barker.

It is believed that the total value of property destroyed by fire since the settlement of the Island has not exceeded\$36,000

Shortly after the publication of Mr. Macy's History there was a different story to tell. In May, 1836, a fire, quite disastrous as compared with previous records, destroyed the Washington House and several stores on lower Main street inflicting a loss of \$35,000 of \$40,000.*

A far more destructive conflagration occurred on June 2, 1838. According to the Nantucket Inquirer it broke out soon after 2 o'clock in the morning of that day, and raged for nearly four hours before being brought under control. It originated in a ropewalk, owned by Joseph James, in the rear of Union street. A wind blowing from the south threatened dire results to a large portion of the Town. It was found necessary to resort to the use of gunpowder and blow buildings in the path of the fire to pieces in order to check it. The Inquirer of that morning which held up its edition to give a report of the catastrophe, reported that between 20 and 30 buildings were demolished and a vast amount of property destroyed. Dwellings, stores, candle and oil factories with their contents were burned. It was only by incredible exertions, says the Inquirer, that no more damage was done. It was necessary to resort to the use of gunpowder to check the spread of the flames and four dwelling houses, one store and a workshop were blown up to effect the result. The Inquirer, in an Extra published June 6, made the following interesting comments: "There were several remarkable circumstances connected with this conflagration, which peculiarly distinguish it from all others of which we have ever heard or read. On examining the site of the fire, there is scarcely a particle of ashes to be discovered from one extremity to the other; nor were there remaining, of some of the largest buildings, enough charred wood, brands or charcoal, to fill a common cart. The greatest part of the ground is swept entirely clean, as though by some agency far more nice in its operations than that of fire; and the few brick and stone ruins of chimnies, try works, &c, which still retain their positions, look like naked monuments on a desert plain. The absence of ashes and cinders may possibly be accounted for, by the furious strength of the flames, which carried off in whirlwinds, to immense distances, all combustible matters that was not utterly consumed on the spot. On places occupied for the storage of oil, the hoops of the casks were left standing in rows without a vestige about or beneath them, of the staves which they had so recently and so firmly embraced. We have already

*This fire occurred on May 11, starting about 11.30 p. m. in the rear of the Washington House, on Main street, Elisha Starbuck proprietor, apparently near the kitchen chimney. From the hotel it spread to Francis F. Husseys house and store then to the hardware store of William C. Swain at the corner of Union street thence to a tailor shop kept by a man named Cowan. The Inquirer in its report of the fire says that the ladies were of much assistance in fighting the fire.

A few days later (May 16) the dwelling house attached to Great Point Light was destroyed by fire, occasioning a loss of from \$700 to \$800.

spoken of the streams of blazing oil which ran along the margin of the adjacent beach, and covered large tracts of the waters of the harbor with a sheet of liquid fire.*—This was one of the most singular of the phenomena presented by this memorable spectacle: its appearance was indeed strangely and fearfully grand. Several platforms, upon which stood oil sheds, &c, extending from the south side of Commercial wharf, were ignited from below, and finally consumed:—the curious examiner may still see the remains of many of the floor beams and joists, under which the tide ebbed and flowed, and which are burnt away only from the nether side, or part next the water. The wharf logs, posts, piles, &c, from the surface of the tide upwards, are also greatly burnt—as are also the upper surfaces of a large body of spars lying in the dock of a neighboring mastyard. A raft loaded with a large quantity of valuable stock, prepared for the construction of whale boats, was launched from the rear of T. G. Barnard's workshop into the harbor, but was afterwards set on fire by the overspreading coat of burning oil, and totally destroyed."† An interesting editorial comment, in view of what occurred less than a decade later, was that from the excellent work of the Fire Department it seemed well-assured that "no fire in Nantucket can ever again be so extensive and alarming."

It was about this time that a new industry was projected at Nantucket. The people through whose hardihood and bravery the monsters of the deep had been captured and made to illumine the world were to rear the docile silk-worm and use the products to beautify and adorn their neighbors. Instead of the harpoon and the boat they were to accustom themselves to the shuttle and the loom. It had been suggested that the climatic conditions of Nantucket were admirably adapted to the growth of the mulberry tree, the natural habitat of the silk worm and that the spinning and weaving of silk would naturally follow the production of the raw materials.‡

*"Large quantities of oil floated through drains beneath the ropewalk, into the low and marsh grounds to the west, much of which was afterwards dipped up in casks; while still greater quantities saturated the earth whereupon it had flowed, filling also a ditch which extended along the whole length of the ropewalk, and presenting a living sheet of flame for hours after the whole area had been swept of its buildings.

†The more important losses were James Athearn, oil stock etc \$46,000; French & Coffin, do. \$32,000; Matthew Crosby & Son, do. \$24,000; Daniel Jones & Sons, do. \$23,000; Joseph James, ropewalk, stock, etc \$13,300; Valentine Hussey & Brother, oil manufactory, fixtures, etc. \$10,000; Philip H. Folger, do. \$8,000; R. R. Bunker, twine factory and stock, \$2,000; and the following dwellings—Harvey Crocker, \$4,000 (insured for \$1,000); James N. Bassett, \$3,200 (\$1,000 insured); Walter Folger Jr. \$2,200; widow of Jesse Gardner, \$1,000; Sam'l H. Ames, \$2,500; Henry Swift 1 house occupied by T. D. Morris and C. F. Gardner, \$2,800 (\$1,800 insured); Wm Hodge, \$900; Jesse Crosby, \$650; Thomas Coffin and William Alley \$900; John Elkins, shop, casks and stock \$1800; Thos. D. Morris paint shop, etc, \$1750; Fisher & Folger, shop, etc, \$750; Chas. F. Gardner, furniture, etc, \$600; Wm. P. Smith, paint shop, \$500; Jabez Cushman, household goods, \$400; Alex. E. Gardner, lumber and tools, \$450; Grafton Gardner, cooper's shop, \$300; Gilbert Coffin, store, etc, \$2,000; Thos. Barnard, boatbuilder, \$3,000; John G. Thurber, \$350; Chas. H. Wyer, \$250; Geo. E. Gardner, \$250; besides many who lost tools and smaller property.

‡The Inquirer of Feb. 17, 1836, published the following from the Providence Journal:—"Within the last three weeks, one of the new looms, with improvements by Mr. Gay adapted to the manufacture of
(See next page)

Naturally the evolution of the mulberry tree and the silk worm was into the silk factory and its woven products and March 31, 1836, William H. Gardner, Samuel B. Tuck, and William Coffin and their associates and successors were incorporated by the General Court as the "Atlantic Silk Company" to produce and manufacture silk in the County of Nantucket. The Company was authorized to hold real estate to the value of \$60,000, and to issue stock to the value of \$100,000.*

On March 12, the *Inquirer*, in commenting on the progress toward a definite form said—"In connexion herewith, we would state also that the building and machinery of the Atlantic Silk Company are in a state of great forwardness—insomuch that the factory will be in active operation in the course of two or three months. The edifice is already erected, though not yet finished—a part of the steam engine has arrived, and the residue is daily expected, together with the looms, spindles, &c., to be set in motion under the personal direction of Mr. Gay the ingenious inventor of most of the apparatus for the manufacture of silken fabrics."

April 27, 1836, the General Court, in order to encourage the new industry, passed an act authorizing the payment of a bounty of \$1.00 for every 10 pounds of cocoons raised and \$1.00 for every pound of silk that can be reeled. These bounties were to continue for seven years.†

silk has been put in operation upon a piece of Pongee Handkerchiefs three quarters wide. This loom has put at rest all doubt that might have been entertained in relation to the practicability of weaving silk in this manner. We have several times made the observation by marking the pieces with a pencil and the loom has woven **an inch and a half** of this fabric in **one minute**; * * * * * The speed is regulated at **one hundred and forty** strokes per minute and the fabric which it turns off is in no manner inferior to the imported article."

On March 12, the *Inquirer* had an editorial warmly endorsing the cultivation of the mulberry tree and the silk worm. It said—"It is now time for those among us, who have promised themselves much profit from the culture of the mulberry—and that too with unquestionable prospect of success, to prepare for the enterprise."

*The *Inquirer* of December 4, 1835, announced the crystalizing plans to erect a building 60x30 on Coffin's Court and to instal machinery, the invention of Gamaliel Gay, similar to that in use by the Rhode Island Silk Company at Providence. A Babcock 16 horse power engine was to be the motive power. The first issue of stock was to the amount of \$30,000 or \$40,000 and Aaron Mitchell was a subscriber to a considerable amount. The building still stands on the south side of the street which was named after Mr. Gay. It is said that George Easton had at one time an orchard of 1,000 mulberry trees back of his homestead on North Water street, and Aaron Mitchell had a grove of 4,000. Others had smaller numbers. See *Proceedings Nant. Hist. Assocn.* 1898 p. 7.

†The more extensive manufacturing industries and those compelled by the vicissitudes of war are treated under other heads. The manufacture of candles came naturally with whaling, and the Islanders became expert at it. A prominent merchant abroad sent an order for candles "such as old Walter Folger used to make." In 1812, a woolen mill was established on the New North wharf by Obed Mitchell which employed in its prime 200 persons. Rope walks abounded. In Nov. 1792, a duck factory was in operation which "employs more hands than five rope walks and two sperm candle works, which number there is here." (New Bedford Mercury). Godfrey says (p. 285) that "small vessels of 30 or 40 tons were built here in the latter part of the 17th or early in the 18th century," but that does not seem to be assured. According to records in the Massachusetts State Archives (Maritime Vol. 10) the sloop *Mary*, owned by Richard Gardner and others, 25 tons was built in Boston, 1694; the sloop *Dolphin* 25 tons, same owners, was built in Boston 1679; the sloop *Society*, same owners, 15 tons was built in Salem, 1695; sloop *Hope* 40 tons, Peter Coffin and

(See next page)

July 28, 1836, Gov. Edward Everett visited Nantucket, the second Governor of Massachusetts to honor the Island with his official presence. Naturally he was shown those things seemingly of the most importance to the insular life and one of the the lions to be exhibited was the factory of the newly incorporated Atlantic Silk Company then in partial operation. At the inevitable dinner he gave as a Sentiment—"The people of Nantucket and their industry—whether in seizing the fibres of the silk worm, or in waging war with the monsters of the deep—may they be equally prosperous."

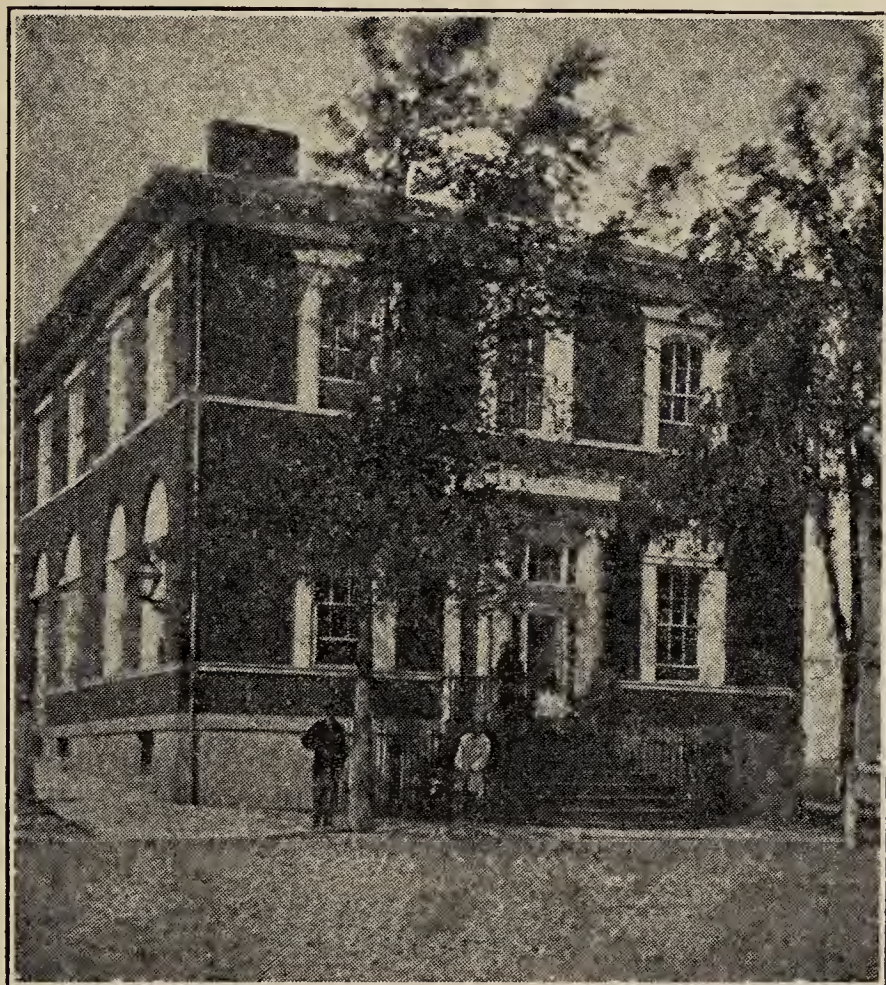
Editor Jenks, on December 14, published a commendatory and congratulatory editorial on the young industry, and quoted the following from the Boston Traveler of December 2: "The Atlantic Company was formed but a short time since, and is now in full tide of successful operation. Vestings and handkerchiefs from their establishment are the admiration of the best judges, and received the high award of a silver medal at the late Fair of the Mechanics Institute, New York. We have ourselves been presented with a handkerchief of the richest kind which we shall be happy to exhibit to any of our friends who feel an interest in the success of this new branch of manufacture. It is from the very first piece made by the Company; and was woven at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches a minute in the second power silk loom ever put in operation in the world. The thread is uncommonly even and well twisted; the texture is firm and must be durable; and for the beauty of the figure we are indebted to the good taste of the Boston and Lynn Silk printing Company, who give the finishing stamp to the goods from the Nantucket looms."

A report of the Annual Fair of the American Institute held in New York City in the Fall of 1836, contains the following: "740" (evidently the identification number) "Silk Vesting and Handkerchiefs by the Atlantic Manufacturing Company, Nantucket—articles of superior fabric and manufacture, which, if they could be made to a sufficient extent, would soon supplant all silk goods from France or India. Those who have doubts of the practicability of this branch of industry in our country, need dispel their fears, and convince them that it is not only practible, but that it will ere long become one of our staple products. If the good people of Nantucket are as persevering in the silk business as they have been

others, built in Boston 1709; sloop Eagle, 30 tons, Silvanus Hussey and others, built at Scituate, 1711; sloop Bristol, 14 tons, Matthew Jenkins and others, built at Tiverton, 1711; sloop Thomas, 12 tons, Abigail Howse and others, built at Newport, R. I., 1713; sloop Nonesuch, 25 tons, Ebenezer Coffin, built at Boston 1714; sloop Speedwell, 25 tons, George Coffin and others, built at Charlestown. In later years the islanders built several ships on their marine railway at Brant Point. The first was the Rose, built in—; then the Charles Carroll, in 1832; the Nantucket and the Lexington in 1836; and the Joseph Starbuck in 1838. The ship Planter was rebuilt there, but after lying there several years without a purchaser, was destroyed by fire in 1859. Godfrey says (p. 285): "A large Schooner was built, but when, or whether her name was the 'Nantucket' or the 'Philadelphia,' the compiler is unable to tell." A fine fishing Schooner of 60 feet length and 17 feet beam is the only vessel built on the Island since those days. She was built by the Nantucket Boat Works for H. Marshall Gardner and Howard U Chase and was launched February 2, 1924 and is named "Native." During the World's War a ship-building plant was established on the Island for the repair of submarine chasers.

in whaling, their Island will become as celebrated in the annals of silk Manufacture as Lowell is in those of cotton and wool."*

It would seem as though an industry starting out so promisingly and with little if any competition—for Nantucket seems to have been a pioneer in the business—might have made more of an impression on the insular life and to have acquired quite a degree of permanency, but it did not. The building erected for a factory still stands, the street it is on still bears the name of Mr. Gay, who



THE PACIFIC BANK

Incorporated In 1800

invented the machinery used and was especially interested in this factory, but the business is merely but little more than a memory with a few specimens of the work still existing as proof that it once was an entity.

In spite of the early promise the trees did not thrive, dissensions arose among those who formed the Company and the insidious voice of detraction was used to break it down. About 1844 the factory was closed and a portion of the machinery was removed to

*Correspondence Providence Journal.

the warehouse of Aaron Mitchell, which was in the rear of his house on North Water street.* Samuel B. Tuck the leading spirit in the project has given the following facts concerning the venture: My father in law, Aaron Mitchell had nothing to do with it until its expiring days; he was opposed to it at the commencement and continued so til we got well under way making goods and had no money invested in it. The year when cocoons, silk worms, eggs, *morus multticanlus* (Chinese mulberry) and the like was all the rage, our brother Samuel H. Jenks (Editor of the Inquirer) in an unfortunate moment (to me at least) made a visit to the brother editor in Providence, R. I., who had silk on the brain. Jenks went with him to examine some new works started making silk goods under a man by the name of Gay, and were very much taken with the whole thing as set forth by Gay, and come home entirely full of it. A Company was gotten up, Gay sent for, and the members, though few, were very sanguine after hearing the glowing accounts from brother Jenks. S. H. Jenks, William Coffin Jr., Wm. H. Gardner and myself, afterwards George W. Ewer, postmaster at that time was added. We went immediately to work; I purchased all that vacant land on Academy Hill and commenced putting up the factory although it was winter and the ground was frozen so that we could not dig for the foundation. So great was our hurry that the sills of that great building rested upon oil hogsheads and the building was completed, the cellar walls and underpinning laid after the frost was out of the ground in the spring. We then got in our steam engine, and bearers and pulleys etc., by Engineer Coffee, who was afterwards engineer of our Steam Boat.

Gay came on with the machinery (which was fine) and we soon got to work. I sent to New York and purchased a bale of raw silk about the size of a thirty pound candle box for which I paid \$860, and as no more was to be had in New York, the concern sent out and imported for us from Smyrna and I paid for two bales more \$1600. Gay was, after starting our Company, getting up and starting the Poughkeepsie Silk Co. They could not find or purchase any raw silk to begin with. Gay told them of our importation. The management sent to us to borrow one of the bales and it was delivered to them while I was absent in Boston, upon their solemn promise to return or pay for it, but they never did either and we were swindled of it at last.

We finally got to work and made some splendid goods, and received the large Gold Medal at the Mechanics Charitable Association Fair at Quincy Hall, Boston. In fact but for the hard times that came on we should have been successful.†

At last I called on the public, held open doors with all the works in full operation and invited all, for the purpose of getting

*See Proceedings Nant. Hist. Assocn. 1898, p. 8.

†There is a specimen of the goods made by the Company in the Collection of the Historical Association.

it into a stock company. All expressed themselves satisfied and pleased with the work. We had six looms, four large 12 feet spinners, 500 bobbins each, with reels and winders running, and about 20 employees, mostly girls, all at their posts and all familiar with their particular line of duty. Everything looked bright and as though we might organize a strong company, but there was a party who while outwardly favoring the undertaking secretly worked against us and his ability to wreck overcame ours to build up and our enterprise, began so promisingly, failed. The same spirit that later prevented the success of other manufactories was the downfall of this. My own individual loss was over \$13,000. One party gave about \$75, and another turned in a bill for \$175—those payments were all that were made by anyone, excepting what I paid myself. I gave the Town that part of the land that fronts the building for a street and named it Gay. I built the houses on the opposite side of the street to the factory and one of the two on the other side of the land on Academy Street. By the sale of the lots and houses I saved a little, amounting to \$1,000 to \$1,500, which was all I had to offset my investment of \$13,000.

After we discontinued business, my father-in-law, Aaron Mitchell, began the manufacture of sewing silk. The large frames and much of the machinery could not be used in that work, so I shipped it to Providence to be sold. It was sold but the consignee failed and the \$1,000 or \$1,200 he got for it went to join the sum already lost." So much for the tragedy of the silk manufactory at Nantucket.

October 3, 1841, occurred what was doubtless the severest gale recorded in the history of the Island. According to the report in the *Inquirer* the gale commenced on the evening of Sunday, October 3, and blew for several hours with a continually increasing severity, developing into a tremendous hurricane. The wind came from the east, accompanied by a drenching rain, and continued until Tuesday without material abatement. The water backed up into the harbor, overflowed the wharves to a depth of nearly three feet and flooded the Lower Square. Immense damage was done to shipping, to the wharves and to adjacent property.

The ship *Rose*, which had just been fitted out for a sperm whaling voyage in the Pacific Ocean broke from her moorings at the Commercial wharf and struck on the rocky foundation of what even in that day was an "old wharf" on the South Beach, and was bilged. The ship *Planter* broke from the same wharf and was driven high ashore on another part of the same beach. A schooner and a sloop kept her company there. A new and extensive rope walk owned by Barker & Ahearn and operated by Joseph James was swept from its foundations and demolished, only the tar-house and part of the hemp house being left standing. A large portion of a ropewalk at the west part of the Town, owned by Isaac Myrick fared similarly, showing that the gale did not travel in a narrow

path. Other small buildings were either blown to fragments, or, if near the water, were washed away.

The schooner *Leo*, of Thomaston, Maine, from New York, for Boston with a cargo of flour went ashore on Coatue, a fishing vessel keeping her company. A sloop was dismasted and drove ashore on Brant Point. The larger number of vessels at the wharves were damaged—some of them stoven. Chimneys were thrown down, and the “walks” on top of between thirty and forty houses were blown off. Trees, flagstuffs and fences were overturned.

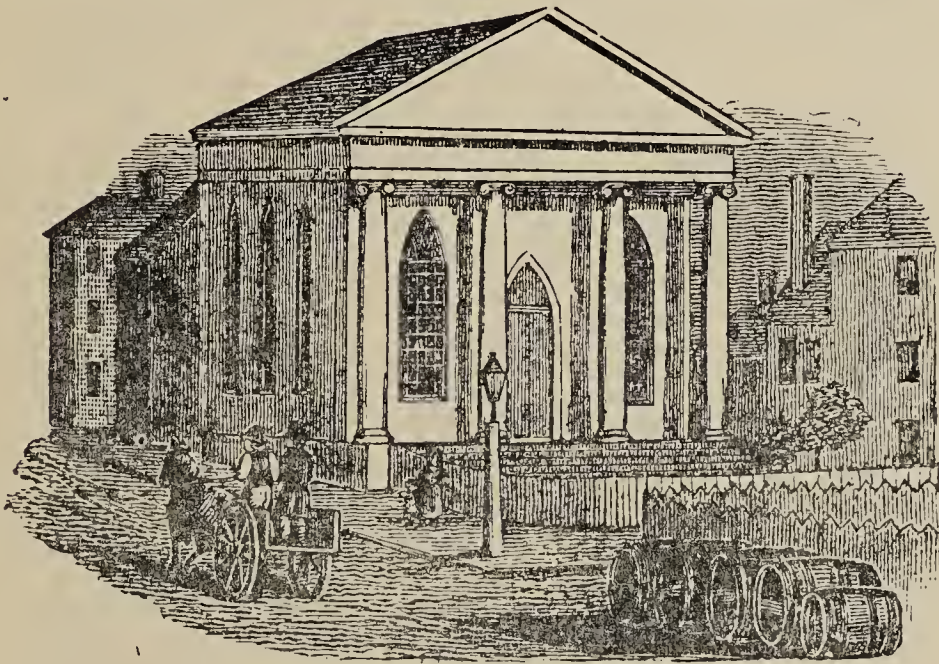
At Siasconset the high bank was undermined and cut away for quite a distance, carrying away when it went down a dwelling house owned by Marshall Crosby, and two barns. A man suffered a fractured thigh by his fall down the bank, but was rescued otherwise unharmed. An observatory, barns, a chaise house, several chimneys and walks were wrecked. Fortunately no lives were lost.

The Inquirer says “During the night of Sunday especially, when every building trembled under the pressure of the furious elements, there were but few families free from alarm and consternation. On that night literally not many slept without rocking.” The Inquirer published a list of nearly a dozen vessels, large and small, ashore on or near Nantucket.*

The year 1842, was the banner year for the whale fishery in Nantucket. There were then engaged in the business and owned by the Islanders 86 ships and barks, 2 brigs and 2 schooners having a combined capacity of 36,000 tons. The “camels” were built in that year and the steamboat *Massachusetts*, an excellent boat for that day and generation, was new and made her first trip to the Island July 4. From that year may be said to date the decline. New Bedford supplanted the older town, for the cost of outfitting and infitting was less and the markets for selling and buying were nearer at hand, and less expensive to transact business with. The Great Fire of 1846 with the tremendous financial loss it entailed, the exodus to the Pacific Coast in quest of gold in which a large number from Nantucket took part; ships being deserted by their crews or left with an unworkable minority, and other causes already enumerated., all combined against Nantucket and eventually drove her out of business. But there is no doubt that 1842 was when the fishery reached its zenith and from that year the decay of the business began, its progress accelerated as the yaars rolled on until, a few years later, the last ship flying the flag of Nantucket owners and hailing from the little Island which had achieved an immortal fame for the boundless energy and success with which her sons had pursued this fishery, passed out over the bar never to return.

*The Town Clerk in 1786, unconsciously apparently, wrote a bit of history in interpolating the following in his records of a similar catastrophe in that year—“A Dreadful high Tide and Storm Dec'r. 5th 1786 swept the wharfs washed away Shops, Vessels, Tryhouses, Wood, &c &c &c.” On Dec. 7 a Town meeting was convened and a committee appointed to salvage the wreck and return property to the owners.

On Wednesday, February 21, 1842, occurred a fire, more calamitous so far as its effect on human life is concerned, than any other in the history of the Island. At 2 o'clock in the morning of that day a fire broke out in the Poor Asylum, then located about three miles out of the Town. At the time there were 59 occupants of the house, in addition to the family of the keeper, Capt. Timothy Baker. Thirteen of the inmates were bed-ridden, one of whom had not walked for 20 years. So rapidly did the fire spread that ten of them, five men and five women were burned to death. There were many narrow escapes. One lad leaped from a third story window without receiving injury. Another jumped from the second story with equal good fortune. One of the female inmates rescued



Athenæum at Nantucket.

Before 1846.*

several of her associates. The neighbors rallied at once and were of very great service in the rescue of the beleaguered inmates. In one instance a neighbor, who was instrumental in saving several lives, found in the third story an aged man and his wife in bed. He warned them of the imminent danger and the man got out safely, but the woman resolutely refused to move. The neighbor,† however, took her out of bed, conveyed her to the window and down a ladder to safety, she struggling violently all the time to prevent the rescue.

THE GREAT FIRE

There occurs in the lifetime of many municipalities an event of such special severity that it becomes known as "The Great

*The Athenæum was incorporated in 1834, the organization being formed by the union of the Mechanics Association, formed in 1820, and the Columbian Library Association founded in 1823. They united in 1827 under the name of The United Library Association. In 1833, two members, Charles G. Coffin and David Joy "offered to purchase a desirable site on condition of there being a substantial building erected for the Society. Money was at once subscribed and the land and building owned by the Universalist Society was purchased. The building pictured above was destroyed in the Great Fire."

†Charles A. Burgess.

Fire," and from the date of its occurrence, for several generations, it becomes a point from which all events are reckoned. Not until the last individual whose memory spans the frightful event has passed away, does the disaster lose its significance as a date line. Nantucket's Great Fire occurred in July, 1846.

It broke out about 11 o'clock on the night of July 13, in the hat store of William H. Geary which stood, one of a block on the site of the building now owned by the Masonic Fraternity on Main Street. What started the fire must be a matter for speculation, in



THE PRESENT NANTUCKET ATHENEUM

which one judge's opinion is as good as another's and possibly none mentioned is accurate. A witness, who was among the earliest to arrive after the alarm was given, says that at that time "a good smart stream of water at this juncture, would have quenched the flames, which were in a few moments bursting from the roof."* But the stream was not at hand, and in an incredibly brief time the fire had crossed Main street and was beyond control. It spread east, west and north. Again the aid of gunpowder was invoked to conquer the fire, but it seemed to burn until its immediate supply

*Hist. Nantucket, Macy 2d edition p. 288.

The enclosed map
 shows the location of the
 property. It is situated
 on the corner of the
 street, and is bounded
 by the street on the
 north and east sides.
 The map is drawn to
 scale, and shows the
 location of the property
 in relation to the
 street and the other
 streets in the vicinity.

CATO LANE

BACK ST.
 WILLIAM L.
 CHERRY ST.

NORTH

The map is drawn to
 scale, and shows the
 location of the property
 in relation to the
 street and the other
 streets in the vicinity.



OF 1840
 SURVED
 SECTION
 WILCHET

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*Hist. Nantucket, Macy 2d edition p. 288.



STREETS OF NANTUCKET
THE SHADED PORTION
SHOWS THE AREA BURNED
BY THE GREAT FIRE OF 1846

HITCHCOCK

of material was exhausted. Indeed it is not entirely certain that the debris of the blown-up buildings did not tend to spread the flames. Says Mr. William C. Macy, an eye-witness:* "Standing on the steps of the Pacific Bank and looking east and north on Centre street, east side as far as the Ocean House, every building was at one time on fire save the old insurance office building on the lower square."† Mr. Macy records as an incident of which he was a personal witness in which a blazing brand from a burning building near the corner of Main and Federal Streets was carried by the wind the fire created and landed on the roof of a house on North



MAIN STREET BEFORE THE GREAT FIRE

Water Street, and while the tenants stood in their doorway watching the advancing flames their own house was all afire and in a short time was a heap of ruins.

The *Warder* of July 15, gave a list of buildings destroyed which included two newspaper offices, the *Inquirer* and the *Mirror*, the *Athenaeum* with its valuable library and its priceless museum of curiosities and relics, banks, insurance offices, County offices, hotels, the Episcopal church, seven oil factories and other buildings of a

*Hist. Nantucket, 2d edition, p. 288.

†The William Rotch building.

semi-public nature. For many years the impression was current that the Town Records were destroyed, although the County Records were known to be safe, but the Town Records were found years afterwards, to be intact.* In all between 300 and 400 buildings were destroyed including almost the entire business section of the Town.

Mr. Macy records that standing on the steps of the Pacific Bank one could see vessels lying back of the Bar, the only intervening obstacles being isolated chimneys. A fairly conservative estimate fixed the loss in property at nearly \$1,000,000. In the immediate present the property loss was supplanted by the fear of suffering for the necessities of life, a danger imminent to the rich as to the poor, since the concentration of almost the entire business of the Town within the compass of the burned area had utterly wiped out all stocks of provisions and clothing for the healthy as well as drugs and medicines for the ill.†

*An interesting incident connected with the fire is the following: Mr. Jenks, the publisher of the *Warder*, the only newspaper office to escape the flames, was in New York at the time. His more than ordinarily capable wife going down to the office found there only one of the employees, Eben P. Raymond, who subsequently was owner and editor of the *New Bedford Shipping List*. Realizing that people abroad should be notified as soon as possible she wrote on slips of paper a brief report, which Raymond put into type. Slips were run off to send away and supply the merchants. More being wanted afterwards and Raymond having gone, Edward Starbuck, brother of William C. was impressed into the service to run the press. Mrs. Jenks inked the rollers and between them they supplied the immediate demand.

†The following appeal sent out to the world by the Selectmen for aid tells succinctly and officially the extent of the disaster: "Friends:—The undersigned, Selectmen of the Town of Nantucket, have been constituted, by a vote of the Town, a committee to ask at your hands such aid as you may feel able to render to our unfortunate and distressed people.

One-third of our Town is in ashes. A fire broke out on Monday evening last, a few minutes before eleven o'clock, and raged almost uncontrolled, for about nine hours. The whole business section of the town is consumed. There is scarcely a dry goods, a grocery, or provision store left standing, and what more particularly threatens immediate distress, the stocks contained in them, so rapidly did the conflagration extend, are almost utterly destroyed. There is not food enough in town to keep wide-spread suffering from hunger at bay a single week. Seven-eighths of our mechanics are without shops, stock or tools—they have lost really even the means of earning bread. Hundreds of families are without a roof to cover them, a bed to lie upon, and very many of them even without a change of raiment. Widows and old men have been stripped of their all; they have no hopes for the future, except such as are founded upon the humanity of others.

We are in deep trouble. We cannot of ourselves relieve the whole distress, and we are compelled to call upon those who have not been visited like ourselves, for aid, in this our hour of extreme necessity. We do not ask you to make up our loss, to replace the property which the conflagration has destroyed, but to aid us, so far as you feel called upon by duty and humanity, in keeping direct physical suffering from among us, until we can look round and see what is to be done. We need help—liberal and immediate. If we seem to you importunate, we can only say that could you look upon the yet smoking ruins of one third of our Town—could you walk through our remaining streets filled with houseless hundreds wandering about seeking for some roof to cover them, or for such remnants of their household goods as may have been snatched by others from the flames—could you feel, as we do, that not many days pass before positive want will be knocking at our doors—our words would appear feeble, our appeal certainly not more earnest than the occasion requires. But we are confident that you will feel for us and with us and that you will render us such assistance as is in you power.

(See next page)

Responses came to an amount approximating \$100,000, and immediate necessities were cared for.

With that resiliency of spirit which seems inborn in our people, the Islanders at once began preparations to rebuild. A Town meeting was convened and a committee appointed to consider new street lines with the end in view of discontinuing narrow lanes and alleys. Within six weeks 60 stores and shops were well along in construction. The burned area was speedily and quite completely rebuilt. In a few places the scars remained, but the restoration was eminently characteristic of the energy and hopeful spirit of the people.

Following closely upon the heels of the disastrous fire which consumed so vast an amount of the property of the Islanders, came the stampede of California, following the discovery of large gold deposits there, which carried away the bone and sinew of the Island and made a heavy draft on its recuperative energies. Many whaling men were on the Pacific coast, and the allurements of the mines, with a prospect, even if remote, of the speedy acquirement of a fortune, broke up many a voyage through the desertions of crews. So thoroughly did the expectation of speedy wealth permeate society that the movement was commonly, and not inappropriately known as the "California fever." Many men, who would have helped the whaling fleet, drew aside to chase the *ignis fatuus* of unlimited gold in the river beds and in the hills of the Eldorado of the Pacific coast. By the time the fever had run its course, the business of whaling had materially fallen off, so that by 1857, the outgoing fleet of ships and barks was reduced to three, and never after that exceeded four, and then only for one year.* Schooners and a brig still made short voyages in the Atlantic Ocean, but the catch was small.

In 1849 and 1850, the following named ships left Nantucket for the Golden Gate, carrying many men as gold hunters:

1849—Ship *Aurora*, Seth M. Swain; Henry Astor, Capt. George F. Joy; *Montano*, Capt. Edward C. Austin; Ship *George & Martha*,

Will you take immediate measures to bring our suffering condition before your people, either by calling a public meeting, or in such other manner as may seem to you best? Provisions, Clothing, Bedding, Money—anything useful which you may have to bestow, will be most gratefully received. Will you move in the matter immediately?

Please to direct anything which you may send to the Selectmen of the Town of Nantucket, and we pledge ourselves to dispense whatever you may bestow, faithfully, and, to the best of our ability, judiciously.
July 15, 1846.

JOB COLEMAN,	
CHAS. G. COFFIN	
EBEN W. ALLEN	Selectmen of
WM. BARNEY, JR.	the Town of
NATH. RAND,	Nantucket.
OBED SWAIN,	
ALFRED FOLGER,	

*1860.

Capt. Richard Gardner; Ship Edward Capt. Shubael Clark; Brig Joseph Butler, Capt. Francis F. Gardner; Ship Sarah Parker, Capt. James Codd; Ship Japan, Capt. Henry Bigelow; Ship Fanny, Capt. Uriah Russell; Ship Martha, Capt. Eben M. Hinckley; Ship Manchester, Capt. Job, Coleman; Ship Citizen, Capt. Oliver C. Coffin; Ship, Scotland, Capt. Barzillai T. Folger; Schooner Two Brothers, Capt. Edwin Baldwin. 1850—Ship John Adams, Capt. Shubael Worth; Ship Franklin, Capt. William B. Swain; Bark Oregon, Capt. Seth M. Swain; Schooner Exact, Capt. Edward H. Morton; 1854—Ship Manchester, Capt. Alexander H. Coffin.* Of them all only seven returned and fewer yet resumed whaling. The Manchester was lost on the Coast of Patagonia. She struck 50 miles from land. The captain's wife and most of the crew were drowned. The Captain and those of the crew who got ashore, excepting the Captain's son and a sailor, were killed by the natives. The son returned to Nantucket. Of the entire number of whaleships only two, the Edward and the Citizen, ever resumed whaling from Nantucket.

*Hussey & Robinson's list. Probably more than 400 Nantucket men went in the vessels to try their fortunes in mining camps.

CHAPTER IX

THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War gave Nantucket the first opportunity it ever had to display her patriotism without imminent danger of total destruction. For the first time in any important war the Islanders were able to aid their country with a reasonable assurance that their country could and would defend them, and nobly did they respond to the opportunity. She sent to the Armies of the loyal states 213 men and to the navy 126, exceeding the quota demanded of her by 56, and earning and meriting the record of "the banner town of the Commonwealth." No enumeration can be given of the natives of the Island who enlisted abroad and helped make up the quotas of other towns. Those from Nantucket ranked from Brevet Major General* to Lieutenant and from Commander in the Navy to petty officer with the rank and file of course in each branch of service.

Says Mr. Godfrey in his "Guide" "At the close of the War, in 1865, Nantucket was represented in the regular Navy by five officers, and in the volunteer service by 34 officers, of whom 15 were Acting Masters, 15 Acting Ensigns, 3 Assistant Paymasters. One was an Engineer and one (John G. Mitchell) a Lieutenant Commander. Four of the above remained in the Navy—Commander George W. Coffin, Lieut.-Commander Thomas M. Gardner, Lieut. Seth M. Ackley later Rear Admiral, and Daniel C. Brayton." Lieut. Col. John W. Summerhays, who rose from the rank of 2d Lieutenant in the 20th Volunteer infantry, remained in the Regular Army.†

*George Nelson Macy who rose from Lieutenant of Co. I. 20th Mass. Vol's to Brigdier General and was brevetted Major General for distinguished services and made Provost-Marshal of the Army of the Potomac on Lee's surrender. Gen. Meade in transmitting to Gen. Macy the notice of his promotion to Brevet Brig. General, said—"It affords me great pleasure to be the medium of transmitting to you this mark of the recognition by the Government, of the highly meritorious services you have rendered to the country, since I have had the honor to command the Army of the Potomac." The order read: "for distinguished conduct at the battle of The Wilderness and at Deep Bottom."

†An incident showing how ready the Nantucket boy was to grasp and respond to the situation occurred on a gunboat on the coast of North Carolina during the War. The commander desired to run up a small creek but was uncertain as to the nature of the bottom. A Nantucket lad named Cartwright learning the nature of the difficulty at once stripped off his clothes and diving over the bow went down and soon reappeared with both handsfull of what was wanted, saying "there's the bottom for you." The commander was satisfied and able to proceed. Another Nantucket lad, Clinton Swain, enlisted in the Pennsylvania Volunteers. At the time of the storming of the Heights of Fredericksburg he appears to have been adjutant of the regiment. (See next page)

NANTUCKET MEN WHO SERVED IN THE CIVIL WAR

Army

Horatio Adams,
Louis L. Adams,
Orin Adams,
Edward F. Alexander,
David Allen,
Thomas Allen,
Tristram C. Allen,
Wallace Allen,
Leander F. Alley,
George F. Andrews,
Gorham G. Andrews,*
Daniel R. Ames,
Charles G. S. Austin,
Joseph Austin,
Charles H. Backus,
George A. Backus,
Irving H. Backus,
George R. Bailey,
Alonzo Baker,
Charles H. Baker,
Alexander Barker,
Charles D. Barnard,
Charles F. Barnard,
Frederick W. Barnard,
John F. Barnard,
William F. Barnard,
Alexander Barney,
James H. Barrett,
William A. Barrett,
William H. Barrett,
William M. Barrett,
Lemuel F. Bassett,
John R. Bartlett,
Oliver C. Beach,
Edward C. Bennett,
Thomas Bennett,
Augustus D. Briggs,
Charles F. Briggs,
Orlando W. Briggs,
Alexander Brill,
George P. Brock,

Peter C. Brooks,
Timothy H. Brooks,
William W. Brooks,
Benjamin F. Brown,
Henry Brown,
Horace O. Brown,
Moses H. Brown,
Richmond Brown,
William J. Browne,
Alfred Bunker,
William R. Bunker,
George W. Burdick,
William P. Burgess,
Benjamin Cartwright,
Charles W. Cartwright,
Edw. G. W. Cartwright,
James Cartwright,
William H. Cash,
Benjamin S. Cathcart,
Henry Cathcart,
James F. Cathcart,
George W. Chadwick,
William G. Chadwick,
Alexander M. Chase,
Barker B. Chase,
Braddock R. Chase,
Charles F. Chase,
Daniel B. Chase,
Edward P. Chase,
George P. Chase,
James H. Chase,
John B. Chase,
Oliver S. Chase,
Seth C. Chase
Samuel Christian,
Albert C. Clark,
Charles Clark,
William D. Clark,
Francis A. Cleaveland,
George S. Cleveland,
Charles C. Clisby,

It is difficult to get any definite information from the Government, but common, and seemingly well authenticated, report says that the senior officers of the regiment were killed or wounded and he was killed while leading his regiment up the Heights.

Albert C. Coffin,
Barzillai S. Coffin,
Benjamin J. Coffin,
Benjamin S. Coffin,
David G. Coffin,
Frederick M. Coffin,
George H. Coffin,
George H. Coffin 2d.,
John B. Coffin,
Roland Coffin,
Thomas E. Coffin,
Thomas R. Coffin,
George B. Coggeshall,
David B. Coleman,
Thomas Coleman Jr.,
William M. Coleman
Patrick Conway,
Henry P. Cook,
Freeman R. Cottle,
George E. Creasy,
William H. Creasy,
Samuel C. Crocker,
Frank J. Crosby,
Oliver Cushman,
Howard Cushman,
Arthur H. Daggett,
Henry Dame,
John W. Davis,
Caleb L. Depung,
Andrew M. Douglass,
Reuben Dow,
William B. Drake,
William C. Dunham,
William M. Dunham,
Daniel C. Easton,
Thomas P. Eldredge,
Andrew Ellis,
Charles F. Ellis,
Henry B. Ellis,
John R. Ellis,
Obed H. Ellis,
John B. Enas,
Henry C. Farnham,
Charles Field,
James Finn,
Zenas Fish, Jr.,
Albert P. Fisher,
Andrew G. Fisher,

Charles C. Fisher,
Charles H. Fisher,
Hiram Fisher,
William S. Fitzgerald,
Charles F. Folger,
Charles F. Folger,
Charles G. Folger 2d.,
Ellery C. Folger,
Ellery C. Folger,
Francis E. Folger,
George F. Folger,
Isaac H. Folger
Henry Folger,
Reuben C. Folger,
Reuben S. Folger,
Uriah Folger,
William T. Folger,
William T. Folger,
Hiram C. Fuller,
Alfred H. Gardner,
Charles W. Gardner,
Edward C. Gardner,
Elisha P. F. Gardner,
Grafton Gardner,
Howard Gardner,
John C. Gardner,
Joseph P. Gardner,
Joseph P. Gardner,
Robert B. Gardner,
Benjamin S. Gibbs,
Charles H. Gibbs, 2d.,
George W. Gifford,
Edward J. Godfrey,
Edward K. Godfrey,
John Gray,
Charles F. Green,
Edward P. Green,
James M. Greene,
Andrew Greene,
Charles R. Gruber,
Davis Hall,
James S. Hallett,
William B. Harris,
Alfred Hiller,
William P. Hiller,
George Hodges,
Frederick Hoeg, Jr.,
Jonas G. Holden,

Albert B. Holmes,
A——— Holmes,
 Alvin Hull,
 Albert M. Hussey,
 George C. Hussey,
Oliver F. Hussey,
 Thomas Hussey,
 Jared M. Hunter,
 Henry B. James,
Henry F. James,
 Roland James,
Asa C. Jones,
 Henry Jones,
 William S. Jones,
Robert B. Joy,
 Albert Kelley,
 Francis B. Keene,
 Timothy Kelley,
 William R. Kelley,
Stephen W. Key,
 John Kiernan,
 John M. Lamb,
William C. L'Hommedieu,
 Samuel Lowell,
 Charles G. Macy,
 Edward B. Macy,
 George N. Macy,
James H. Macy,
John W. Macy,
 William H. Macy,
William Henry Macy,
 William C. Marden,
 Edward Marshal,
Edward Marvin,
Charles McCann,
 James C. McCleave,
 William M. McCleave,
Frederick F. Mitchell,
Seth Mitchell,
 Alexander P. Moore,
 Charles A. Morris,
 Franklin B. Murphey,
 Josiah F. Murphey,
 Martin Mullen,
 David Myrick,
 William H. Myrick,
 Charles F. Nicholson,
 Charles J. Nickerson,

George W. Nicholson, 2d.,
John O'Connell,
 Edward P. Orpin,
John G. Orpin,
 George H. Paddack,
 Thomas E. Paddack,
 Albert C. Parker,
David Parker,
 Benjamin B. Pease,
 Charles H. Perkins,
 David B. Pierce,
 Charles H. Pierson,
John M. Pinkham,
George W. Potter,
 William A. Potter,
 George C. Pratt,
 James Ramsdell,
Warren F. Ramsdell,
 John W. Rand,
 Edward W. Randall,
 William E. Randall,
 Charles F. Ray,
Obed B. Ray,
 William B. Ray,
 Charles H. Raymond,
 William A. Raymond,
Charles Rawson,
 Charles Reynolds,
 William J. Reynolds,
 Thomas Riddell,
 Alonzo M. Rivers,
 Arthur M. Rivers,
 George Robinson,
 George K. Robinson,
 Patrick H. Robinson,
 Thomas J. Russell,
 George F. Ryder,
George F. Ryder,
 George H. Sandford,
 George R. Simpson,
 James B. Skinner,
 Alexander J. Smith,
 Alvin C. Smith,
 Charles H. Smith,
 George E. Snow,
 George W. Snow,
 Albert D. Stackpole,
 Henry C. Stackpole,

Albert W. Starbuck,
 George B. Starbuck,
 John W. Summerhays,
 Clinton Swain,
 Charles B. Swain, 3d.,
 Charles F. Swain,
 Jacob C. Swain,
 William C. Swain,
 William F. Swain,
 William K. Swain,
 William H. Swain,
 William F. Swan,
 George W. Thomas,
 John B. Thomas,
Benjamin G. Tobey,
 George H. Tracy,
 Orestes A. B. Tracy,
Henry B. Tucker,
Job B. Turner,

Robert D. Tweede,
William H. Vase,
George A. Veeder,
E—— Walker,
 Nelson Waterman,
Charles S. Westgate,
 Benjamin H. Whitford,
Benjamin H. Whitford, (?)
Daniel Whitney, Jr.,
 James A. Wilcomb,
 William H. Wilcomb,
 Edward B. Wilson,
 Shubael M. Winslow, Jr.,
 William H. Winslow,
 William H. Wood,
 George G. Worth,
Thomas Wright,
 James H. Wyer,
 William M. Wyer,

David Yetman

Navy

Charles B. Abrams,
 Charles Adams,
 Benjamin Alley,
 George S. Andrews,
 James H. Archer,
 Charles G. Arthur,
 William H. Baldwin,
 Franklin S. Barnard,
 Thomas H. Barnard,
 Frederick H. Barney,
 John L. Beekman,
 Samuel N. Brayton,
 Francis I. Briggs,
 Oliver S. Brock,
 George S. Brown,
 Charles C. Bunker,
 John S. Chase,
 Zimri Cleaveland, Jr.,
 Benjamin A. Coffin,
 Henry F. Coffin,
 Peter F. Coffin,

Philip C. Coffin,
 Roland W. Coffin,
 Rufus Coffin,
 Alfred Coleman,
 Andrew B. Colesworthy,
 William S. Coon,
 Stephen Easton, Jr.,
 Elisha B. Ellis,
 Benjamin H. Folger,
 James Folger,
 Nathan F. Fish,
 Henry W. Fitch,
 Alexander F. Gardner,
 Charles P. Gardner,
 Francis C. Gardner,
 Hiram Gardner,
 Roland C. Gardner,
 Thomas M. Gardner,
 William H. Gibbs,
 James Gifford,
 John C. Gifford,

*Those whose names are in black-face were drafted. Few if any of them were called into service as the quotas are said to have been filled by volunteers. Benjamin F. Whitford is also reported a volunteer which probably is correct.

William Gillespie,
 Charles Godfrey,
 Charles R. Gruber,
 William H. Gruber,
 Obed H. Harris,
 William R. Hathaway,
 William H. Hilliker,
 William T. Hines,
 Charles Holmes,
 John Holmes, Jr.,
 Edward B. Hussey,
 Joseph S. Hussey,
 Henry F. James,
 Obed S. James,
 William Johnson,
 Charles Killeen,
 William C. King,
 John Leaman,
 George S. Long,
 Joseph Mackey,
 Joseph Maxcey,
 William H. Maxcey,
 William C. Meader,
 Samuel B. Meader,
 Charles F. Mendall,
 Andrew C. Mitchell,
 John G. Mitchell,

David Morrow,
 Peleg W. Morgan,
 Benjamin F. Morris,
 Albert W. Morse,
 John Nickerson,
 Sampson D. Pompey,
 Nelson Provost,
 William P. Ray,
 Benjamin F. Ray,
 Benjamin F. Raymond,
 Andrew W. Reed,
 Frederick C. Russell,
 Henry C. Russell,
 Edward M. Swain,
 Samuel G. Swain,
 William H. Swain,
 Cyrus Sylvia,
 George W. Sylvia,
 Joseph Sylvia,
 Howard Vincent,
 Moses F. Wilcomb,*
 John H. Williams,
 George G. Wilson,
 James Wilson,
 George W. Wing,
 Edward H. Wing,
 George H. Worth,

Gorham Worth,

The following names, taken from the list on the Soldiers' Monument, do not appear elsewhere:

Ferdinand Alley,
 John H. Alley,
 Frederick W. Andrews,
 Allen Bacon,
 William R. Beard,
 George N. Bennett,
 Francis I. Briggs,
 Peter C. Brock,
 Alvin C. Coffin,
 George C. Coffin,
 Edward H. Daggett,
 Ferdinand W. Defriez,
 Charles C. Folger,
 Edward R. Folger,

James Folger,
 Ebenezer R. Gould,
 William H. Gruber,
 Edward F. Hamblin,
 Robert B. Hussey,
 Joseph B. Morey,
 David Morrow,
 Thomas Nevins,
 Henry C. Raymond,
 Francis J. Rogers,
 Charles S. Russell,
 Benjamin Smith,
 George Spencer,
 Charles B. Swain, 3d.,

John Swain,

*These lists were made up in 1862-3. Other names should be added to them, but a complete record has not been brought out yet.

The following names were taken from the local papers as being those of enlisted men subsequently to the compiling of the lists:

John F. Brown,	Thomas Barrally,
Charles W. Crocker,	George Christian,
Samuel Crawford,	Edward F. Chadwick,
Henry F. Fisher,	William H. Ellis,
Arthur H. Gifford,	David G. Folger,
Albert A. Kingsley,	Augustus Hussey,
Arthur Macy,	Samuel C. Lamb,
Albert I. Moore,	Henry A. McCann,
William H. Orpin,	Henry G. Macy,
John B. (or R.) Raymond,	John W. Morrissey, Jr.,
Hiram W. Reel (ex-slave),	George F. Parlow,
David J. Starbuck,	Thomas P. Ray,
Charles M. Thomas,	Alexander E. Ray,
Benjamin F. Wyer.	

George H. Tracy was a Lieutenant in the Regular Army.

William H. Baldwin was Acting Master on the gunboat Huron on blockading service.

John G. Mitchell was Lieut. Commander under Admiral Porter in the Red River expedition.

Capt. James W. Cartwright was cited in General Orders "for coolness in battle."

CHAPTER X

THE WHALE FISHERY

The history of the Whale Fishery, as it relates to Nantucket, is the story of achievement of which very few communities can boast; the story of how a people, isolated from their fellows to a material degree and obliged to import almost all the essentials of life, built up and successfully pursued a business requiring great daring and skill, and which carried the name of the little Island to every corner of the globe, and drew forth, from one of the most eloquent members who ever spoke in an English Parliament, an encomium that has become a classic.

The early Colonial charters provided, among other limitations, that drift whales or those cast on the shore were the property of the Crown. This restriction became afterwards modified and in the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay it was provided that "We have given and graunted * * * all fishes—royal fishes, whales, balan, sturgeons, and other fishes, of what kinde or nature soever be taken in or within the saide seas or waters, by the said (here follow the names of the grantees) their heires and assignes, or by any other person or persons whatsoever there inhabiting by them or any of them to be appointed to 'fishe therein.'" In the matter of "drift whales" the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies subsequently claimed a part, a part was allotted the town within whose jurisdiction the finding was made and the finder, if no one appeared to dispute his claim, was awarded the remainder. Considerable dissatisfaction resulted from this arrangement and the Plymouth Colony finally compromised on the matter in March 1661-2 on the basis of a tax of two barrels of oil from each whale to go to the Colony.*

In the early days of the settlement of Nantucket, however, it was under the jurisdiction of New York and subject to the laws of that Province.

It is probable that the first organized prosecution of the whale fishery in America was made along the shores of Long Island. It would naturally follow that knowing the value of the oil and other whale products, and realizing the inadequate supply that resulted from drift whales some plan should be devised to capture them in their native element.

*As early as June 6, 1654, the Plymouth Court had ordered that whales cast ashore on lands of the purchasers belonged to the proprietors, so that the agreement of 1661-2 seems a little ambiguous.

The town of Southampton, which was settled in 1640, by colonists from Lynn in the Massachusetts Bay Colony,* was quick to realize the value of whale products. Settled under a patent of the Earl of Sterling, its privileges were essentially the same as those of the Massachusetts Bay. In March, 1644, the freeholders ordered the town to be divided into four wards, with eleven persons in each ward, to look after drift whales that were cast ashore. In case one came ashore two persons were selected by lot from each ward and employed to cut it up. Howell says that, after the cutters had deducted the double share to which they were by law entitled, "every Inhabitant with his child or servant that is above sixteen years of age shall have in the Division of the other part an equall proportion, provided that such person when yt falls into his ward a sufficient man to be imployed aboute yt."† In Easthampton, November 6, 1651, the men of the town were ordered to be called out by succession to look out for whale.‡

In 1672, the towns of Easthampton, Southampton and Southwold in a memorial to the Court at Whitehall, complaining of the hardships they encounter under the rule of the Dutch in their prosecution of the whale fishery, which they say they have "endeavoured it above these twenty yeares," ask to be assigned to the Connecticut government or to be made a free corporation.** This would indicate that the beginning of the whaling industry in the New York Colony was about 1650.

The first mention of whales in the Town Records of Nantucket is under date of July 13, 1668, when the Town at a regular meeting passed a vote by which "Edward Starbuck and Peter Folger were empowered to make a bargain with the Gardners Concerning all whales that shall come on shore on the Island on the Towns behalf.††

The next mention in the Records is under date of the 5th of the 4th month, 1672, and is the somewhat discussed grant to James Loper.

From 1672 to 1690, there seems to be no record of any progress in the art of whaling. In the latter year tradition says that the people of Nantucket, "finding that the people of Cape Cod had made greater proficiency in the art of whale-catching than themselves," sent to them and engaged one Ichabod Paddock to remove to the Island, and instruct them in the best method of killing whales and obtaining the oil.‡‡ Tradition also says that

*Hist. American Whale Fishery p. 90.

†Hist. of Southampton p. 179.

‡Bi-Centennial Address of Easthampton, 1850, by H. P. Hedges p. 8

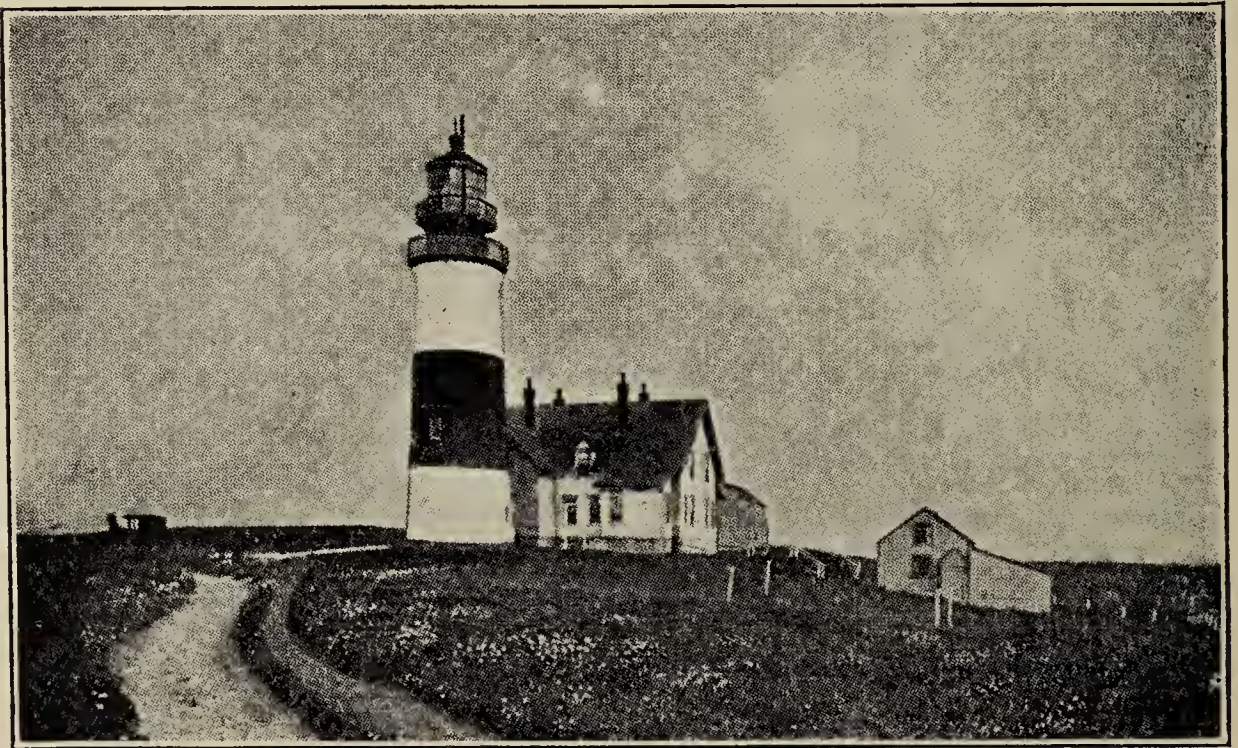
**May 25, 1647 the General Court of Connecticut had passed the following resolve:—"If Mr. Whiting, wth any others shall make tryall and pr'secute a designe for the takeing of whale within these libertyes, and if vpon tryall w'thin the terme of two yeares, they shall like to goe noe, others shallbe suffered to interrupt them for the tearme of seauen yeares."

††Richard and Joseph Gardner.

‡‡Macy's Hist. p 290.

in the same year several persons were standing upon some high land, afterwards known as Folly House Hill, observing the whales spouting and disporting in the sea. One of them, pointing to the ocean, said to the others—"There is a green pasture, where our children's grandchildren will go for bread."* No record seems to exist showing who was the author of this prophecy, and it is not impossible that it was one of those prophecies after the fact,—made after whaling became an established business.

It is difficult to verify the statement that Ichabod Paddock removed to the Island. The Records have no mention of his name, and if he established himself in Nantucket it would seem as



SANKOTY HEAD LIGHTHOUSE

though land for a house would have been assigned to him. The most plausible ground for belief that he came to Nantucket lies in its statement as a fact by Zaccheus Macy†, who died in 1797, aged 83 years and hence was contemporary with men who must have been knowing to it. That there was whaling carried on from the Island soon after that, is apparent from the Records of the Town Meeting of March, 1694, at which time the Town prescribed a penalty for cutting wood on Coatue, but provided "never-the-less Aney freholder may cut timber for whale bots or the Like any thing in this order to the contrary notwithstanding."

*Macy's Hist. p 33.

†Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. iii, p 155.

According to Macy, the first attempt at whaling at Nantucket was made by some of the original purchasers of the Island.* Mr Macy says "The circumstances * * are handed down by tradition and are as follows:—A whale, of the kind called "scragg," came into the harbor and continued there three days. This excited the curiosity of the people, and led them to devise measures to prevent his return out of the harbor. They accordingly invented, and caused to be wrought for them a harpoon with which they attacked and killed the whale. The first success encouraged them to undertake whaling as a permanent business, whales being at that time numerous in the vicinity of the shores." Mr Macy does not record any date for the act which the tradition describes, but the fact that the "original purchasers" were instrumental in the pursuit and capture of the whale would seem to indicate that it might have occurred prior to 1672, and that the attempt to secure the services of James Loper as an expert instructor might have been an aftermath of that first expedition. If that theory be correct the progress of the Islanders in the art must have been quite slow, since 18 years afterwards they desired the services of Ichabod Paddock to give them instruction.

Rapid progress seems to have been made, however, immediately after the beginning of the eighteenth century and the Town made a speedy advance as a whaling port. Whales were plentiful along the shores and good returns were had without the necessity of going out of sight of land. A noted writer,† describing the methods used, says—"The South side of the Island was divided into four equal parts, and each part was assigned to a company of six, which, though thus separated, still carried on their business in common. In the middle of this distance‡ they erected a mast, provided with a sufficient number of rounds, and near it they built a temporary hut where five of the associates lived; whilst the sixth from his high station carefully looked toward the sea in order to observe the spouting of whales." When a whale was seen, the boats were launched and the pursuit was on. A capture made, the whale was towed ashore, the blubber was "saved," cut up and tryed out in large try-pots erected on the beach. These try-works were used for many years, even after exclusive shore-fishing had ceased, the blubber of whales captured at sea being cut up, stowed away in casks and brought ashore for trying out.

Long-continued practice gave the men of Nantucket great dexterity in the business. De Crevecoeur says of them—"These people are become superior to any other whalemén." Many Indians

*Hist. of Nantucket, p 28. There must have been some attempt at whaling prior to 1681, for an inventory of the estate of Tristram Coffin returned to the Probate Court in Oct. 1706, enumerates 45 lbs. of whalebone at 10d. and 6 lbs. of short whalebone at 6d. Mr. Coffin died in 1681. The will of William Gayer made in 1710 enumerates among other things his try-house lot "toward Monomoy."

†J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur. Letters of an American Farmer 1782. Whether de Crevecoeur ever visited Nantucket or not is a disputed question. If he did not his description of customs and manners &c is remarkably accurate if based entirely on hearsay evidence.

‡About three and a half miles to each division.

were employed, each boat's crew being composed partially or wholly of aborigines some of the more dextrous of whom were promoted to the rank of boatsteerers, while occasionally one was found capable of commanding the boat. Macy says* that under the stimulus of such encouragement the Indians soon became experienced whalers and conversant with all the details of the business.

The whalers of Nantucket seem to have made a specialty of sperm whaling, probably because the superior qualities of sperm oil as an illuminant and as a lubricant greatly increased its value over what is known as right-whale oil. The first sperm whale on record as having been taken by Nantucket whalers was captured by Christopher Hussey, about the year 1712, the capture being really accidental. "He was cruising," says Macy,† "near the shore for Right whales, and was blown off some distance from the land by a strong northerly wind, where he fell in with a school of that species of whales, and killed one and brought it home. * * * This event gave new life to the business, for they immediately began with vessels of about 30 tons to whale out in the "deep" as it was then called, to distinguish it from shore whaling. They fitted out for cruises of about six weeks, carried a few hogsheads, enough probably to contain the blubber of one whale, with which, after obtaining it, they returned home. The owners then took charge of the blubber and tried out the oil, and immediately sent the vessels out again."†† Three years later, in 1715, Nantucket had six sloops engaged in this fishery, producing oil to the value of £1,100 sterling, the shore fishery being, in the meantime, still continued. There was no perceptible diminution in the number of whales taken from along the coast for quite a number of years after the establishment of the fishery.

In 1720 the people of Nantucket made a small shipment of oil to England in the ship *Hanover*, of Boston, William Chadder,

*Hist. of Nantucket, p. 30.

†Ib. p. 36. This hardly seems to accord with the report of Jefferson on the Fisheries in 1791. He says "Having extended their" (American whalers) "pursuit to the western islands, they fell in accidentally with the spermaceti whale." Doubtless Macy's statement is the more accurate.

††The first sperm whale **known** to Nantucket, says Macy, (p. 32) was found dead and ashore, on the southwest part of the Island. It caused considerable excitement, some demanding a part of the prize under one pretence, some, under another, and all were anxious to behold so strange an animal. There were so many claimants for the prize that it was difficult to determine to whom it should belong. The natives claimed the whale because they found it, the whites, to whom the natives made known their discovery, claimed it by a right comprehended, as they affirmed, in the purchase of the island. An officer of the crown made his claim, and pretended to seize the fish in the name of His Majesty, as being property without any particular owner. * * * * It was finally settled that the white inhabitants who first found the whale, should share the prize equally amongst themselves." The teeth, considered very valuable, and been prudently taken care of by a white man and an Indian before the discovery was made public; the final disposition of the whale certainly vindicated this precaution. "The sperm procured from the head was thought to be of great value for medical purposes. It was used both as an internal and external application; and such was the credulity of the people that they considered it a certain cure for all diseases; it was sought for with avidity, and for awhile, was esteemed to be worth its weight in silver."

master.* There is nothing on record to indicate whether this was the first adventure of this kind or not. It is perhaps fair to assume that it was successful for the English market appears in later years to be increasingly the purchaser of colonial oil.

It is quite likely that the increasing importance of the whale-fishery had much to do with the transfer of the site of the Town from the vicinity of Capaum Harbor to its present location, for between the years 1694 and 1714 the fleet of vessels increased materially. According to the records in the State House at Boston, the following named vessels were registered as belonging to Nantucket—April 28, 1698, Richard Gardner, trader, sloop Mary, 25 tons, built in Boston, in 1694; August 11, James Coffin, trader, sloop Dolphin, 25 tons, built in Boston, 1697; September 1, Richard Gardner, mariner, sloop Society, 15 tons, built in Salem, 1695; April 4, 1710, Peter Coffin, sloop Hope, 40 tons, built in Boston, 1709; April 24, 1711, Silvanus Hussey, sloop Eagle, 30 tons, built at Scituate, 1711; July 30, 1713, Silvanus Hussey, sloop Bristol, 14 tons, built at Tiverton, 1711; April 27, 1713, Abigail Howse, sloop Thomas, 12 tons, built at Newport, R. I., 1713; May 4, 1714, Ebenezer Coffin, sloop Nonsuch, 25 tons, built at Boston, 1714, (the Nonsuch is registered as of Boston—Coffin, however, was of Nantucket where he died in 1730†); 1714, George Coffin, sloop Speedwell, 25 tons, built at Charlestown. It will be seen by the registration that the vessels in use then were very small: the Hope of 40 tons must have seemed a giant among them.‡

The increase in the number of vessels necessitated better landing places and the temporary structures that were often destroyed by winter storms had to give way to those more substantial and convenient. In 1723, the "Straight" wharf was built to meet the need.** The usual custom of the period was to haul the vessels and boats on shore when the winter season came on, as that method was less expensive than wharfage. The boats were

*"Shipped by the grace of God. in good order and well conditioned by Paul Starbuck, in the good ship called the Hanover, (N S) whereof is master under God for the present voyage, William Chadder and now riding in the harbour of Boston, by God's grace bound for London; to say:—six barrels of traine oyle, being on the proper account & risque of Nathaniel Starbuck, of Nantucket, and goes consigned to Richard Partridge merchant (Prin. Paid)

in London. Being marked & numbered as in the margin & to be delivered in like good order & well conditioned at the aforesaid port of London (The dangers of the seas only excepted) unto Richard Partridge aforesaid or to his assignees. He or they paying Freight for said goods, at the rate of fifty shillings per tonn, with primage & average accustomed.

In witness whereof the said Master or Purser of said Ship hath affirmed to Two Bills of Lading all of this Tenor and date, one of which two Bills being Accomplished."

†His will, probated in January 1730-1 mentions lands and housing in Boston worth £300.

‡The size must have increased quite rapidly for it appears that Isaac Myrick built in 1732, at Nantucket, a snow of 118 tons (State Archives, Maritime, vol V, p. 510).

**Macy's History, p 37.

placed bottom upwards and lashed together to prevent accidents from gales of wind, and the whaling "gear" was safely and carefully stored in the warehouses. The custom in the early days of whaling was for each vessel to carry two boats—one of them held in reserve in case of any mishap to the one lowered for whales.

By 1730, Nantucket had a whaling fleet of 25 vessels, varying in size from 38 to 50 tons. and the product was about 3700 barrels of oil, worth at the current price of £7 per ton £3200. Holmes says*: "The whale-fishery on the North American coasts must, at this time (1730) have been very considerable; for there arrived in England from these coasts, about the month of July, 154 tons of train and whale oil, and 9,200 lbs of whalebone." At that time, Holmes states, there were nearly 500 ships, manned by 4,000 sailors, engaged in foreign traffic from Massachusetts.

The culminating point of shore whaling was probably reached in or about 1726, so far as the business related to Nantucket. During that year there were 86 whales taken by boats from the Island, and chief among the men in charge of the boats that reaped this unctuous harvest were the Coffins, the Gardners, the Folgers, the Husseys, the Swains and the Paddocks, progenitors of those men who in later years vexed every sea with the keels of their vessels in pursuit of their prey, and carried the name and fame of the little Island of Nantucket to every quarter of the habitable globe.†

In 1722 a sloop, commanded by Elisha Coffin, while on a whaling voyage, was lost with all on board. This is the first recorded loss of a whaling vessel belonging to the Island. The second was another sloop commanded by Thomas Hathaway in 1731 and in 1742 a third, commanded by Daniel Paddack, was lost with all on board.‡

*American Annals i, p. 126.

†The names of those credited with the captures, who were probably captains or owners of boats or vessels, were—John Swain took 4, Andrew Gardner 4, Jonathan Coffin 4, Paul Paddack 4, Jas. Johnston 5, Clothier Pierce, 3, Sylvanus Hussey 2, Nathan Coffin 4, Peter Gardner 4, Wm. Gardner 2, Abashai Folger 6, Nathan Folger 4, John Bunker 1, Shubael Folger 5, Shubael Coffin 3, Nath'l Allen 3, Edw'd Heath 4, Geo. Hussey 3, Benj. Gardner 3, Geo. Coffin 1, Rich'd Coffin 1, Nath'l Paddack 2, Jos. Gardner 1, Matthew Jenkins 3, Bartlett Coffin 4, Daniel Gould 1, Ebenezer Gardner 4,—Staples 1; total 86. The largest number captured in one day was 11. The New England Weekly Journal of December 21, 1730 contains an advertisement reading—"Just Reprinted, The Wonderful Providence of God, Exemplified in the Preservation of William Walling who was drove out to Sea from Sandy Hook, near New York in a leaky Boat, and was taken up by a Whaling Sloop & brought to Nantucket after he had floated on the Sea eight Days without Victuals or Drink." In 1732 a vessel of 118 tons was built at Nantucket, the ruling price being £8. 5s per ton. (Mass Archives, Maritime IV, p. 510).

‡This is not in agreement with the statement made by Zaccheus Macy in his communication published in vol iii of the Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc'y. Mr. Macy says (p. 157) that up to 1760 no man had been killed or drowned while whaling and Obed Macy repeats the error. Zaccheus Macy must have intended to include only shore whaling, for prior to 1760 at least nine vessels with their crews had been lost, a fact he must have known. Dinah Coffin, of Nantucket, in a petition to the General Court (Mass. Archives, Domestic Relations Vol. i p. 181) sets forth that "her Husband, Elisha Coffin did on the Twenty
(See next page)

As the business increased in volume and importance not only were more vessels employed but larger ones were used. Schooners were added and the size was increased to between 40 and 50 tons. As whales began to be more scarce in the vicinity of the coast, still larger and more seaworthy craft were added to the service and sent to the "southward," as the expression of the day was, cruising on that ground until about the first of July, when they returned, discharged whatever they had taken, refitted and cruised to the eastward of the Grand Banks during the remainder of the whaling season, unless they filled sooner, as they frequently did. Vessels for this service were usually sloops of some 60 or 70 tons burthen, manned in part by Indians, from four to eight natives being shipped for each vessel.*

The time came when Nantucket could not furnish men enough to man the vessels which the Island owners desired to fit out for the whale-fishery and other ports notably those on Cape Cod and even those so remote as Long Island were called upon to supply the deficiency. And then followed, quite naturally, an over supplied oil market with the usual result of unremuneratively low prices. Boston had for many years been at once the market for the sale of oil and for the purchase of supplies.† Had prices been satisfactory this exchange would have continued, but they were not, and what seems to have developed into a bit of sharp practice by Boston merchants became responsible for a change of factors. "It was found," says Macy,‡ "that Nantucket had in many places become famed for

Seventh Day of April Annog Dom. 1722 Sail from sd Island of Nantucket in a sloop; on a whaling trip intending to return in a month or six weeks at most, And Instantly a hard & dismall Storm followed; which in all probability Swallowed him and those with him up; for they were never heard of." She prays that she may now (1724) be allowed to marry again. The Court seems to have granted the petition for June 21, 1725 she certifies to the inventory of his estate as Dinah Williams.

*In an article in the Mass. Hist. Soc'y Collections, iii p. 157, Zaccheus Macy says "It happened once, when there were about thirty boats about six miles from the shore, that the wind came around to the northward, and blew with great violence, attended with snow. The men all rowed hard, but made but little headway. In one of the boats were four Indians and two white men. An old Indian in the head of the boat perceiving that the crew began to be disheartened, spake out loud in his own tongue and said, Momadichchator auqua sarslikee pinchee eynoo sememoochkee chaquauks wiichee pinchee eynoo; which in English is, "Pull ahead with courage; do not be disheartened; we shall not be lost now; there are too many Englishmen to be lost now." His speaking in this manner gave the crew new courage. They soon perceived that they made headway; and after a long rowing they all got safe on shore." The Boston News-Letter states that in 1744 a Nantucket Indian struck a black-fish and was caught by a foul line and carried down and drowned.

†The inference would naturally be drawn that the shipment of oil made by Paul Starbuck in 1720 was not sufficiently remunerative to warrant a repetition. The Boston News Letter, however, reports the arrival at Portsmouth, England, December 8, 1729, of Captain Churchman from New England for London, with a cargo of logwood and oil.

‡History of Nantucket, p 51. The Boston News Letter of October 5, 1738, reports from Nantucket that an Indian plot to fire the English houses and kill the inhabitants of the Island, had been disclosed by a friendly Indian. In consequence of the warning the plot had

(See next page)

whaling, and particularly so in England, where partial supplies of oil had been received through the medium of the Boston trade. The people, finding that merchants in Boston were making a good profit by first purchasing oil at Nantucket, then ordering it to Boston, and thence shipping it to London, determined to secure the advantages of the trade to themselves, by exporting their oil in their own vessels. They had good prospects of success in this undertaking, yet, it being a new one, they moved with great caution, for they knew that a small disappointment would lead to embarrassments that would, in the end, prove distressing. They, therefore, loaded and sent out one vessel, about the year 1745. The result of this small beginning proved profitable, and encouraged them to increase their shipments by sending out other vessels. They found, in addition to the profits on the sales, that the articles in return were such as their business required, viz., iron hardware, hemp, sailcloth, and many other goods, and at a much cheaper rate than they had hitherto been subjected to." The increased return gave renewed life to the whaling industry, inducing the use of larger vessels and developing a spirit for new ventures. Every voyage was not markedly successful but as a whole the business was remunerative, and in its importance and financial returns was satisfactory. It was about this time (1746), according to Macy*, that colonial whalemens began their fishery in Davis's Straits.

Early in 1741, French and Spanish privateers began their assaults upon English commerce and naturally whaling vessels were among their victims. Those conditions compelled whalemens to resume coast whaling. The Davis's Straits fishery seems to have been abandoned for the records of several following years make no mention of departures to or arrivals from that locality. Occasionally the privateers would swoop down through Nantucket and Vineyard Sounds and capture any craft they were able to take care of. Such a raid occurred in the summer of 1744. A Captain Roach, (Rotch?) in a vessel from Cape Cod, arrived in Boston and reported that on June 24, just before night, being in a sloop from Nantucket for Boston, with a cargo of 330 barrels of oil, the weather

been abandoned, but fears were entertained for the safety of several whaling-vessels which sailed in the spring, and of the crews of which the natives formed an essential part. This threatened uprising was doubtless the outcome of the disturbed relations between the whites and the Indians which the native malcontents repeatedly stirred up.

*Page 54. Davis's Straits were visited by whalemens as early as 1732, when a Capt. Atkins, returning from a whaling voyage thence, brought with him a Greenland bear. Capt. Atkins went as far as 66° north. Among the entrances and clearances at the Boston Custom-house as recorded in the Boston News-Letter as early as 1737 are to be found several as to and from that locality. Beyond a doubt those vessels were whalemens, and in fact some of the names are common in the annals of this industry at Nantucket. The clearances were usually in March or April, and the arrivals from September to November, varying according to the degree of success, the season, etc. The News-Letter of August 2, 1739, says—"There is good Prospect of Success in the Whale Fishery to Greenland this Year for several Vessels are come in already, deeply laden, and others expected." This is not mentioned as a novel venture. The English had for 15 years been whaling in those waters and at that time had between 40 and 50 whale ships in those seas.

The News-Letter of October 4, 1744, states that a whale 40 feet long was found ashore on Nantucket by three men, who, in the absence of more proper implements, killed it with their jack-knives.

being calm and his vessel somewhat in advance of the others, another sloop came up showing but few men on deck and hoisting the English flag. Capt. Roach, suspecting, despite her appearance, that she was an enemy, and being only about two miles from the shore, took out the most necessary things, and, putting them into his boat, escaped with his crew to the shore. As soon as the pursuer found that the sloop was abandoned, he sent a boat of armed men to her, took possession of her and carried her off. The vessel proved to be a French privateer, and in September, she captured several small coasting and merchant vessels and one Nantucket whaling vessel, and landed many of her prisoners on the island of Nantucket.*"

It is not unlikely that whalemén from Nantucket introduced deep-sea whaling among the people of Martha's Vineyard. In 1738, Joseph Chase, of Nantucket, removed there, taking with him his sloop, the *Diamond*, of about 40 tons burden.† He purchased a house and about 20 acres of land on the shores of Edgartown Harbor, erected a wharf with a try-house near by, and commenced the fishery with his vessel. He was not successful, and after two or three years trial he abandoned the business. In 1742, John Harper removed from Nantucket to the Vineyard, taking with him the sloop *Humbird*, of about 45 tons. For several years he endeavored to establish a paying fishery, but as he lost money year after year he too withdrew from the pursuit.

The period from 1750 to the close of the American Revolution was the most eventful era in its relation to the whale fishery that the business has ever experienced. During the larger portion of the time the business was carried on under imminent risk of the loss by capture of the vessels, in the earlier years by French and Spanish privateers, and later by English and Tory vessels of war. The Davis's Straits fishery seems to have been abandoned by the colonists, whose fishermen cruised mainly to the eastward of the Grand Banks, along the 'edge' of the Gulf Stream and in the vicinity of the Bahama Islands. In 1748, the English Parliament had passed a second Act‡ to encourage this fishery. Under it the premiums on inspection of masts, yards, and bowsprits, tar, pitch and turpentine, and on British-made sail-cloth were to continue, and the duties on foreign-made sail-cloth were remitted to vessels engaged in this pursuit. Among other encouragements was a bounty on all ships engaged in the whale-fishery during the war then existing, and the exemption of seamen engaged in the Greenland fishery from impressment. In the 6th year of the reign of George the Second a bounty of twenty shillings per ton for whaling vessels had been granted—by the Act of 1748, a second bounty of the same amount was added. Those which had already sailed in March or

*Boston News Letter.

†See History of American Whale Fishery, p. 36.

‡Act of 1708 for the "Encouragement of Whaling."

April shared equally in the provisions of the Act with those whose sailing had been delayed. All ships built or fitted out for this business from the American Colonies and conforming to this Act were to be licensed to whale, and in order to receive the bounty must remain in Davis's Straits or vicinity from May until August 20, unless they sooner got a full cargo or were obliged by some accident to return. Foreign Protestants serving in this fishery for two years, and qualifying themselves for its prosecution, were to be treated as though they were natives.*

The cause of this concession to the Colonies was to make it a part of Lord Shirley's scheme to oust the French from Acadia. He desired King George should cause them to be removed to some other English colony and that Nova Scotia should be settled by Protestants, and to accomplish that end invitations were sent throughout Europe to induce Protestants to remove thither. "The Moravian Brethren were attracted by the promise of exemption from oaths and military service. The good will of New England was encouraged by care for its fisheries, and American whalers, stimulated by the promise of enjoying an equal bounty with the British, learned to follow their game among the icebergs of the Greenland seas."† "The New Englanders of this period," says Bancroft.‡ "were of homogeneous origin, nearly all tracing their descent to the English emigrants of Charles the First and Charles the Second. They were a frugal and industrious race. Along the seaside, wherever there was a good harbor, fishermen, familiar with the ocean gathered in hamlets; and each returning season saw them with an ever-increasing number of mariners and vessels taking the cod and the mackerel, and sometimes pursuing the whale into the icy labyrinths of the Northern seas; yet loving home, and dearly attached to their modest freeholds."

Of this period Hutchinson writes:** "The increase of the consumption of oil by lamps as well as by divers manufacturers in Europe has been no small encouragement to our whale-fishery. The flourishing state of the Island of Nantucket must be attributed to it. The cod and whale fishery, being the principal source of our returns to Great Britain, are therefore worthy not only of provincial but national attention."

Notwithstanding the fact that a duty was laid on the colonists, in 1756, to support a frigate on the Banks to protect cod and whale fishermen who might venture there the risk was so great that it is not likely that many captains attempted to secure voyages then. In addition to the risk, Parliament had placed an embargo on "bank" fishermen, pending the expedition undertaken for the reduction of Nova Scotia in 1755. This embargo still remained in force in 1757, and proved so irksome to the fishermen that they addressed a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay setting forth that the memorialists "being Informed that your Honours think it not advisable to Permit the fishermen to Sail on their Voyages untill the time limited by the Embargo is Expired by Reason that

*Mass State Archives Maritime vi, p. 316.

†Bancroft's Hist. U. S. vol. v, p. 45.

‡Ibid vol. iv, p 149.

**Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. ii, p 400.

their fishing banks where they Usually proceed on said Voyage lyes Eastward not far from Cape breton which may be a means of their falling into the hands of the french which may be of bad Consequence to the Common Cause. Your Memorialist would Humbly observe to Your Honours that is not the Case of the whalemén their procedure on their Voyages is Westward of the Cape of Virginia and southward of that untill the month of June, from which Your Memorialists are of the mind their is nothing like the Danger of their falling into the hands of the Cape breton Privateers, as would be If they went Eastward. Your Memorialists would further Observe that the whalemén have almost double the Number of hands that the fishermen Carry which makes Their Charge almost Double to that of fishermen and ye first part of the Whale season is Always Esteemed the Principal time for their making their Voyages which If they lose the greatest part of the People will have nothing to Purchase the Necessaries of life withal they haveing no other way which must make them in miserable Situation.

Your memorialists would therefore beg that yr Honours would take Our Miserable Situation and grant our Whalemén liberty to Proceed on Our Voyages from this time If it be Consistent with your Great Wisdom as in duty bound shall ever pray

JOHN NORTON (for Martha's Vineyard)

ABISHAI FOLGER (for Nantucket)."

The Council, having considered the prayer of the petitioners, at a meeting held April 8, 1758, passed the following resolution:

"Inasmuch as the Inhabitants of Nantucket, most of whom are Quakers, are by Law exempted from Impresses for military Service. And their Livelihood intirely depends on the Whale fishery—Advised that his Excell'y give permission for all whaling Vessels belong'g to s'd Il'd to pursue their Voyages, taking only the Inh'ts of s'd Island in s'd Vessells and that upon their taking any other persons whatsoever with them they be subject to all the Penalties of the law in like manner as if they had proceeded without Leave."*

In 1761, the fishery of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and the Straits of Belleisle was opened up to the whalemén, who lost no time in availing themselves of the opportunities offered. This had naturally followed from the conquest of Canada from the French. The result had been attained almost unaided in its later stages by the colonials, who gave unstintedly of men and money. The people of the Colonies, however, were not to receive any advantages from their sacrifices. Discriminations were at once made against the colonial fishermen seemingly with an intent to discourage them in

*Mass. Archives, Maritime, vi, p. 371. The Vineyard men seem to have been side-tracked.

Under date of Oct. 14, 1756, the Boston newspapers stated that "We hear that two Nantucket whaling sloops have lately been taken by some French Letter of Marque ships on the bank of Newfoundland, one of which, (having sprung her Mast and Bowsprit) was ransomed for 150£ sterling but not agreeing about the Ransom on the other they carried her off. Tis said she had 600 Barrels of Oil on Board."

Under date of Sept. 8, 1757, the newspapers say that advices from Nantucket report that Capt. Nathaniel Woodbury with his whaling sloop from Nantucket, was taken about the middle of August off the Grand Bank by the French privateer sloop Revenge of 10 guns. He had no oil and his sloop was returned. He was cautioned to be on his guard as there was another privateer in the vicinity. He hast-

(See next page)

their occupation. By one act of Parliament, a duty was levied on all oil and bone imported into England from the Colonies, and another, quite as oppressive, prevented the colonists carrying those products to any other market. The adverse conditions were intensified by the further fact that residents of Great Britain were allowed a bounty for their fishery, from which the colonists were debarred.

The merchants of New England, as well as those of London interested in colonial trade, objected strenuously to this unfairness. They petitioned Parliament, representing that "in the Year 1761 The Province of Massachusetts Bay, fitted out from Boston & other ports* Ten Vessels of from Seventy to Ninety Tons Burden for this Purpose. That the Success of these was such as to encourage the Sending out of fifty Vessels in the Year 1762 for the same trade. That in the Year 1763 more than Eighty Vessels were employ'd in the same manner.† That they have already imported into London upwards of 40 Ton of Whale Finn; being the produce of the two first years. That upon Entring of the above Finn, a Duty was required and paid upon it, of thirty one Pound ten shillings pr Ton. That the weight of this Duty was render'd much heavier by the great reduction made in the price of Dutch Bone since the commencement of this Trade from £500 to £330 pr Ton." They represented further that the reason for the conferring

ened back to Nantucket arriving August 25. Two French 36 gun frigates are off the Banks to break up the fishing. July 13, 1758, a Nantucket whaler lately arrived reported that three weeks before two whaling sloops were captured by an armed brig from the West Indies. The captors put a number of English prisoners aboard one of them and released her and she had arrived at Nantucket.

A report from Philadelphia, under date of July 23, 1747, states that on the previous "Tuesday a sloop belonging to Nantucket, formerly under Capt. Charles Gardner, arrived here. Was taken by a French Privateer under Capt. Gerbee. She was afterwards released to the crew and other English prisoners were put on board. Two days after, she was taken by a Spanish Privateer from Havana, and 13 men were put on board with orders to proceed to Havana. Eight of the prisoners rose and endeavored to retake the sloop but were overpowered by the Spaniards and two were killed and the other six were wounded. The Spaniards were poor navigators and got lost and ran short of provisions, and told the prisoners to take the sloop where they chose. They arrived at the Delaware capes intending to reach Philadelphia. They met Capt. Waters who sent the Spaniards to that city in a pilot boat and aided the sloop to make port.

*Boston was for several years the port of entry for Cape Cod and vicinity.

†According to the following rhyme by Thomas Worth, there were 75 whaling captains sailing from Nantucket in 1763.

"Whale-List by Thomas Worth, in 1763.

"Out of Nantucket there's Whalemen seventy-five,
But two poor Worths among them doth survive:
Their is two Ramsdills & their's Woodbury's two,
Two **Ways** there is, chuse which one pleaseth you,
Folgers thirteen & Barnards there are four
Bunkers their is three & Jenkinses no more,
Gardners their is seven, Husseys their are two,
Pinkhams their are five and a poor Delano,
Myricks their is three & Coffins there are six,
Swains their are four and one blue gally Fitch.
One Chadwick, Coggeshall, Coleman their's but one,
Brown, Baxter, two & Paddacks there is three,
Wyer, Stanton, Starbuck, Moöres is four you see,
But if for a Vovage I was to choose a Stanton,
I would leave Sammy out & choose Ben Stratton.
And not forget that Bocott is alive,
And that long-crotch makes up the seventy-five.
This is answering to the list, you see,
Made up in seventeen hundred & sixty three."

of bounties on vessels in this pursuit from Great Britain was to rival the Dutch but in spite of this encouragement there was not enough oil and bone brought into England by British vessels to supply the demand.*

They further expressed the opinion that it was not reasonable to think that Parliament could intentionally discriminate between subjects of the Crown, granting a bounty to one and exacting a duty from another—the service being the same in both cases. The Colonists did not ask that a bounty be granted on their fishery—Great Britain could retain that—they only asked to be exempted from paying a duty on the products of their enterprise and skill.†

Earl Grenville at this time was particularly desirous to forward certain features of his American policy, notably the stamp act, that was destined to prove so obnoxious, and this fact as well as the knowledge that the English fishery, notwithstanding the bounty, was still unable to fully cope with that of Holland, or even to produce enough for the home market, was the means of securing some attention to petitions from the Colonies of a similar nature to the foregoing, especially as they were fortified by the presence of a special agent from the Massachusetts Bay prepared to support the position of New England. The English Ministry endeavored to placate all parties by preparing a panacea for the troubles of each. "The boon that was to mollify New England," says Bancroft,‡ "was concerted with Israel Maudit, acting for his brother, the agent of Massachusetts, and was nothing less than the whale-fishery, Great Britain had sought to compete with the Dutch in that branch of industry; had fostered it by bounties; had relaxed even the Act

*The Dutch from 1759 to 1768, sent to the Greenland fishery 1324 ships, which took 3018 whales, producing 146,419 barrels of oil and 8,785,140 pounds of bone, (Scoresby). Great Britain in the same time sent about one-third the number of ships.

†Mass. State Archives, Maritime Vol. vii, p. 243. The concluding portion of this petition, including the signatures, is missing, a fact much to be regretted, as it would be very interesting to know who the prominent oil merchants of that time were. The following is a statement of imports of oil and bone from the Colonies into England and from Holland into England, from Christmas 1758 to Christmas 1763, accompanying the petition:

Year	FINS			Duty Amer.			Duty London		
	T	Cwt	Lbs	£	S	D	£	S	D
1758 to 1759	17.	0	17	11	0	0	10	14.	0
60	18.	2	9	28	16.	6	27	16.	4
61	27.	0.	8	42	2	6	40	10	6
62	335.	2.	5	522	3	10	502	5	0
63	1546.	3.	13	2427.	5	3	2315	9	4
Total	1935	0.	24	3011.	10.	1	2896.	15.	2

Year	WHALE OIL			Duty Amer.			Duty London		
	T	H	G	£	S	D	£	S	D
1758 to 1759	3245.	2	28	1898	13	8	1436	3	8
60	2595.	1	14	1518	5	1	1148	8	5
61	3126	3	31	1829	4	5	1383	12	10
62	2483.	2.	39	1452	18	9	1090	0	4
63	5030.	0	12	2942	11	7	2225	15	11
Total	16481.	1.	16	9641.	13.	6	7293	1.	2

The figures are taken from the originals though they seem to be wrongly added.

‡History United States, Vol. v. p. 184.

of Navigation, so as to invite even the Dutch to engage in it from British ports in British shipping. But it was all in vain. Grenville gave up the unsuccessful attempt, and sought a rival for Holland in British America, which had hitherto lain under the double discouragement of being excluded from the benefit of a bounty,* and of having the products of its whale-fishing taxed unequally. He now adopted the plan of gradually giving up the bounty to the British whale-fishery, which would be a saving of £30,000 a year to the treasury, and of relieving the American fishery from the inequality of the discriminating duty, except the old subsidy, which was scarcely 1 per cent. This is the most liberal act of Grenville's administration, of which the merit is not diminished by the fact that the American whale-fishery was superseding the English under every discouragement. It required liberality to accept this result as inevitable, and to favor it. It was done, too, with a distinct conviction that the American whale-fishery, freed from its burden, would soon totally overpower the British. So this valuable branch of trade, which produced annually three thousand pounds, and which would give employment to many shipwrights and other artificers, and to three thousand seamen, was resigned to America."

The numerous wars in which Great Britain was involved made sad havoc with the Nantucket whaling-fleet. Necessarily adventurous in pursuit of their prey the colonial whalers carried their aggressiveness into fields where war made for them another and more serious risk. Especially was this true of Nantucket whalers. In the years 1755 and 1756, six of their vessels were lost at sea and six more were captured and burned by the French and their crews carried into captivity. In 1760, another vessel was captured by a French privateer of 12 guns and released after the commander of the privateer had put on board of her the crew of a sloop they had previously taken with nearly a full cargo of oil and burned. The captain of the sloop, — Luce, had sailed from the whaling grounds with three others who were expected on the coast. The day after Capt. Luce was taken, the privateer engaged a letter of marque sailing from Bermuda and was defeated. Several whalers who were in the vicinity availed themselves of the opportunity and escaped. During the same month (June) another privateer of 14 guns captured several whaling vessels. One of them was ransomed for \$400, the privateer putting on board of her all her prisoners. The whaling-vessel put into Newport and landed them. In 1762, another Nantucket sloop was captured by a privateer from the French West Indies, while cruising off the Leeward Island.†

Ricketson's History of New Bedford contains a transcription of a portion of the log of the whaling sloop Betsey, of Dartmouth

*The bounty of 1748 appears to have been abandoned.

†The Continental Journal of July 3, 1760, has the following item of interest—"A few Days ago a Terrible Fire broke out among the Try Houses on the Island of Nantucket, which in a few Hours consumed many of them to the Ground, together with a large quantity of Oil, and most of the Utensils. The Loss is above £1800 Sterling. It is uncertain how the Fire happen'd."

in 1761. At that time the small vessels usually sailed in pairs and when a whale was captured the blubber was divided equally between them, so long as they cruised together. The reports usually give the captains' names instead of the names of their vessels. Among the entries in the log are the following: "August 2d, 1761, Lat. 45.54, long. 53.57. Saw two sperm-whales; killed one. Aug. 6th. Spoke with John Clasbery; he had got 105 bbls. told us Seth Folger had got 150 bbls. Spoke with two Nantucket men; they had got one whale between them; they told us that Jenkins & Dunham had got four whales between them, and Allen & Pease had got two whales between them. * * * August 20, Lat. 44 deg. 2 min. This morning spoke with Thomas Gibbs; had got 110 bbls.; told us he had spoke with John Aiken, and Ephraim Delano, and Thomas Nye. They had got no oil at all. Sounded; got no bottom. Thomas Gibbs told us we were but two leagues off the Bank." The Betsey apparently arrived home in September of that year. In 1762, it would appear that she made another voyage although the log up to September 2d is missing. On that date they report speaking "Shubel Bunker and Benjamin Paddock." On the 3d of September they "Knocked down try-works" preparatory to making port, and on September 15th, they report speaking Henry Folger and Nathan Coffin. The majority of the names mentioned are clearly of Nantucket.

About this time a new antagonistic situation arose. The Colonists were not to be allowed quietly to enjoy the fruits of the fisheries their valor and their money had wrested from the French on the North American coast. The governors appointed by the English Government, by a series of petty regulations, soon made whaling in and adjacent to the Gulf of St. Lawrence an unprofitable venture. The Boston News Letter of August 8, 1765, said—"Tuesday one of the Sloops which has been on the Whaling Business returned here. We hear that the Vessels employed in the Whale Fishery from this and the neighbouring Maritime Towns,* amounting to near 100 Sail, have been very successful this Season in the Gulph of St. Lawrence and Streights of Belleisle; having, 'tis said, already made upwards of 9,000 Barrels of Oil."

That was the way the season started, but it was too good to continue. Two weeks later (August 22) the News-Letter said: "Accounts received from several of our Whaling Vessels on the Labrador Coasts, are, that they meet with Difficulties in regard to their fishing, in Consequence of Orders from the Commanding Officers on that Station, a Copy of which are as follows:

"Memorandum: In Pursuance of the Governor's Directions, all masters of Whaling Vessels, and others whom it may concern, are hereby most strictly required to observe the following Particulars, viz:

1. To carry the useless Parts of such Whales as they may catch to at least Three Leagues from the Shore, to prevent the Damage that the neighbouring Fishers for Cod and Seal sustain by their being left on the Shore.

2. Not to carry any Passengers from Newfoundland or the Labrador Coast to any Part of the Plantations.

*It is not possible to assign each vessel to her proper port. Vessels from Cape Cod and north cleared from Boston; those from Martha's Vineyard at Nantucket; those from Dartmouth sometimes at Nantucket and sometimes at Newport.

3. To leave the Coast by the first of November at farthest.

4. Not to fish in any of the Ports or Coasts of Newfoundland lying between Point Richi and Cape Bonavista.

5. Not to carry on any Trade or have any Intercourse with the French on any Pretence.

6. In all your Dealings with the Indians, to treat them with the greatest Civility; observing not to Impose on their Ignorance, or to take Advantage of their Necessities. You are also on no Account to serve them with spirituous Liquors.

7. Not to fish for any other than Whale on this Coast.

Dated on board His Majesty's sloop Zephyr, at the Isle of Bois on the Labradore Coast, the 21st July, 1765.

JOHN HAMILTON."

The issue of the News-Letter for November 18 reports that on account of this proclamation the vessels "are returning half loaded."



CUTTING IN A WHALE AT THE WHARF

Photographed by Josiah Freeman.

Inasmuch as it was the custom of many of the early whalemens, especially for those sailing from Boston and vicinity, to go prepared for either the cod or the whale fishery, and in the event of the failure of one to have recourse to the other, rule 7 was very obnoxious. Beside the regulations in themselves, they were enforced under the immediate direction of an armed force, and the

arbitrary methods of the commanders of the petty cruisers were distinctly in the way of prosperous voyages for colonial fishermen. The season of 1765 proved a failure, and the ensuing season was merely a repetition of it. The News-Letter, commenting on the failure of the 1766 fishery, says "Since our last several Vessels have returned from the Whaling Business, who have not only had very bad Success, but also have been ill-treated by some of the Cruisers on the Labradore Coast." Englishmen had fitted out from London two ships, the Pallisser and the Labradore, the former, in name at least, strikingly suggestive of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, for the express purpose of trading and fishing in the Straits of Belle-isle and along the coast of Labrador. The whaling fleet, according to the report of Capt. Charles Penn, who had piloted the English vessels to their destination and then had left the Straits on his way to Newfoundland, had met with a poor season. Capt. Penn went on board of several whaling vessels and learned that the entire fleet had taken only about twenty whales. In consequence of this failure several of them had, in accordance with their time-honored custom, begun to fish for cod. Much to their surprise they were halted by an armed vessel and by the "Company's Ships" (the Pallisser and Labradore) and the catch they had made was taken from them, save only what was required for their actual necessities. It was pretended that the whole coast was patented to "the Company". Gov. Pallisser's proclamation, bearing date of April 3d, 1766, specified that all British subjects whaling in the vicinity of Newfoundland, Anticosti, Magdalenes, and Labradore, over which he had been appointed Governor, should choose places on shore where they must land, cut up their blubber, and try it out as they arrived. They were not, however, to select any place that was used in the cod fishery. Colonial whalers might take whales on the coast, but were allowed to land to cut up and try out their blubber only on some unoccupied place, within the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was particularly specified also that they were not allowed to use any place already made use of by British whalers for the same or a similar purpose. As complaint had been made that the waste product of their fisheries interfered with the cod fishery they were ordered to carry the stripped carcasses of their captured whales to at least three leagues from the shore. It was furthermore enjoined upon them not to winter on the Labrador coast.

Supplementing the orders of Gov. Pallisser, Capt. John Hamilton, "of H. M. sloop of war Merlin, Lieut Governor of Labradore," &c, "armed with a little brief authority," issued his proclamation in which he said, under date of June 25, 1766,—“This is to give Notice to all Whalers from the Plantations, that they are allowed to fish for whales only, on the Coast of Labradore, that if they are found to have any other Fish on Board, the Fish will be seized, and they excluded the Benefit of Whale-fishery this season; and on no Pretence to trade with the Indians; whatever they shall purchase

will be confiscated, and after this Notice their Vessels liable to be seized," &c,&c.

As a result of these unnecessarily severe and discriminating measures, for they applied only to the Colonial whalemén, their vessels abandoned the fisheries in that vicinity and pursued their business off the Banks. The close of the season sent the whaling fleet home with a meager catch. It was a condition that could not long continue for England needed the Colonial product; her home fleets could not supply her market and London merchants to whom the Colonial trade was of great importance, joined with the Massachusetts Bay Colony in condemning the short sighted policy of the Pallisser regime. The pressure was too strong for resistance and the Governor was compelled to issue a supplementary proclamation, which appeared in the Boston papers of January 1767, and was as follows:

"By His Excellency Hugh Palliser, Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Island of Newfoundland, the Coast of Labradore and all the Territories dependent thereupon:

"Whereas a great many Vessels from His Majesty's Plantations employed in the Whale-Fishery resort to that Part of the Gulph of St. Lawrence and the Coast of Labradore which is within this Government; and as I have been informed that some Apprehension have arisen amongst them that by the Regulations made by me relating to the different Fisheries in those Parts, they are wholly precluded from that Coast:

"Notice is hereby given, That the King's Officers stationed in those Parts have always had my Orders to protect, assist and encourage by every Means in their Power, all Vessels from the Plantations employed in the Whale Fishery, coming within this Government; and, pursuant to his Majesty's Orders to me, all Vessels from the Plantations will be admitted to that Coast on the same Footing as they had ever been admitted in Newfoundland; the ancient Practices and Customs established in Newfoundland respecting the Cod Fishery, under the Act of Parliament passed in the 10 and 11th Years of William III^d commonly called The Fishing Act, always to be observed.*

"And by my Regulations for the Encouragement of the Whale Fishers, they are also under certain necessary Restrictions therein prescribed, permitted to land and cut up their Whales in Labradore; this is a Liberty that has never been allowed them in Newfoundland because of the Danger of prejudicing the Cod-Fishery carried on by our adventurer's Ships, and by Boat-Keepers from Britain, lawfully qualified with Fishing-Certificates according to the aforementioned Act; who are fitted out at a very great Risque and Expence in complying with said Act, therefore they must not be liable to have their Voyages overthrown, or rendered precarious by any Means, or by any other Vessels whatever. And

"Whereas great Numbers of the Whaling Crews arriving from the Plantations on the Coast of Labradore early in the Spring considering it as a lawless Country are guilty of all Sorts of Outrages

*Duties on oil imported in British ships were remitted, the commander and one-third of each crew being British. Duties on fats, furs and tusks of seal, bear, walrus or other marine animal taken in the Greenland seas were also remitted. Under other acts imported materials used in outfitting were made non-dutiable and bounties were established, amounting in the aggregate to 40s. per ton. These bounties and remissions did not apply to the Colonials.

before the Arrival of the King's Ships, plundering whoever they find on the Coast too weak to resist them, obstructing our Ship Adventurers from Britain by sundry Ways, banking amongst their Boats along the Coast, which ruins the Coast-Fishery, and is contrary to the most ancient and most strictly observed Rule of the Fishery, and must not be suffered on any Account; also by destroying their Fishing-Works on Shore, stealing their Boats, Tackle and Utensils, firing the Woods all along the Coast, and hunting for and plundering, taking away or murdering the poor Indian Natives of the Country; by these Violences, Barbarities, and other notorious Crimes and Enormities, that Coast is in the utmost Confusion, and with Respect to the Indians is kept in a State of War.

"For preventing these Practices in future Notice is hereby given, That the King's Officers stationed in those Parts, are authorized and strictly directed, to apprehend all such Offenders within this Government, and to bring them to me to be tried for the same at the General Assizes at this Place; And for the better Government of that Country, for regulating the Fisheries, and for protecting His Majesty's Subjects from Insults from the Indians, I have His Majesty's Commands to erect Block Houses, and establish Guards along that Coast.

"This Notification is to be put in the Harbours of Labradore, within my Government, and through the Favour of His Excellency Governor Bernard, Copies thereof will be put up in the Ports within the Province of Massachusetts, where the Whalers mostly belong, for their Information before the next Fishing Season.

"Given under my Hand at St. John's in Newfoundland, this First Day of August, 1766.

HUGH PALLISER.

By Order of His Excellency,
JNO. HORSNAILL."

It is quite easy to read between the lines and see that the Governor's proclamation had two material objectives—first to excuse himself with the home government for his discrimination against the Colonial fishery, and, second, to carry out what he well knew was the policy of the English Ministry to build up the fishery of Great Britain. That this was to be done at the expense of the New England Provinces, that had furnished the men and the money to conquer from the French the fisheries they sought to take advantage of, counted for nothing—the glory and enrichment of Great Britain alone was considered. While there might have been an occasional whaling captain who may have merited censure for lawlessness, in the very nature of the case such instances would be rare. Whalemens while pursuing their labors on the coast were obliged to replenish their supplies of wood, water and provisions. It is not at all likely they would wantonly destroy stores they might need or purposely make enemies of the natives with whom they desired to trade.

Apparently the Provincial whalemens felt no encouragement to continue the fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, even under the modified order of Gov. Palliser, for the Boston News Letter published a report from Charleston, S. C., dated June 19, 1767, stating that on "the 22. ult. put in here, a sloop belonging to Rhode Island,

from a Whaling Voyage in the Southern Latitudes, having proved successful about 10 days before. The Master informs us, that near 50 New England Vessels have been on the Whale-Fishery in the same Latitudes, this season, by way of experiment."* At that period whales were abundant along the edge of the Gulf Stream, the warmer waters being doubtless good feeding places. For several years, the fishery was good in those waters, but the aggressions of the whaling fleet eventually drove the whales to the Western and Leeward Islands, the Cape de Verdes, the Brazil Banks and further on. As a whole the business was successful.

It was rumored in the Colonies in the early part of 1767, that the offensive restrictions that had been placed on the Colonial whalers were to be removed. Petitions praying for such improvement had been presented to the home government and a favorable response was expected.† In anticipation of improved conditions early in 1768 New England whalers again essayed the Belle Isle and Davis Straits fishery. Between fifty and sixty of them anchored in Canso harbor in April of that year, some of them bound to Davis Straits but the majority cruising in the vicinity of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Two sloops from Nantucket, one commanded by ——— Coleman and the other by ——— Coffin, were lost during the season in the Straits of Belle Isle, the crews of which were saved by Captain Hamilton, of the sloop of war Merlin, who also assisted in saving the sails, rigging and stores. The season was reported unsuccessful, however, in those waters, and up to the last of August many of the fleet had taken little or no oil.

Eighty whaling vessels of an average burthen of 75 tons sailed from Nantucket in 1768, and probably quite as many more from the other North Atlantic ports, their voyages being to Davis Straits, Straits of Belle Isle, Grand Banks and Gulf of St. Lawrence to the north-east, and to the Western Islands to the south-east. In the early part of the season the fleet to the south-east did not have much success, but later there was an improvement and by the middle of September the Western Islands fleet had taken on an average about 165 barrels. As vessels in the northern fleet spoken quite late in the summer were reported as have taken from 100 to 150 barrels each and in some cases as many as 200 barrels, it may

*As the name of the vessel and her home port are unknown and there seems to be no record of her catch, the degree of her success is unknown. It is reported that the people of Nantucket made £70,000 in 1767.

†In October, 1767, a whaling-sloop, belonging to Nantucket, arrived at the bar off that port, on board of which were four Indians, who had had some dispute at sea, and agreed to settle it on their return. As the vessel lay at anchor the officers and crew—except three white men and these Indians—went ashore. The whites being asleep in the cabin, the Indians went on deck, divided into two parties, and, arming themselves with whaling-lances, commenced the affray. The two on one side were killed immediately, the other two were unhurt. The white men, hearing the affray, rushed upon deck, and seeing what was done, secured the murderers. Boston News Letter.

be fair to assume that the northern fishery was equally successful. Of the 80 vessels sailing from Nantucket, only 70 returned, the remaining 10 being lost at sea or captured by the French.

"Between the years 1770 and 1775" says Obed Macy,* "the whaling business increased to an extent hitherto unparalleled. In 1770 there were a little more than one hundred vessels engaged; and in 1775 the number exceeded one hundred and fifty, some of them large brigs. The employment of so great and such an increasing capital may lead our readers to suppose that a corresponding profit was realized, but a careful examination of the circumstances under which the business was carried on will show the fallacy of such a conclusion. Many branches of labor were conducted by those who were immediately interested in the voyages. The young men, with few exceptions, were brought up to some trade necessary to the business. The rope-maker, the cooper, the blacksmith, the carpenter—in fine, the workmen were either the ship-owners or of their household; so were often the officers and men who navigated the vessels and killed the whales. While a ship was at sea, the owners at home were busily employed in the manufacturing of casks, iron-work, cordage, blocks, and other articles for the succeeding voyage. Thus the profits of the labor were enjoyed by those interested in the fishery, and voyages were rendered advantageous† even when the oil obtained was barely sufficient to pay the outfits, estimating the labor as a part thereof. This mode of conducting the business was universal, and has continued to a very considerable extent to the present day. Experience taught the people how to take advantage of the different markets for their oil. Their spermaceti oil was mostly sent to England in its unseparated state, the head matter being generally mixed with the body oil, for, in the early part of whaling it would bring no more when separated than when mixed. The whale-oil, which is the kind procured from the species called "right-whales," was shipped to Boston or elsewhere in the colonies, and there sold for country consumption, or sent to the West Indies."‡

*History of Nantucket, p. 68.

†The almost universal method of payment of wages among American whalers was by "lays," each officer and man being shipped to receive a certain portion of the earnings, less charges for advance money, clothing etc., as his pay. This made each one directly interested in the outcome of the voyage. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society is the settlement of the ship *Lion* in 1807, (Second Series iii, vol. p. 19) which will serve as an example:

Dr.	
To amount of charge	362.75
To Sundry accounts, clearing ship, &c, (no charge against captain, mate, and boy)	43.38
The share of the captain 1-18	2072.13
Mate 1-27	1381.41
Second mate 1-37	1008.06
2 ends men 1-48 each	1554.10
5 end men 1-75 each	2486.55
Cooper 1-60	621.64
Boy 1-120	310.82

Dr.	
5 blacks 1-80 each	\$2331.14
1 black 1-80 on 400 barrels	108.36
1 black 1-90	414.42
1 black 1-85	438.80
1 black 1-90 on all but 400 barrels	318.10
Cr.	
By 37,358 gals. body oil	19,766.14
By 16,868 gals head matter,	17,849.73
By 150½ gals black oil	45.15
	37,661.02
Remainder (coming to owners)	\$24,252.74

‡Bancroft says (Hist. U. S. v. p. 265) in 1765 the Colonists were not allowed to export the chief products of their industry, such as sugar, (See next page)

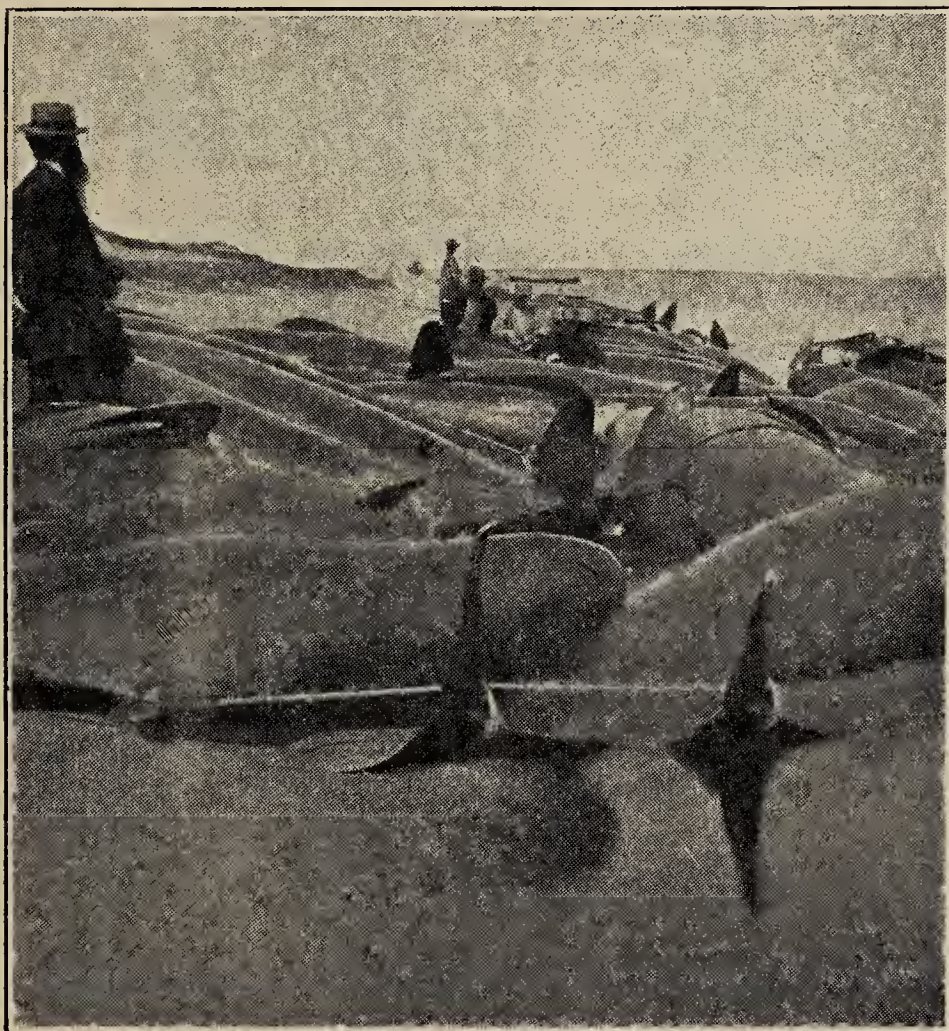
The waters frequented by whalers at this time were much infested by French and Spanish privateers and pirates* and several whalers were victims of their depredations. Three Dartmouth whaling vessels were taken by the Spaniards in the vicinity of the Western Islands. A Vineyard whaler (Ephraim Pease) was also captured but his vessel was released after the crews of the other captured vessels were put on board of her.

Occasionally the whalers got the better of the marauders. The News-Letter relates the following story of such a circumstance occurring in April, 1771. Two Nantucket whaling sloops, under the command of Isaiah Chadwick and Obed Bunker, lying at anchor in the harbor of Abaco, observed a ship off the mouth of the harbor flying signals of distress. Ever ready to help a brother mariner in trouble, which is a distinguishing trait of Anglo-Saxon seamen, one of the captains made up a boat's crew from the two sloops and hastened to render assistance. Reaching the vessel the captain boarded her to see what service he could render. To his astonishment he was met by the officer in command who presented a pistol at his head and demanded that he should pilot the ship into the harbor. He assured the officer in charge that he was a stranger there but that he had a man in his boat who was acquainted with the port. The man was called aboard the ship and ordered in the same persuasive way to act as pilot. He recognized the potency of the argument and performed the desired service, anchoring the ship at a point where a point of land lay between her and the sloops. This done, the boat and crew were released and were returned to their vessels. The Nantucket captains then held a consultation as to what could be done. It had been noticed that the crew of the ship all appeared to be armed. The boat's crew that boarded her observed a man in the cabin walking alone. The whalers concluded that the ship had been seized by pirates and that the man in the cabin was the former captain, and plans were immediately made to capture the ship and her crew. An invitation was extended to the outlaw captain, his officers and passengers to dine on board one of the whaling sloops. The courtesy was accepted and the pirate captain and his boatswain with the original captain representing the passengers, boarded the sloop to accept the proffered hospitality. After a short stay the pirate

tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, dyeing-woods, whalebone, etc., to any place but Great Britain—not even to Ireland. Save in the matter of salt, wines, victuals, horses, and servants, Great Britain was not only the sole market for the products of America, but the only store-house for its supplies. It would seem as though this could hardly have applied to oil, for the Boston News-Letter of September 8, 1768, gives a report from London dated July 13, that the whale and cod fisheries of New England "this season promised to turn out extremely advantageous, many ships fully laden having already been sent to the Mediterranean markets." The jealousy or cupidity of the home government at the success of the American fishermen seems to have been again aroused for during the same year an effort was made in Parliament to revive the discriminating bounty to English whalers.

*"Pirate" in those days seems to have been an interchangeable term, quite as likely to mean a privateer as a freebooter.

guest became uneasy and proposed to return to his own vessel, but the whalemén seized him and binding him securely frustrated his intention. The actual captain then explained the situation. The ship had sailed from Bristol (R. I.?) to the coast of Africa, there had taken on a cargo of slaves for the West Indies, had disposed of them and was on the return voyage home with a cargo of sugar when the crew mutinied. Their intention was to become pirates a not unpopular business at the time. The whalemén told the boat-swain that if he would go aboard the ship and return with the



STRANDED SCHOOL OF BLACKFISH

July 1874

former mate, who was in irons, and assist in recapturing the vessel every endeavor would be made to see that he was saved from the penalties of the law in such cases made and provided. The whaling captains intimated to him that there was a man-of-war within two hours' sail from which ample force could be obtained to overpower the mutineers. As a further precaution they told the boat-swain that when they had secured assistance from the man-of-war they would display a specified signal.

The officer failed to return according to his agreement. Possibly he felt that he was "between the devil and the deep sea," with his

mutineer associates presenting the more imminent danger. One whaling sloop thereupon weighed anchor and stood toward the ship as though to pass on one side of her. As she drew up to the ship the mutineers shifted over their guns with the obvious intention of sinking the sloop as she passed. The whaling captain had anticipated just such action and as he neared the ship he suddenly changed his vessel's course and swept by on the other side and out of range before the mutineers could recover from their surprise and retrain their guns. The sloop stood away on her new course until out of sight of the ship and then tacked and setting the signal agreed on with the boatswain, steered straight for the pirate. The crew of the ship sighting her and recognizing the signal, believed that she carried an armed force, and fled precipitately to the shore where they were speedily captured when their character became known. The whalers boarded the prize, released the mate, and carried the ship into New Providence, where they were allowed a salvage fee of \$2,500. The chief of the mutineers was hanged.

It was about this time that Benjamin Franklin, who was in London, was questioned by the English merchants regarding the cause of the difference in the sailing time of the Colonial merchantmen to Rhode Island and the English packets to New York. The difference in time, averaging something like fourteen days, was a cause of much annoyance to the English merchants who thought the destination might have much to do with it and seriously considered withdrawing their vessels from New York and dispatching them to Rhode Island. In the dilemma they consulted Franklin, A Nantucket captain named Folger*, a relative of Franklin's, being then in London, the Doctor sought to learn his opinion. Capt. Folger told him that the merchantmen from Rhode Island were commanded by men who were acquainted with the presence of a strong ocean current† and in their passage to America took advantage of that knowledge. The English captains had been repeatedly warned of this ocean stream and that in steering the course they did they were stemming a current running at the rate of three miles an hour, and that, if the wind was light the current would set them back faster than the breeze would send them ahead, but they were too self-sufficient to receive advice from Colonial seamen, so persevered in their own course, losing from two to three weeks on every trip. By Franklin's request Captain Folger made a sketch of the Stream with directions how to use or avoid its currents, and this sketch, made over a century and a half ago is substantially the same as is found on the charts of today. "The Nantucket

*Works of Franklin, iii p. 353. Probably Capt. Timothy Folger. On p. 364 in a note, Franklin says:—"The Nantucket captains, who are acquainted with this stream, make their voyage from England to Boston in as short a time generally as others take in going from Boston to England, viz, from twenty to thirty days." Quite a number of Boston packets to and from England were at this time and for many years after commanded by Nantucket men. It will be remembered that Franklin's mother was a Nantucket Folger.

†The Gulf Stream.

whalemen," says Franklin (iii.364) "being extremely well acquainted with the Gulph stream, its course, strength and extent, by their constant practice of whaling on the edges of it, from their Island quite down to the Bahamas, this draft of that stream was obtained from one of them, Captain Folger, and caused to be engraved on the old chart in London for the benefit of navigators by B. Franklin."* It was of little use—Ephraim was "joined to his idols"; English captains continued to sail the old course and lose valuable time.

In 1772, two whaling sloops from Nantucket, each having on board 150 barrels of oil, were captured off Matanzas by a Spanish brig and sloop.

RETURNS OF WHALING VOYAGES FROM 1715

It is impossible to get any accurate returns of the early voyages. Many of the facts are gleaned from the newspapers of the day and lack much in respect to fulness. Nantucket was essentially a sperm whale port for a long time. If bone was brought home there was little or no account made of it for the price was exceedingly low and Nantucket whalemen did not care to be encumbered with it. Up to the year 1843 it had not brought over 25 cents a pound and the average value for the 39 years previous to that was but about 14 cents a pound. Oil and bone were at times sold in foreign ports to pay shipping bills of which no account appears. Much of the catch was shipped home as freight and has failed to be recorded. Where one man or a firm answered as agent for several vessels and the consignment appears in the name of the agent it is not possible to know what vessel or vessels should be credited. Again it frequently happened that oil and bone shipped home was inventoried as so many "casks" of oil and "bundles" of bone. Casks contain from two to eight barrels, and bundles of bone vary in size. In such cases the estimate has been founded on 4½ barrels of oil to the cask and 90 pounds of bone to the bundle.

Following is the record as far as compiled:

1715

Six sloops, of from 30 to 40 tons burden each, sailed from Nantucket, returning with cargoes totaling about 600 barrels of oil and 11,000 pounds of bone, valued in all at £1,100 sterling. This number was very likely quite constant for several years.

*Macy gives the following as the dates of the earliest occupation of the various fishing grounds by Nantucket whalemen additional to the Davis's Straits fishery.: Island of Disco, 1751; Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1761; Coast of Guinea, 1763; Western Islands, 1765; east of Banks of Newfoundland, 1765; Coast of Brazil, 1774. According to a local tradition, the first Nantucket whaler who "crossed the line," arrived home from his voyage on the day of the battles of Lexington and Concord. The vessel was the brig Amazon, Uriah Bunker, commander. History of Nantucket p. 54.

1722

A Nantucket whaling sloop, of which Elisha Coffin was master, was lost at sea with all on board.

1723

The Boston News Letter mentions a whaling sloop, commanded by Nathan Skiff of Nantucket, that was captured in 1723 by the pirate Low, her captain killed, two Indians carried away and the balance of the crew set adrift in the two boats without any sustenance excepting water. They were so fortunate, however, as to reach Nantucket safely.

1730

Twenty-five vessels, of from 38 to 50 tons each, sailed from Nantucket, returning with 3,700 barrels of oil, valued at £7 per ton or £3,200.

1731

A whaling sloop from Nantucket, Capt. Thomas Hathaway, was lost with all on board.

1736

Names of captains appear but no home port is given but unquestionably some of them are from Nantucket. In August it is reported that a whaling schooner arrived at Nantucket from the northward with three large whales one of them "twelve-foot bone."*

1742

A whaling sloop from Nantucket, Daniel Paddock, master, was lost.

1744

A whaling vessel from Nantucket was captured by a French privateer.

1746

A whaling sloop from Nantucket was captured by a French privateer, released and subsequently captured by a Spanish privateer and put in charge of a prize crew. The Spaniards not being able to navigate the vessel turned her over to the prisoners who took her into Philadelphia.

1747

A Nantucket sloop, commanded by Peter Bunker, was captured by a Spanish privateer off the Capes of Virginia. She was ransomed by \$800 and a brother of Capt Bunker was held as security.

1748

The fact that 60 vessels, ranging from 50 to 75 tons burden each, sailed whaling from Nantucket this year is very conclusive

*Referring to the length of the slabs of whalebone. Whalebone is not bone as commonly understood but lines the mouth of the right whale, so-called. The edges are covered with very coarse hairs and the mouth when closed serves as a strainer to hold the minute food caught in large numbers by the whale.

evidence that the number had increased year by year although no known record now exists of them.* The Nantucket fleet returned with 11,250 barrels of oil, valued at £14 per ton, or £19,684.

1755

Three sloops from Nantucket, commanded respectively by John Starbuck, Jonathan Coffin, and Peter Bunker were lost while whaling.

1756

Eighty vessels, averaging 75 tons burden, were whaling from Nantucket this year. Three, commanded by Christopher Coffin, Peleg Coffin 2d, and Nathan Daggett, were lost. Six, commanded by Henry Coffin, Jonathan Coffin 2d., Seth Hussey, Nathaniel Coleman 2d, William Barnard and Josiah Gorham were captured by the French, one of them being reported as having taken 600 barrels of oil. The vessels that returned, brought in 12,000 barrels of oil, valued, at £18 per ton, at £27,600.

1757

Captain Nathaniel Woodbury, in a whaling sloop from Nantucket, was captured by the French privateer *Revenge*, about the middle of August, east of the Grand Bank. He had no oil aboard at the time and his vessel was restored to him. He was warned that another privateer was cruising near by. Woodbury succeeded in evading the second one and arrived in Nantucket early in September.

1760

A French privateer of 12 guns captured a whaling vessel from Nantucket. She was released after the Frenchman had put on board of her the crew of a sloop commanded by a Capt Luce which was captured a few days before, with a full cargo of oil, and burned.

The Fisheries was a most important factor in the diplomacy of the War of the Revolution, not only in the ultimate settlement but in the negotiations carried on almost from the outset. As has already been stated one of the most eloquent speeches made by Edmund Burke in his brilliant career was made in the British Parliament in response to a petition of the Society of Friends in aid of members of their Society in Nantucket, who were in sore distress in consequence of the bill in Parliament prohibiting the Colonists from carrying on any fishery on the Banks of Newfoundland or any other part of the North American coast.† England herself had been so dependent on the Colonial Fisheries that their suppression meant inconvenience and distress to the mother country.

Perhaps the most important phase in the matter was the attitude of the French Government in regard to it. The termination of the "Seven Years' War" found France and Spain prostrate before England. Spain lost Gibraltar; France lost Canada and her West

*When the English were compelled to evacuate Boston they removed a large part of the Custom House records to Halifax.

†English Register 1775.

Indian possessions and India, and was not allowed to fortify Dunkirk. It became necessary to reorganize the French navy and for France to seek new alliances.

"Humiliating as the loss of the North American territories was to France," says Wharton*, it was productive of much advantage to the United States in their subsequent struggle with the mother country. Had France in 1776 been in possession not only of Canada but of the valley of the Mississippi, it is not likely that she would have accepted the policy of freeing the United States from British dominion; nor, had she retained Canada and the Mississippi valley, would she have nourished that bitter resentment to Britain which swayed her after the peace of 1763."

"If the Colonies should revolt, and if independence could be achieved by them by war, then, by alliance with them, or even by their standing aloof as neutrals, France would be able to contest England's maritime supremacy. To watch the Colonies; to foment as far as possible their discontent; to aid them in insurrection against England, so far as this could be done, without prematurely engaging in a war with England was the policy of the ministry of Louis XV from the time of the humiliation of 1763." In pursuance of this policy agents were sent in 1774-5 to encourage a colonial revolution. Ways were sought to render assistance and yet avoid what might prove *casus belli*. On her part England seemed to do everything necessary to accomplish the same result.

It was not, says Wharton in further considering the activity of France, wholly revenge that influenced Louis XV. The English control of North America and India was a menace to the world. Beyond, or at least of equal importance to the American cause, was the enthusiasm among the young nobility of France and the army officers for American liberty, an enthusiasm which communicated itself to the queen and doubtless was an added incentive to the King. But the negotiations carried on between the two governments dealt principally with the give and take, the armed support being contingent on the satisfactory and compensatory adjustment of fishery rights. At session after session of the Continental Congress the subject was debated. The French Government was continually intriguing for the exclusive possession of the North American fisheries, and New England was as insistently striving to retain what her men and her money had wrested from France under the English King. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of amity and commerce was arranged between the United States and France. Under its provisions each side was, so far as the fisheries were concerned, to retain the exclusive right to its own. The Americans conceded to France the rights reserved under the treaties of Utrecht and Paris, even to accepting the interpretation put upon them by the French. Those were the rights to fish upon the Banks, and the exclusive use of one-half the shores of Newfoundland upon which to dry their fish.† As to what disposition should be made of New-

*Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution Wharton, Vol 1 p 330.

†Bancroft's U. S. 1 x, 481. It must be remembered that frequently the same vessel on the same voyage fished for cod as well as whale.

foundland, in case it was captured, nothing was said, but there was no question as to the sentiment of New England. Samuel Adams later in 1778, in a letter from Philadelphia, wrote: I hope we shall secure to the United States, Canada, Nova Scotia, Florida too, and the fishery, by our arms or by treaty. * * * **We shall never be on a solid footing, till Great Britain cedes to us, or we wrest from her, what nature designs we should have.**"* Succeeding years have abundantly demonstrated the soundness of his judgment.

France sought an alliance with Spain against England, and it was understood that in the final treaty of peace, that Kingdom should have some voice. In October, 1778, Vergennes stipulated as the limit of France's requirements in the final negotiations—first that the treaty of Utrecht must either be wholly continued or entirely annulled; second, that she must be allowed to restore and fortify the harbor of Dunkirk; and, third, that she must be allowed "the coast of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, with the exclusive fishery from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche."† Under a treaty with Spain completed April 12, 1779, France agreed to attempt the invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, and to share **only with Spain** the North American fisheries, in case she succeeded in driving the English from Newfoundland.

In the matter of frontiers, France, while yielding all claim to the Provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia, which for years had been subject to her, joined heartily with Spain in opposing the manifest desire of the United States to secure them. Two States persistently argued the right and policy of acquiring them, but notwithstanding the earnestness with which the manifest policy was urged, the Continental Congress, as a body, deferred to the expressed view of the French government. By the Treaty of Utrecht, France had agreed not to fish within thirty leagues of the coast of Nova Scotia; and by the Treaty of Paris, not to fish within fifteen leagues of Cape Breton. New England at the beginning of hostilities, had, by Act of Parliament, been debarred from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Vergennes thus expounded the law of nations: "The fishery on the high seas is as free as the sea itself, and it is superfluous to discuss the right of the Americans to it. But the coast-fisheries belong of right to the proprietary of the coast. Therefore the fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, of Nova Scotia, of Canada, belong exclusively to the English; and the Americans have no pretension whatever to share in them."‡ It availed nothing that the Colonies, practically unassisted, had improved the coast-fisheries, and maintained that immemorial and sole improvement of them worked out a practical acquisition. In vain the Colonists insisted that New England men, New England money and New England brains had effected the first conquest of Cape Breton,

*Bancroft, U. S. x 177.

†Bancroft, x, 784.

‡Bancroft's x, 210-11.

and were powerful aids to the subsequent conquest of Nova Scotia and Canada, and hence they had acquired at least a perpetual joint propriety. To all those arguments Vergennes replied that, the conquests were made not for the Colonies but for the Crown, and when New England dissolved its allegiance to that Crown, she renounced her right to the coast-fisheries. In the end the United States was forced to yield; they had sought the assistance of foreign powers, and they must yield, so far as was practicable, to the demand those powers made. It was a part of the cost of independence.

A committee, consisting of Gouverneur Morris, of New York, Thomas Burke, of North Carolina, Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, and Meriwether Smith, of Virginia, was appointed by the Continental Congress to determine the ultimate terms of peace with Great Britain, and in February, 1779, that committee reported that, as Spain showed a disposition to form an alliance with the United States, independence was a certainty.*

As to the fishery rights they reported that they should belong to the United States, France and England in common. This latter portion of the report was long under discussion in Congress with numerous roll-calls being on record on the various modifications, in which the combinations at times seemed contradictory. It was finally voted that the common right of the United States to fish "on the coasts, bays, and banks of Newfoundland and Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Straits of Labrador, and Belle-isle should in no case be given up."† Under a vote to reconsider the subject on March 24, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, proposed that the United States should have the same rights which they enjoyed when subject to Great Britain, which proposition was carried by the votes of Pennsylvania, Delaware and the four New England States—New York and the Southern States opposing.‡ New York, under the leadership of Jay and Morris, peremptorily declined to insist on this right being made in the treaty, and the latter moved that independence should be the sole condition of peace. This was ruled out of order by the votes of the New England States, New Jersey and Pennsylvania against the unanimous vote of New York, Maryland and North Carolina; Delaware, Virginia, and South Carolina being equally divided.** France, however, was vitally concerned about this matter, and the French minister exerted his influence and on the 27th of May Congress returned to its original resolve, "that in no case, by any treaty of peace, should the common right of fishing be given up."

Elbridge Gerry, whose steady and persistent championship of the claims of New England was naturally to be expected, on June

*Bancroft x, 213.

†Journal of Continental Congress.

‡There was no Maine or Vermont at that date, the former being a part of Massachusetts and the latter a part of the New York.

**Journal of Continental Congress.

19th sprang a disconcerting surprise on the French minister. Avoiding, says Bancroft,* "a breach of the rules of Congress by a change in form, he moved resolutions, that the United States have a common right with the English to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and the other fishing-banks and seas of North America. The demand was for no more than Vergennes confessed to belong to them by the law of nations; and Gerry insisted that unless the right received the guarantee of France, on the consent of Great Britain, the American minister should not sign any treaty of peace without first consulting Congress." A stormy and bitter debate followed. The delegates who favored the French contention resisted strenuously. Four States† declared if the resolution was adopted they should secede. A sort of a compromise was, however, agreed to, and the common right of fishing on the Grand Banks was affirmed, Congress asking of France a guarantee of that right by means of a supplementary article explanatory of former treaties.

The French minister, (Gerard), became alarmed, and sought an interview with the President of Congress‡ and two other delegates, known to be in sympathy with the French policy. The vigor and zeal with which New England had contested for this matter had disposed them to concede to the desires of this section. Vergennes assured them "that disunion from the side of New England was not to be feared, for its people carried their love of independence even to delirium," and continued: "There would seem to be a wish to break the connection of France with Spain; but I think I can say that, if the Americans should have the audacity to force the King of France to choose between the two alliances, his decision would not be in favor of the United States; he will not certainly expose himself to consume the remaining resources of his kingdom for many years, only to secure an increase of fortune to a few ship masters of New England. I shall greatly regret on account of the Americans, should Spain enter into war without a convention with them." Five hours of discussion failed to induce the members to undertake to change the views of Congress, and a new interview was held on the 12th of July, between Gerard and Congress, in a Committee of the Whole. As a final result the question was left to be settled, when a treaty of peace was formally arranged with Great Britain.**

*Journals of Continental Congress X-216 to 219.

†While the Journals of Continental Congress do not give the names of the states, neither does Bancroft in his history, there is little question but they were New York, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Why New York should oppose New England is not clear, unless the dispute with Vermont was the factor.

‡Peyton Randolph of Virginia.

**Bancroft x. 219. Mr. Gerry's resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. William Ellery, of Rhode Island, were:

"1. That it is essential to the welfare of these United States that the inhabitants thereof, at the expiration of the war, should continue to enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their common right to fish on the banks of Newfoundland and the other fishing banks and seas of North America, preserving inviolate the treaties between France and the said states.

2. That an explanatory article be prepared and sent to our minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, to be by him presented to the Most Christian Majesty whereby the said common right to the fisheries shall be explicitly guaranteed to the inhabitants of these states than already is by the treaties aforesaid.

(See next page)

At the close of the Revolution the progress from the provisional to the definite treaty of peace was slow and circuitous, and at times uncertain. Naturally one of the chief points in controversy was the status of the fisheries. England, with an air of magnanimity made a show of conceding as favors what the United States claimed as rights. Against what our country considered its just dues was arrayed not only the diplomacy of the English, against whom they had waged a war, but of the French, who were so recently their allies, and only firmness, skill and capacity on the part of the American Commissioners won out for America. The English naturally determined to yield as little as possible and jealously guarded their assumptions while the French sought for a loose joint in the armor into which the sword of diplomacy could be thrust, and they could gain by treaty what they had been unable to accomplish by force. The American Commissioners were constantly on the alert to break down the objections of a power from whom they had conquered peace and to avoid any act that should increase the sensitiveness of a power which had given them so valuable assistance. Certain fixed principles, however, must be adhered to. Those articles which must be held inviolate were the ones guaranteeing to the United States full and unconditional independence, and the withdrawal from the thirteen States of all British troops; the Mississippi as a western, and the Canadian line, as it was prior to the Quebec Act of 1774, for a northern boundary; and a freedom in the fisheries off Newfoundland and elsewhere as they had enjoyed before hostilities began. Great Britain strove with all her ability to evade the last named condition, but the American Commissioners held to the condition too strenuously to be defeated, and Great Britain finally yielded.*

3. That in the treaty of peace with Great Britain a stipulation be made, on their part, not to disturb the inhabitants of these states in the free exercise of their common right to the fisheries aforesaid; and that a reciprocal engagement be made on the part of the United States.

4. That the faith of Congress be pledged to the several states, that, without their unanimous consent, no treaty of commerce shall be formed with Great Britain previous to such stipulation.

5. That if the explanatory article should not be ratified by his most Christian Majesty, nor the stipulation aforesaid be adopted by Great Britain, the minister conducting this business, shall give notice thereof to Congress, and not sign any treaty of peace until their pleasure be Known."

Journal of Continental Congress XIV, 749.

*According to Lorenzo Sabine (American Loyalists) the American Armies in the Revolution were thus accredited: New Hampshire, 12,497 men; Massachusetts, 67,907; Rhode Island, 5,908; Connecticut, 31,939; New York (which then included Vermont), 17,781; New Jersey, 10,725; Pennsylvania, 25,678; Delaware, 2,386; Maryland, 18,912; Virginia, 26,678; North Carolina, 7,263; South Carolina, 6,417; Georgia, 2,679. It will be noted by this record that New England,—exclusive of Vermont—contributed within 268 men of the number sent by all the rest of the country. Massachusetts alone sent more than either the Middle States or the South combined. At that time the population of the Middle States was, more than double that of Massachusetts and the population of the South two and a half times that of the Bay Colony. It would naturally seem as though the sacrifices of New England and the fact that, unaided by England, they had effected the capture

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The dawn of peace found the people of Nantucket in a sorry plight. To them the War of the Revolution had been an unusually heavy burden. Out of a fleet exceeding 150 vessels owned there in 1775, 134 had been captured by the English and 15 more had been lost through shipwreck; many of the young men had fallen victims to the rigors of war;* in about 800 families on the Island there were 202 widows and 342 orphan children; the financial loss much exceeded \$1,000,000, in times when a laboring man's pay was 67 cents per day; one merchant lost over \$60,000.†

But it was no time to sit down and mourn the past. As soon as peace was assured, the Islanders began to equip anew for whaling. The Bedford, just returned from a voyage, was immediately loaded with oil and dispatched to London, the market of Colonial days, arriving in the Downs on the 3d of February. Her appearance created quite a sensation. The port authorities did not know what to do under the circumstances. An English magazine of the day gave this report of the arrival: "The ship Bedford, Captain Mooers,‡ belonging to the Massachusetts, arrived in the Downs the 3d of February, passed Gravesend the 4th, & was reported at the Custom House the 6th instant. She was not allowed regular entry until some consultation had taken place between the commissioners of the customs & the lords of council, on account of the many acts of parliament yet in force against the rebels in America. She is loaded with 487 butts of whale oil; is American built;** manned wholly by American seamen; wears the rebel colors & belongs to the Island of Nantucket in Massachusetts. This is the first vessel which displayed the thirteen rebellious stripes of America in any British Port. The vessel lies at Horsely Down a little below the Tower, and is intended immediately to return to New England."

Immediately after, almost simultaneously with her, arrived another ship from Nantucket—the Industry, Capt. John Chadwick, while the sloop Speedwell, James Whippey, master, was sent to Aux Cayes.†† The people of Nantucket, who had any capital left,

of Nova Scotia would have entitled their desires regarding the fisheries to more consideration than they got. The matter as left by the treaty of 1783 has always been a source of trouble.

*It is estimated that no less than 1,200 seamen, mostly whalers, were captured by the English or perished at their hands from Nantucket alone.

†Wm. Rotch.

‡Capt. William Mooers, who sailed for many years in the employ of Messrs Rotch & Co. It is related that one of the crew of the Bedford was humpbacked. One day a British sailor meeting him clapped his hand on the American's shoulder, saying, "Hulloa, Jack, what have you got here?" "Bunker Hill and be d—d to you," replied the Yankee, "will you mount?"

**The Bedford was built by Ichabod Thomas, at North River in 1765. She was built as a brig.

††Correspondence of William Rotch. The following letter was written by William Rotch Jr. to Hezekiah Barnard of Nantucket:

New Bedford 8th mo 3d. 1842.

Hezekiah Barnard:

Dear Friend:—In reply to thy letter of the 21st ult, received last evening, I shall state the following facts according to the best of my recollection.

My father had a vessel built by Ichabod Thomas at North River just before the Revolution, for himself and Champion and Dickason of London, for the London trade: after the war commenced she laid

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resumed the whale fishery with as many vessels as they could secure. It was all they could do. For so long a period had whaling and its attendant industries been their almost exclusive business, that they found it quite impossible to turn their capital and labor into new and untried channels.

Long comparative immunity from pursuit and capture had enabled the whales to repopulate their feeding grounds, and made the whales themselves less shy and more easily captured. For a while the products of the fisheries brought good prices, but this very prosperity soon proved its own undoing for it brought other ports into competition. New London, Sag Harbor, Hudson, N. Y., Boston, Hingham, Plymouth, Bristol, R. I., and other ports entered the lists and prices speedily dropped. Great Britain was the only market for sperm oil, the particular product of the Nantucket fishery, and by affixing an alien duty of £18 sterling a ton, she quite effectually precluded importations from America. "This duty," said Mr Rotch,* had its full force on us. Sperm Oil was sold at Nantucket after the Peace at 17 pound Sterling per Ton, which before we were separated was worth nearly 30 pounds Sterling. Twenty-five pounds Sterling was necessary at that time to cover the expenses, and leave a very moderate profit to the Owners. Thus a loss of nearly 8 pounds Sterling per Ton attended the business."

"The town", says Macy,† "exhibited the appearance of a deserted village rather than of a flourishing seaport containing upwards of four thousand inhabitants. The buildings had received no paint and scarce any repairs during the war, and a considerable number of the oldest houses were in a rapid course of dilapidation."

at Nantucket seven years until a license was procured for her to go to London with a cargo of oil, Timothy Folger commander. She sailed I think in 1780 or 1781. Several gentlemen from Boston took passage in her, among whom, were the late Gov. Winthrop, Thomas K Jones, Hutchinson, and some others whose names I do not recollect.

In 1781 Admiral Digby granted thirty licenses for our vessels to go after whales. I was then connected with my father and S. Rodman in business. Considerable oil was obtained in 1782. In the Fall of that year I went to New York and procured from Admiral Digby licenses for the "Bedford" William Mooers master, and I think, the Industry, John Chadwick master. They loaded: the Bedford sailed first and arrived in the Downs on the 23d of February * * * * and went up to London and there displayed the United States flag for the first time. The Industry arrived afterwards and I suppose was the second to display it.

The widow of George Hayley, who did so much business with New England, would visit the Bedford and see the flag displayed. She was the sister of the celebrated John Wilkes.

We sent the sloop Speedwell, James Whippey, to Aux Cayes. She was taken and carried to Jamaica, but the captain was released one day after, by the Treaty the war ceased in that latitude and she was released when she showed the first United States flag. On her arrival home everything was very low by the return of Peace. We put on board 200 boxes of candles and with William Johnson (whose widow I learn now lives at Quaise) as supercargo sent her to Quebec, where was the first United States flag exhibited.

Should thee wish any further information within my recollection, I will freely communicate it. I am, with love to thy wife, thy affectionate friend

WM. ROTCH JR.

*Wm Rotch M S.

†Hist. of Nantucket p. 120. The valuation list of 1784 showed the following: Families 767; inhabitants 4,268; houses 551; widows 202; orphaned children 342; Indians, 35; horses, 267; cows and oxen, 693; sheep, 3,000; tons of shipping, practically all purchased since the war, 2,400; tons of shipping captured and lost since 1775, 11,131.

"About this time many young men came home from different parts, where they had been confined as prisoners. Some of them had been absent so long, without being heard from, that their connections had relinquished all hope of ever seeing them again."

After the opening flurry in business, came a period of severe depression. There was no market for oil and as whaling was practically Nantucket's only business there seemed to be nothing to turn to. Macy, who was doubtless entirely familiar with post-Revolution conditions, says:* "At the close of the Revolutionary War, there was a considerable number of men too far advanced in life to resume the whaling business, in which they had been previously engaged." "Having lost nine years of their life to no profit," to use their own expression, it became necessary to resort to other business for a subsistence. The cod fishery at that time appeared likely to become a permanent business of the place. It was therefore adopted by this class. The encouragement to prosecute this branch appeared very promising to a number of commercial men, who embarked therein with their property. The fish, on the great fishing banks, were found exceedingly plenty, by the people of Marblehead, and Cape Cod, &c., and the price was such as yielded a good profit. With these prospects, a number of vessels were put into the service, some of which went to the Grand Bank, Newfoundland, Cape Sable, and other places eastward, and others of small burthen went out upon the shoals to the eastward of the Island. They generally obtained good voyages, and the fish sold well for the first two or three years, but it was not suited to the genius and inclinations of the people. The vessels, except a few that continued to fish in the vicinity of the Island, were put into other employment."

Replying to the query why could not the people of Nantucket carry on the cod fishery as advantageously and as profitably as the people of Cape Cod and Marblehead, Mr Macy says:† "The middle-aged, * * * who were too far advanced in life to return to their former business, were the only class to be met with that would engage in the fishing, and of these there was not a sufficient number to prosecute the business, with the energy and to the extent which the nature of it required, in order to render it profitable. In the second place, the people were unaccustomed to the business, and unwilling to engage in it, for their attention and study were constantly fixed on that of whaling. They could not be brought to believe that the cod fishing would answer on any principle upon which it was conducted. It was, therefore, impossible to obtain men of the first abilities to go in the vessels. The owners had recourse to the Cape to man their vessels, where they had to encounter similar difficulties; for the most capable and active part of the population there engaged in this employment, could always have all the encouragement which the business afforded, without leaving their homes."

The condition of business became a very serious one. None of the plans suggested seemed to afford a remedy. Some even imagined that if the Island could be made neutral, in some occult way the troubles would disappear and the sun of prosperity would shine

*Hist. of Nantucket p 123.

†P. 124.

again upon them. Mr Macy says:* "As nothing could be done without legislative assistance, several town meetings were held to deliberate on the subject." Unfortunately the records are so meager as to convey no suggestion of what was done. Apparently the Town delayed electing Representatives until some conclusion was arrived at.

On February 25, 1785, it was voted that "Peleg Coffin, one of our Representatives, be desired and directed to attend the General Court Immediately at their present Session." On March 1st, a committee was ordered chosen "to Prepare and Draw up a memorial to be preferred to the General court at the next May Session and that said Plan and memorial be laid before the next annual Town meeting to see if the Town will accept thereof and confirm the Same." A committee of nine was selected, consisting of Frederick Folger, Christopher Starbuck, Timothy Folger, Richard Mitchell, Jr., Shubael Coffin, Alexander Gardner, George Hussey, Shubael Barnard and Charles Bunker to perform the desired service. The report of the Committee was read at a meeting held April 4 and referred to a meeting to be held on the first Monday in May. It was finally accepted at a meeting held on that day. At the same meeting it was voted "that a Neutral State is the most convenient Situation that the Town can be placed in for the present for the Benefit of the Inhabitants thereof under their present Circumstances." Josiah Barker, William Rotch, Timothy Folger and Richard Mitchell Jr., were delegated to present the Memorial to the General Court and take such further action as they judged to be wise. Timothy Folger was also chosen a Representative.

The report of the Committee was as follows:—

"The Committee appointed by the Town to draft a memorial to present to the General Court, in behalf of the inhabitants of the Island, have attended to that business, and have reported the same to the satisfaction of the Town, and as the same committee were directed to form a plan for the Town to proceed upon, such as they apprehended would answer the best purposes, and be most for the interest of the whole, crave leave to report, that, it is the unanimous opinion of the committee, that the whale fishery cannot be preserved to this place, nor any part of that business can be carried on by the inhabitants of the Island, without great loss attending it, which will of course reduce the inhabitants to a state of poverty and distress and it is their opinion that the only possible remedy is, in placing the Island and its inhabitants in a state of neutrality, which if obtained may perhaps put it in the power of the inhabitants, to preserve so much of the whale fishery as may procure them a subsistence.

"But as the memorial says nothing respecting a state of neutrality, but only requests the government to point out some method for us to secure some part of the whale fishery, which, if they should do, and it should appear to the agents of the Town on this business, that it will effectually answer the meaning and intention of the memorial, in that case a state of neutrality may not be moved for, but the committee are fully of the opinion, that a matter of so much consequence must, in a great measure, be left to the

*Hist. of Nantucket p 126.

wisdom, prudence, and integrity of your agent, or agents, that may have the conducting of this business with the government.

"The above report was signed by the Committee, consisting of nine persons."

"Nantucket: 5th mo. 2d. 1785."*

A condition of neutrality as applied to a portion of the Commonwealth only was hardly consistent with equal rights of all and it is not strange that the General Court was not prepared to grant the request of Nantucket for such an exemption. The depression in the whaling business was too serious to be left to chance for a recovery and the General Court was disposed to render such assistance as was possible. A bounty on the various kinds of whale oil seemed feasible and consistent and in the session of 1785, the Legislature passed the following resolution:—†

"Whereas, this Court, having a due sense of the high worth and importance of the whale fishery, are desirous of its preservation, not only to this State, but to the United States in general; therefore, Resolved, that there be paid out of the Treasury of this Commonwealth, the following bounties upon whale oil, of the different qualities hereafter mentioned, viz:

"For every ton of white spermaceti oil, five pounds.

"For every ton of brown or yellow spermaceti oil, sixty shillings.

"For every ton of whale oil, (so called) forty shillings, that may be taken or caught by any vessel or vessels, that are or may be owned and manned wholly by the inhabitants of this Commonwealth, and landed within the same, from and after the first day of January next, and until the further order of the General Court.

"And be it further resolved, that the Selectmen of each town within this Commonwealth, where said fishery is carried on, be, and they hereby are empowered and directed to appoint an inspector or inspectors, who, (first making oath for the due performance of his or their duty), shall inspect all such oil, so landed, with an iron oil-searcher, and with a marking-iron, mark on the head of each cask so inspected, the initial letters of his name describing the quality of the oil by the letters W. B. Y. W. O. annexed, and make certificate thereof to the Selectmen of such town, as aforesaid, under oath, such inspector or inspectors to be paid by the owner or owners of such oil, so inspected, on certificate being produced as aforesaid.

"And it is further resolved that, in order to entitle the owner or owners of the oil, so taken, landed, inspected, and marked, as aforesaid, to the bounty or bounties aforesaid, the owner or owners of the vessel or vessels, that took and landed the same, shall produce to the Governor and Council, a certificate, from under the hands of the Selectmen of the town, where the said oil was landed and inspected, as aforesaid; which certificate shall be in the following words, *mutatis mutandis*." (Then follows the form certifying to the facts as required.)

"And it is further resolved, that the said owner, or owners, together with the master, mentioned in the said certificate, shall each of them subscribe the same; and the said owner or owners, together with the said master, shall make oath before some justice of the peace, for the same county, in the form following, to wit:—

*Macy's History, p. 126-7.

†Macy's History, 128-9.

"You, A. B. and C. D., do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that you were the sole owners of the ———, A. B. master, mentioned in the certificate, during the whole time she was employed in the whale voyage, herein mentioned, and that the quantity of oil, aforesaid, was taken or caught by the persons employed on board said vessel, during said voyage, which vessel was navigated and manned wholly by the inhabitants of this State, and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath, or had, any share, part or interest therein, and that the whole of said oil was taken or caught after the first day of December, A. D. 1785.

So help you God."

"And it is further resolved, that upon such certificate being produced to the Governor and Council, the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, be and he is hereby empowered to grant a warrant on the treasury of this Commonwealth, for the payment of the bounties in the manner aforesaid." The Secretary was directed to publish these resolves "in Adams and Nourse's, the Essex, Falmouth, and Plymouth newspapers."



THE FISHING FLEET

What seemed at first a blessing proved eventually to be detrimental rather than beneficial. The bounty served to overstimulate and seamen in other ports were induced to go into the business. Naturally, the market being restricted, it became overstocked and the price greatly reduced. A long suspension from the use of oil had accustomed the people to the use of tallow candles. Lighthouses used but little and municipal lighting was little practiced. England had nursed its own fishery by means of bounties and tariff restrictions on imported oils that it no longer provided a market for the whalemens of New England.

The English Government, to aid its own Colonies, established Halifax as a base from which to pursue the whale fishery. "The Government," says Macy,* "held out such alluring prospects to such of the people of Nantucket as should remove thither and pursue the whaling business, that a considerable number were induced to try the experiment.

"In 1786 and 1787 they settled on the shore opposite to the town of Halifax and there built dwelling houses, wharves, spermaceti candle-works, stores, &c., calling the name of the place Dartmouth. There they carried on the business several years, and reaped the benefit of every advantage which the government was willing to allow them. They appeared likely to succeed in their undertaking, and the place seemed destined to become of great importance."

But the seeming prosperity was short-lived. The English home government held out more advantageous inducements and some of the chief promoters of the original removal became uneasy and eventually removed again, this time to the English port of Milford Haven where they established a whaling port, whence they prosecuted the fishery for many years. In the meantime the remnant at Dartmouth, finding the exodus very injurious to their interests gradually quitted Dartmouth at a material sacrifice in property. The removal to Dartmouth and to Milford Haven deprived the Island of much capital and many skilled whalemén.†

*Hist. of Nantucket 132.

†In 1876 Hussey & Robinson published a "Catalogue of Nantucket Whalers and their Voyages," supplementing it with a list of Nantucket men who commanded whaleships from French and English ports subsequent to the Revolution and prior to the War of 1812. Those who removed to Halifax were:

Master	Ship	Master	Ship
Ebenezer Bailey,	Argo	Abner Briggs,	Charlotte & Stata
Jona Barnard,	Nancy		tira
Obed Bunker,	Romulus	Thomas Brock,	Romulus
Peleg Bunker,	Falkland	Zacchary Bunker,	Africa
John Chadwick,	Romulus	William Chadwick,	Colony
Joseph Clasby,	Joseph	Zimri Chase,	Neptune
Brown Coffin,	Harriet	Jonathan Coffin, 2d,	Lucretia
Eber Coffin,	Aurora	Solomon Coffin,	Donnahu
Andrew Coleman,	Dartmouth	David Coleman,	Ark
Simeon Coleman,	Argo	Solomon Coleman, Jr.	Nancy
Stephen Gardner,	Romulus	Philip Fosdick,	Lucretia
Albert Hussey,	Dartmouth	Thomas Hiller,	Lucretia
Ransom Jones,	African	Peleg Hussey,	Aurora
Nathaniel Macy,	African	Daniel Kelley,	Charlotte & Stata
Silas Paddock,	Donnahu		tira
Elisha Pinkham,	Ark	Edmund Macy,	Harriet
John Sprague,	Nancy	William Paddock,	Neptune
Thaddeus Swain,	Manilla	Matthew Pinkham,	Romulus
		Barnabas Swain,	Dartmouth
		Paul Worth,	Aurora

Those who went to Milford Haven, presumably from Halifax, were:

David Baxter,	Charles	Andrew Brock,	Jefferson
Uriel Bunker,	Maitland	Prince Coleman,	Ann
Jesse Coffin,	Grand Sachem	Frederick Coffin,	Hannah & Eliza
Geo. Dunnaman,	New Zealander	Micajah Gardner,	Hannah & Eliza
James Gwinn,	Wareham	Ammiel Hussey,	Duke of Kent
Andrew Myrick,	Aurora	Laban Russell,	Charles
Daniel Waterman,	Sierra Leone	Coffin Whippley,	Grand Sachem

Samuel Starbuck and his sons and Timothy Folger went also to Milford Haven as owners of whaling vessels.

The removal did not end with the settlements at those two English ports. The extensive interests of William Rotch followed the same trend. Mr. Rotch, who personally lost \$60,000 through the capture and destruction of his property during the Revolution, an immense sum for those days, after waiting two years for prospects to brighten in his native country found himself at the point where it was necessary to go where he could do better or remain as he was and lose the remnant of his property or to take his interests abroad and endeavor to retrieve his losses. In memoranda written at the request of a friend Mr. Rotch gives an interesting statement of what occurred.

He writes: "I found no probable alternative but to proceed to England, and endeavor to pursue the Whale Fishery from there. I accordingly took passage in the ship *Maria*, William Moores, master, accompanied by my son Benjamin,* and sailed from Nantucket on the 4th of 7th mo, 1785. We had a fine passage of Twenty Three days, five of which, having Easterly winds, we gained only one day's sail forward in that time. I proceeded to London, calling on my old friend Dr. William Cooper at Rochester (who with his family went to England in the same ship two years before), and requesting him to accompany me to London, which he kindly did. When we reached shooters Hill, in full view of London, and Eight Miles distant, forcibly feeling the great distance which separated me from my family, myself a stranger in that land, the occasion that drew me there, and the uncertainty of its answering any valuable purpose, I was overwhelmed with sorrow, and my spirits so depressed, that in looking towards that great City, no pleasant pictures were presented to my view. But I found it would not do to give way to despondence, and reason resumed her empire. I was there, and something must be attempted.†

We reached London, and I took lodgings for myself and my son Benjamin at Thomas Wagstaff's, in Grace Church street.

Our first journey was to the West of England, in which we had the agreeable company of my friend James Phillips. We visited the sea coast from Southampton to Falmouth, in search of a good situation for the Whale Fishery, if we should conclude to form an Establishment on that Island. We found several ports suitable for the purpose, but none that we preferred to Falmouth. In

*Benjamin Rodman, his son-in-law.

†Capt. Alexander Coffin was one of those who looked on the whale-fishery as a peculiarly American pursuit, and who denounced any effort looking to a transfer of it to any foreign government. On the 8th of June, 1785, he addressed, from Nantucket, a vigorous letter to the Hon. Samuel Adams. He wrote in severe terms against the measure being adopted to remove to England, and said Mr. Rotch "is now taking on board a double stock of materials, such as Cedar boards, (commonly called boat-boards) of which they have none in England, a large quantity of cooper's stuff for casks, &c.—neither does it stop here, the house of Rotch have been endeavoring to engage an acquaintance of mine, to go to Bermudas to superintend the business at that place." In a postscript to his letter, Capt. Coffin writes, "Since writing the above I have been favored with the original scheme of establishment of the Fishery at Bermudas, copies of which are here enclosed; one of the Company is now at Kennebeck, contracting with some person for an annual supply of **hoops**, staves, and other lumber necessary for the business." This letter was laid before the Senate of Massachusetts, and the result was the passage of an act prohibiting the export to Bermudas of the articles, enumerated, so the transfer in that direction was prevented.

that large Harbor, there are several smaller that would do well for the business. I had very favorable offers of divers places, but I was only on discovery, and did not wish to entangle myself with any. After viewing the coast and spending some days at Plymouth, we took a circuitous route, and returned to London. At Bristol I visited the grave of my brother Joseph, who died there 18 years before.

My next object was to know what encouragement we could obtain from the British Government. My friend Robert Barclay, perceiving what my business was, spoke to Henry Beaufoy, a member of Parliament, who introduced me to the Chancellor of the Exchequer (the Great William Pitt, then about twenty-seven years of age). He received me politely, and heard me patiently. I laid before him our serious situation, saying— "When the War began we declared against taking any part in it, and strenuously adhered to this determination, thus placing ourselves as a Neutral Island. Nevertheless you have taken from us about 200 sail of vessels valued at £200,000 sterling unjustly & illegally. Had that War been founded on a general declaration against America, we should have been included in it, but it was predicated upon a Rebellion. Consequently none could be in rebellion but such as were in Arms, or those that were aiding such. We have done neither. As a proof of our being without the reach of your Declaration you sent Commissioners to restore Peace to America, in which any Province, County, Town, &c., that should make submission, and receive pardon, should be reinstated in their former situation. As we had not offended, we had no submission to make or pardon to ask, and it is certainly very hard if we do not stand on better ground than those who have offended; consequently we remained a part of your dominions until separated by the peace." This last sentence I pressed closely whenever I could with propriety introduce it, knowing it was a material point. After I had done, he paused some time, and then answered to our remaining part of their dominions &c., "Most undoubtedly you are right sir. Now what can be done for you?" I told him that in the present state of things, the principal part of the Inhabitants must leave the Island; some would go into the country. "A part," said I, "wish to continue the Whale Fishery wherever it can be pursued to advantage. Therefore my chief business is to lay our distressed situation, and the cause of it, before this nation, and to ascertain if the Fishery is considered an object worth giving such Encouragement for a removal to England, as the subject deserves." Thus our conversation ended and I withdrew with my friend H. Beaufoy.*

The Chancellor of the Exchequer could not be expected to attend to all applications, therefore I suppose he laid mine before the Privy Council, as the Sec'y of the Council, Stephen Cotterel, sent me a note soon after this conversation, saying the Council would sit at an early day, when they would hear what I had to offer. I waited for that "early day" a month, and then applied to Sec'y Cotterel to know what occasioned the delay. He answered that so much business lay before them, that they had not been able to attend to it, but would soon.

*"In agriculture, then, they have no resources, and if that of their fishery cannot be pursued from their habitations, it is natural that they should seek others from which it can be followed, and prefer those where they will find a sameness of language, religion, laws, habits, and kindred. A foreign emissary has lately been among them for the purpose of renewing the invitations to a change of situation; but attached to their native country, they prefer continuing in it; if their continuance can be made supportable"—Jefferson's Report on the Fisheries, January, 1791.

Thus I waited, not daring to leave Town lest I should be called for. This state of things continued more than four months, during which time I received several what I called unmeaning Court messages—"that they were sorry that they had not been able to call for me" &c. I then desired them to appoint some person for me to confer with, that the matter might be brought to a close.

This was done, but unhappily Lord Hawksbury was the person. A greater Enemy to America I believe could not be found in that body, nor hardly in the Nation. I waited on him and informed him what encouragement I thought would induce a removal, which I estimated at £100 sterling transportation for a family of five persons and £100 settlement,—say £20.000 for a hundred families. "Oh!" says he, "this is a great sum, and at this time when we are endeavouring to economize in our expenditures."* I replied, "Thou mayest think it a great sum for this Nation to pay; I think two-thirds of it a great sum for you to have taken from me, as an individual, unjustly and illegally."

We had a long conversation, and I left him to call again, which I did in a few days. I then added to my demand liberty to bring in 30 American ships for the Fishery. "Oh no," said he, "that cannot be; our carpenters must be employed." I mentioned that we had some vessels that we possessed before the War—"those can surely be admitted." "No they must be British built." "Will it be any advantage if an emigration takes place for the Emigrants to bring property with them?" "Yes." "If they can invest their property in articles that will be worth double here, to what they are there, will that be an additional advantage to this country." "Yes, certainly." "Then why not bring ships when two of ours will not cost more than one of yours?" "Oh! we don't make mercantile calculations, 't is the seamen we want." "Then sure two of our ships will answer your purpose better than one of yours, as they will make double the number of seamen, which must be the very thing aimed at." He saw he was in a dilemma, which he could not reason himself out of, and struggled though with some violence.

He had now made his nice calculation of £87.10 for transportation and settlement of a family, and, says he, "I am about a Fishery Bill, and I want to come to something that I may insert it" &c. My answer was—"Thy offer is no object, therefore go on with thy Fishery Bill, without any regard to me." I was then taking leave and withdrawing. "Well, Mr. Rotch, You'll call on me again in two or three days." "I see no necessity for it." "But I desire you should." "If it is thy desire perhaps I may call." However, he let me rest but one day before he sent for me.

He had the old story over again, but I told him it was unnecessary to enter again into the subject. I then informed him that I had heard a rumor that Nantucket had agreed to furnish France with a quantity of Oil. He stepped to his Bureau, took out one of a file of papers, and pretended to read an entire contradiction, though I was satisfied there was not a line there on the subject. I said—"It was only a vague report that I had heard, and I cannot vouch for the truth of it, but we are like drowning men, catching at every straw that passes by, therefore I am now determined to go to France, and see what it is. If there is any such contract, sufficient to retain us at Nantucket, neither you nor any other nation shall have us and if it is insufficient I will endeavor to enlarge it." "Ah!" says he, "Quakers go to France?" "Yes,"

*Tradition says that Lord Hawksbury inquired of Mr. Rotch what it was proposed to bring as an offset to all this expenditure of money, and that Mr. Rotch straightened up, and replied—"I will bring some of the best blood of the Island of Nantucket."

I replied, "but with regret." I then parted with Lord Hawksbury for the last time."*

Mr. Rotch at once set sail for France landing at Dunkirk. There he drew up his proposals for the French Government and forwarded them to Paris. The authorities at once sent for him and he immediately responded. The proposals were—"First, a full and free enjoyment of our Religion, according to the principles of the people called Quakers. To this the Master of Requests, under whose jurisdiction the negotiations came, annexed "Accorde." Second, An entire exemption from Military Requisitions of every

*Frederick C. Sanford of Nantucket, who was a great admirer of Mr. Rotch and probably got the story directly from him, said, that Lord Hawksbury sent again for Mr. Rotch, who replied "If Lord Hawksbury desires to see William Rotch he will find him on board his vessel up to the time when she takes her anchor."

According to the pamphlet issued by Hussey & Robinson the following named Nantucket whaling captains removed to London:

Captain	Ship	Captain	Ship
Tristram Barnard	William Henry	John M Allen	Ranger
Benjamin Baxter	Liberty	Frederick Barnard	Rebecca
Eber Bunker	Pomona	Francis Baxter	Rover
Tristram Bunker	Scorpion	Christopher Bunker	Kent
Shadrach Cane	Endeavor	Owen Bunker	Brothers
Tristram Clark	Rattler	Benjamin Clark	Fantail
Benjamin Clark 2d	Barbary	Edward Clark	Seringapatam
Obed Clark	Betsey	Jonathan Clark	Leviathan
Reuben Cleveland	Duchess of Portland	Nathaniel Coffin	Royal George
Joshua Coffin	London	Paul Coffin	Lucas
Thaddeus Coffin	Harriet	Shubael Coffin	William
Zebdiel Coffin	Wielding	Daniel Coffin	Venus
Stephen Coleman	Good Intent	Jonathan Coffin	Hibernia
Benjamin Cook	Prince of Wales	Obed Cottle	Minerva
Thomas Delano Jr	Hercules	Henry Delano	Kingston
John Darling	Manilla	Abisha Delano	Sea Horse
William Fitch	Spy	John Extien	Emily
Jedediah Fitch	British Tar	Reuben Fitch	Recovery
William Folger	William	George Fitch	Rebecca
Nathaniel Folger	Lucas	Brown Folger	Harpioneer
Christopher Folger	Perseverance	Thomas Folger	Vulture
Henry Folger of Liverpool	Mary	Obed Folger	Ganges
Job Gardner	Albion	Aaron Gardner	Mentor
Caleb Gardner	Barbary	Barney Gardner	Hero
Charles Gardner	London	Calvin Gardner	Indispensable
Franklin Gardner	British Tar	Francis Gardner	Liberty
Jethro Gardner	Barbary	George Gardner	Nimble
Charles Harrax	British Tar	Nath'l Goodspeed	Brittania
John Lock	Greenwich	Benjamin Hussey	Greyhound
Nathan Long	Mercury	Abijah Lock	Moss
Reuben Macy	Industry	Peleg Long	Aurora
Stephen Macy Jr	Aurora	Francis Macy	Good Intent
John Meader	Sally	John Marshall	Rambler
William Mooers	Maria	Jonathan Meader	Indispensable
Paul Paddock	Royal Bounty	Shubael Mooers	Sally
Paul Pease	Kent	Simon Paul	Queen Charlotte
Andrew Pinkham	Earl St Vincent	Noah Pease	Fantail
John Pinkham	Speedy	Sylvanus Pitts	Georgianna
John Ramsdell	Mercury	Barney Ray	Swift
Daniel Ray	Neptune	William Ray Jr	Fox
Joseph Russell	Resolution	Job Smith	Lucas
Shubael Squires	Lucas	Edward Starbuck	Good Intent
Matthew Swain	Kingston	Andrew Swain	Rattler
Howse Swain	Boyne	Zacchary Swain	Spy
William Swain	Cumberland	Benjamin Swift	Brook Watson
William Slade	Romulus	Charles West	Rattler
Paul West	Cyrus	James Whippey	Canton
Joseph Whittens	Duke of Portland	Obed Worth	Brook Watson
Shubael Worth	Fox	Obed Wyer	Atlantic
		Timothy Wyer	Nimble

kind. To this his response was—"As they are a peaceable people, and meddle not with the quarrels of princes, neither internal nor external, this proposition may be granted." The other propositions related to the regulation of the Whale Fishery.

Following the interview with the Master of Requests, Mr. Rotch and those with him called on the other Ministers at Versailles, on Calone, Comptroller of Finance; Vergennes the aged Minister of Foreign Affairs; Marshall de Castro, Minister of Marine; the Prince of Reuber, Generalissimo of Flanders; and the Intendant of Flanders. All agreed to the propositions advanced by Mr. Rotch.*

After Mr. Rotch had left England for France Lord Hawksbury was much disturbed and inquired of Mr. Beaufoy why he had gone there, to which Beaufoy replied—"For what you or any other person would have gone; you would not make him an offer worth his acceptance. He will now try what can be done in France." As a matter of latter day repentance the English authorities sent word that provision was made in the new Fishery Bill to admit 40 American ships—they pretending to have forgotten the number suggested by Mr. Rotch.

Regarding what occurred after their return to England, Mr. Rotch says: "I was soon sent for by George Rose (I suppose father of the Minister lately sent to the United States), who was one of Pitts secretaries. He inquired if I had contracted with France. I told him "No—I did not come to make any contract—propositions were the extent of my business." "Then you are at liberty to agree with us, and I am authorized by Mr. Pitt to tell you that you shall make your owns terms." I told him it was too late. I made very moderate proposals to you, but could obtain nothing worth my notice. I went to France,† sent forward my proposals, which were

*To Calone says Mr. Rotch "We gave our reasons for not taking off our hats on introduction to them all. Calone replied—"I care nothing about your hats if your hearts are right." Before they took their leave they were asked if they would like to see the palace? Believing mere curiosity would not justify the inspection they excused themselves, hoping their "plain way would not give offence." Subsequently a special permit was received from the King with the privilege of viewing the private apartments when he was out. He was not out on the day they had to take leave and they saw only the public rooms.

†According to Hussey & Robinson the following named Captains went to France from Nantucket:

Captain	Ship	Port
Clothier Allen,	Penelope,	Dunkirk
Jona J. Barnard,	Ann,	Dunkirk
Walter Brock,	Lydia,	Dunkirk
Elisha Bunker	Ville de Paris,	Dunkirk
Isaiah Bunker,	Berceau,	Dunkirk
Peleg Bunker,	Ardent,	Dunkirk
Reuben Baxter,	Baleine.	Havre
Benjamin Clark,	Pioneer,	Dunkirk
George Clark,	Juno,	Dunkirk
Prince Coleman,	Resolution,	Dunkirk
Bartlett Coffin,	Maria,	Dunkirk
Laban Coffin,	Bedford,	Dunkirk
Richard Coffin,	Montmorenci,	Dunkirk
Thaddeus Coffin,	Young States,	Dunkirk
George Fitch,	Paris,	Dunkirk
Obed Fitch,	William Penn,	Dunkirk
Elisha Folger,	Penelope,	Dunkirk
Timothy Folger,	Sarah,	Dieppe
Stephen Gardner,	States,	Dunkirk
Micajah Gardner,	Edward,	Dunkirk

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doubly advantageous to what I had offered your Government; they considered them but a short time, and on my arrival in Paris were ready to act. I had a separate interview with all the Ministers of State necessary to the subject, 5 in number, who all agreed to & granted my demands. This was effected in 5 hours when I had waited to be called by your Privy Council more than 4 months." He still insisted that as I was not bound to France, I should make my own terms with them, but in vain, the time had passed over. Lord Sheffield also sent for me on the same subject, but was soon convinced it was too late."

The minority in Parliament was not slow to size up the situation and naturally desired to work it to their political advantage,

Captain	Ship	Port
Nathaniel Barnard,	Boston Packet,	Dunkirk
Francis Baxter,	Industry,	L'Orient
Jona C Briggs,	Harmony,	Dunkirk
Peter Brock,	Edward,	Dunkirk
Francis Bunker,	Brutus,	Dunkirk
Obed Bunker,	Greyhound,	Dunkirk
Reuben R. Bunker,	Brutus,	Havre
Benj. Clark 2d,	Lydia,	Dunkirk
Alpheus Coffin,	Diana,	Dunkirk
Edward Coffin,	Phebe,	Dunkirk
Paul Coffin,	Dauphin,	Dunkirk
Shubael Coffin,	Brothers,	Dunkirk
Benj. Coleman,	Janus	Dunkirk
Jedediah Fitch,	Friends,	Dunkirk
William Fitch,	Young States,	Dunkirk
David Folger	Favorite,	Dunkirk
Seth Folger,	Thomas,	Havre
Amaziah Gardner,	Hebe,	Dunkirk
James Gardner,	Victoire,	L'Orient
Jethro Gardner,	Penelope,	Dunkirk
Shubael Gardner,	Ville de Paris,	Dunkirk
Shub'l Gardner 2d,	Charles,	Havre
Tristram Gardner,	America,	Dunkirk
Benjamin Glover,	Fame,	Dunkirk
Archil's Hammond,	Cyrus,	Dunkirk
Charles Harrax,	Ganges,	Dunkirk
Barzillai Hussey,	Susa,	Dunkirk
Benjamin Hussey,	States,	Dunkirk
Ebenezer Hussey,	Fox,	Dunkirk
Gorham Hussey,	Maria,	Dunkirk
Isaiah Hussey,	Judith,	Dunkirk
Peleg Hussey,	Fame,	Dunkirk
Robert Inott,	Harpooner,	Havre
Silas Jones,	Swan,	Dunkirk
David Joy,	Boston,	Havre
Timothy Long,	Diana,	Dunkirk
William Long,	Swan,	Dunkirk
Francis Macy,	Hebe,	Dunkirk
Reuben Macy,	Brutus,	Dunkirk
William Mooers,	Lydia,	Dunkirk
Benj. Paddock,	Ospray,	Dunkirk
Obed Paddock,	Falkland,	Dunkirk
Phillip Pollard,	Savage,	Havre
Abel Rawson,	Friends,	Dunkirk
Stephen Rawson,	Hero,	Havre
Paul Ray,	Judith,	Dunkirk
David Starbuck,	Harmony,	Dunkirk
Edward Starbuck,	Hope,	Dunkirk
Matthew Starbuck,	Hudson,	Dunkirk
David Swain,	Brothers,	Dunkirk
Uriah Swain,	Young States,	Dunkirk
Valentine Swain, 2d,	Diana,	Dunkirk
Thaddeus Swain,	Diana,	Dunkirk
Valentine Swain,	Swan,	Dunkirk
Coffin Whippey,	Canton,	Dunkirk
George Whippey,	Necker,	Dunkirk
James Whippey,	So Carolina,	Dunkirk
John Worth,	Penelope,	Dunkirk
Jonathan Worth,	Seine,	Dunkirk
Joseph Wyer,	Young States,	Dunkirk
Timothy Wyer	Lydia,	Dunkirk

but Mr. Rotch, whom they interviewed declined to give them material for an attack on the Ministry.

Mr. Rotch purchased a ship and returned to the United States October 11, 1786, to prepare for the transfer to Dunkirk. His son Benjamin went on ahead to prepare for the prosecution of the fishery. After remaining at home four years he returned to France in July, 1790, to assist his son-in-law in the care of the business. He was accompanied by his wife, his daughters Lydia and Mary and his son Benjamin's wife and child, making the voyage in the ship *Maria & Eliza*, bought for the purpose and commanded by Abishai Hayden.*

Early in 1791, Mr. Rotch and his associates presented a petition to the French Government for certain privileges and exemption essential to their religious principles. It was essential for them to present it to the Assembly in person. There was a very full attendance drawn probably by the novelty of the occasion. Mr. Rotch in his manuscript, in describing the occasion, says—"The previous notice given of the Quaker Petition I suppose drew every member in Town to his seat. The galleries for spectators were filled, and many could not be accommodated. Nor did we wonder at this curiosity, considering the novelty of the object. We had been with Brissot de Natville, Clavier and some others looking over the Petition until the latest moment, and must now proceed to the Assembly. They with several others had come to accompany us and just as we were moving one observed "You have no cockades—you must put them on." We told them we could not. It was a distinguishing badge that we could not make use of." "But," said they, "it is required by law to prevent distinction that people may not be abused, for their lives are in danger without them, and there is always a large body of the lower classes about the Assembly that we have to pass through." Our answer was that we could not do it, whatever might be the consequences, that we were willing to go as far as we could, and if stopped we must submit to it. We saw that our friends were full of fear for our safety. We set out under no small apprehension, but trusting to the Power that can "turn the hearts of men as a water-course is turned," we passed through the great concourse without interruption, and reached the waiting room of the Assembly. A messenger informed the President of our arrival, and we were immediately called to the Bar." The reading of the petition by John Marseillae evoked applause at the conclusion of each topic. At its conclusion the President read his answer, applause again greeting each topic.†

*Neither the name of the ship nor the Captain appears in the Hussey & Robinson list and it is possible that the list was not complete. The records indicate that the *Ann*, *Bedford*, *Canton*, *Diana*, *Falkland*, *Harmony*, *Hebe*, *Hope*, *Lydia*, *Maria*, *Ospray*, *Penelope*, and *William Penn* comprised the Rotch family fleet in France.

†The points referred to in the petition were exemption from being compelled to bear arms or participate in military affairs. "We submit," says the petition "to your laws, & only desire the privilege of being here, as in other Countries, the Brethren of all men, never to take up arms against any." Preserving their own methods of recording Births, Marriages and Burials, they requested "that our simple Registers may be deemed sufficient to legalize our Marriages and Births, & Authenticate our Deaths, by causing a declaration thereof to be made before a magistrate." Finally they asked to be exempted from all Oaths. They disclaimed any wish to evade their civic duties and affirmed their purpose to cherish and respect the Constitution and

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Referring to the Petition in his Memoranda Mr. Rotch says: "The Object of our Petition was of little consequence to me, whether granted or not compared with the opportunity we now had of somewhat spreading the knowledge of our fundamental principles, above all that of the inward Light or Spirit of God in every man, as a primary rule of Faith and Practice. We met with a number of serious persons, who were in great measure convinced of the rectitude of our Faith, and they gathered to us at our Hotel one evening after another, one inviting others to come with them, until these social meetings in our apartments became exceedingly interesting. The conversation was almost wholly on religious subjects, and they always appeared well satisfied with the hours thus spent. It was then a turbulent time in Paris, and much more so afterwards. Several of these valuable persons fell in the reign of Terror, and others are beyond my knowledge, but the remembrance of those evenings and of the feeling of Divine influence that attended them, I believe will never pass away. One of our visitors informed us that the Duchess of Bourbon was greatly interested in the principles we profess, and said if ye wished to see her, he would make way for it. But Benjamin's business calling him home, and my not speaking the French language, we could not accept the proffered assistance."

Mr. Rotch tells of the riots in Dunkirk in 1792, and the means taken to quell them, and of the illuminations in Dunkirk to celebrate the victories of the French armies over the Austrians. His story of how the Nantucket Colony upheld their principles in Dunkirk is interesting. "The Illumination" he writes, "was announced as for tomorrow evening. Having very little time to consider what could be done Benj'n & myself thought best to go immediately to the Mayor & Magistrates then assembled & to inform them that we could not illuminate and the cause: That as we could take no part in War, we could not join in rejoicings for victory. On opening the subject they were much alarmed for our Safety, and asked us what protection they could afford us. We replied "That is no part of our business—We only wish to place our refusal on the right grounds, and to remove any apprehension that we are opposing the Government." "Well," said the Mayor, "keep to your principles; Your houses are your own. The streets are ours, and we shall pursue such measures as we think proper for the peace of the Town." We retired, though not without some fear that they would send an armed force. Should this be the case, and any life be lost in endeavoring to protect us, I thought it would be insupportible.* However, they took another method, and sent men to erect a frame before our house, and three other houses occupied by those of our Denomination, and hung a dozen lamps upon it. The Mayor had also the great kindness to have a similar frame with lamps placed before his own house in addition to the usual full illumination; & he once & the Magistrates several

laws. The President (Mirabeau) in reply considered each topic by itself and promised that the Assembly would give its attention to them all and in conclusion said "But whenever I meet a Quaker, I shall say "My Brother, if thou hast a right to be free, thou hast a right to prevent anyone from making thee a slave. As thou lovest thy fellow creature suffer not a Tyrant to destroy him; it would be Killing him thyself. Thou desirest peace, but consider, weakness invites war. General resistance would prove an universal war."

*Mr. Rotch's correspondence with his son-in-law Samuel Rodman dated from Dunkirk and covering the period from March 2d, 1792, to December 15 of the same year makes an interesting narrative of conditions in France in the stirring days of the French Revolution.

times, walked by our house to see if all remained quiet, for they were under great apprehension." The occasion passed off without any unpleasant results as did a similar one a short time after—the explanation to intending assailants why the houses were not illuminated satisfying them.

On the arrival of the Commissioners from Paris to stir up the people there was another illumination. Mr. Rotch's son Benjamin being absent he requested one Louis de Bacque to go with him to the Commissioners to explain why they could take no part and on ascertaining what was desired the principal one came to Mr. Rotch, and, taking him by the hand, desired them to do "nothing contrary to our scruples, on their account. After some further friendly expressions, he turned to a large body of people present & thus addressed them—"We are now about establishing a Government on the same principles that William Penn, the Quaker, established in Pennsylvania, and I find there are a few Quakers in this Town whose religious opinions do not admit of any public rejoicings, & I desire they may not be molested." Through this appeal and in consequence of the loyalty of some of the Rotch's employees, they escaped molestation.*

In 1793, came the premonitory symptoms of war between France and England and Mr. Rotch prepared to go to England to avoid the capture of their ships by English cruisers.† Two ships of the Rotch fleet, with full cargoes of oil, had been captured and condemned by English prize courts, but Mr. Rotch, by being in England was enabled to recover them. The fact that at least thirteen of the whaling ships, sailing out of French Ports and commanded by Nantucket men four of them owned by the Messrs. Rotch, appear to have been transferred to the English service leads to the conclusion that Mr. Rotch was only partially success-

*It is interesting to note the skill and daring of the old-time whalemén. In the Rotch fleet sailing from Dunkirk was the *Penelope*, Capt. Tristram Gardner. In the log book of his voyage in 1788 are many interesting entries. They sailed from Dunkirk on Wednesday, March 26. On April 27, in latitude about 77 north he reports "near a hundred sail of ships in sight." May 3d he writes "still beset with heavy pack ice" 30 ships in sight; latitude °77. 15. June 22d he enters in a matter of fact way—"Wind at South; a Rugged sea; Plenty of Snow. Later Part saw Ice to ye S. W. of us at 4 ye wind Shifted to ye Northward, but Still thick weather. Saw a number of ships, but No whale. So ends this 24 hours. Lat. 79.02." It must be remembered that the ships of the day were not even copper bottomed!

†As nearly as can be ascertained the English captured the following named French whalemén, the Rotch vessels being designated by an asterisk—Ann,* Brothers, Charles, Cyrus, Canton,* Fox. Falkland,* Greyhound, Ganges, Harpooner, Hero,* Industry, Maria.* The story of the *Cyrus* is quite interesting and perhaps typical. Looking over the lists, the *Cyrus* appears to have sailed from Dunquerque, France, under command of Capt. Archelaus Hammond, and a *Cyrus* sailed from London under Capt. Paul West. Correspondence with Port officers at Dunkirk, and London shows that she sailed from the former port under the charge of Capt. Hammond, with Paul West 2d mate, on August 3d, 1802 on a whaling voyage and was captured Sept. 25, 1803, in Delagoa Bay, by the English man of war, *Scorpion*. It was found that the records of the London office showed this to be the identical *Cyrus* which sailed several voyages subsequently from that port under the command of Capt. Paul West. Ships in those days were not coppered but sheathed with leather.

ful in regaining his property. Indeed, he says in his Memoranda—"My going to France to pursue the Whale Fishery so disappointed Lord Hawksbury, that he undertook to be revenged on me for his own folly, and I have no doubt gave directions to his Cruisers to take any of our vessels that they met with going to France. When the Ospray was taken by a King's ship, the officer who was sent on board to examine her papers, called to the captain & said—"You'll take this vessel in, sir, she belongs to Wm. Rotch."*

Mr. Rotch was joined by his family in England where they remained until July 1794, when they sailed for the United States, arriving September 23d. They remained in Nantucket a year and then removed to New Bedford.† Apparently but two of the Rotch fleet returned to the United States. In 1796, William Rotch & Son petitioned Congress to remit the excess of duties and tonnage charged them on two whaleships by the Collector of New Bedford, in consequence of their not being provided with United States registers. They had sailed from Nantucket in 1787 and 1789 under registers from the State of Massachusetts, and returned in 1794,

*It is stated that Capt. Archilaus Hammond afterwards of the *Cyrus*, of Dunkirk but then of the *Amelia* of London killed the first sperm whale known to have been taken in the Pacific Ocean in 1787 or 1788. Tradition says that Capt. David Starbuck of the *Harmony*, of Dunkirk, brought the first cargo of sperm oil from that ocean. In his letters to his son Benjamin under date of 2 mon 18th, 1792, Mr. Rotch says of his letters: "By the 2d. & 3d, thou wilt find the Canton's safe arrival, the last one only to inform thee of the arrival of David Starbuck from Coast of Peru with 550 Bbls Sp. Oil."

†The *Columbia Gazette* of Dec. 9, 1793 published the following: "New Bedford, Nov. 25. Arrived ship *Edward*, Micajah Gardner, from a Delago Bay whale cruise 1500 bbls whale oil. Capt. Gardner not having heard of a war, ran in for St. Helena to get information. Sent his Mate and five hands on shore to make enquiry; who were detained by the Governor; and an American Ship's boat, the *Sea Horse*, Albert Hussey, master, belonging to Cape Ann, was sent off with the following letter to decoy him into port:

"To Capt. Gardner of the *Edward*: Sir:—France is at war with all the world—the American Ambassador's head has been cut off at Paris, you have no port on earth to put into where you will not be taken—here you shall have generous terms, all your private property, and that of your crew, shall remain your own, the same as if you had never been taken: I have consulted the Lieut Governor, and we have agreed to give you these terms—In witness whereof I hereunto sign, and give it under my hand, and the Seal of the Honorable United East India Company. Robert Brooke, Governor and Commander in Chief. St. Helena: 20th 1793. (L. S.)

In answer to which Capt. Gardner sent word,—“he thanked him for his generous offer but rather doubted the truth of France being at war with all the world,”—Should not therefore throw himself on their mercy—and continued to stand off and on, hoping his boat would return—But next day by the same boat received a second letter as follows:—"I again inform you that France is at war with all the world; That the American States are in alliance with Great Britain; I therefore now treat with you as an American subject; I must repeat my offer of yesterday and demand of you to enter our port immediately; Which if you refuse to comply with, I shall be obliged to make a representation of the case to the British Secretary of State, and to General Washington: After promising this if you continue obstinate and are taken on any foreign coast, you must undergo all the severity of treatment, by the Laws of Nations, in such cases made and provided. Given under my hand etc.

Capt. Gardner, doubting very much the Governor's candor, only replied to the letter: "I shall not enter your port but shape my course for America," which he accordingly did, leaving his mate and boats crew on the Island, and has safely arrived." (The *Edward* was one of the Rotch fleet sailing out of Dunkirk, France.)

after the National Government was in operation. After an examination the petition was granted. The ships referred to were probably the Bedford and the Lydia.* Data showing when the French fishery was finally abandoned by Nantucketers is not available. Details are very meager, too, relative to the English whale fishery although Nantucket captains commanded ships for many years. The laws of Parliament, however, required that the ships should be English built and the crews essentially English.

Prior to 1790, the people of Nantucket, finding that sealing voyages had proved profitable to English fishermen, turned their attention to that industry, and for a while it was fairly successful,† but somehow it did not seem to appeal to Nantucket whalers, and the field seemed to be quite abandoned to the sealers of New London and Sag Harbor.

The encouragement the French had given to Mr. Rotch and his associates was communicated in a considerable degree to the Nantucket fishery and that and the home market combined to make business on the Island quite satisfactory. Although Nantucket whalers did not at first enjoy the voyages into the Pacific because they kept them so much longer from home, the larger fares and the better price obtained for the oil were too important factors to be overlooked.

The first Nantucket whaleship to round Capt Horn and bring a cargo of oil from the western coast of South America was the Beaver, Capt. Paul Worth.‡ This opened up a comparatively untried and prolific source of oil and Nantucket owners quickly availed themselves of the opening.

The number of vessels preparing for the business required more men to man them than were available. Mr. Macy says: "None of the natives left were capable of going to sea. It therefore became necessary to resort to the continent for a considerable portion of each crew, whence there were brought some Indians

* Jefferson states, ii, 519, that only nine families of 33 persons all told, removed to Dunkirk, so that but very few of the captains had any home ties in France.

† Macy's Hist. p. 140.

‡ Macy in his History (pp. 141-2) presents the following statement of the expense of fitting out the Beaver as given by the Captain: "Captain Paul Worth, in a new ship of 240 tons burthen, called the Beaver sailed from Nantucket on a whaling voyage, in the Pacific ocean, in the year 1791.

The whole cost of the said ship, fitted for the voyage, together with the cargo, amounted to \$10,212.

She carried 17 men, and manned 3 boats of 5 men each, which left 2 men, called shipkeepers, on board the ship when the boats were out in pursuit of whales.

The principal part of her cargo, when fitted for sea, consisted of 400 bbls. iron hooped casks (the remainder, about 1400 bbls. were wooden hooped), 40 bbls. salt provision, 3½ tons of bread, 30 bushels of beans and peas, 1000 lbs. rice, 40 gallons molasses, 24 bbls. flour.

All the additional provisions during the voyage were 200 lbs. bread. The ship was out 17 months, and was the first ship belonging to the Island, that returned from the Pacific ocean.

Her returned cargo was 650 bbls. sperm oil, worth £30 per ton, 370 bbls. head matter, worth £60 per ton, and 250 bbls. whale oil, worth £15 per ton.

The ship was not coppered. There were four other ships belonging to Nantucket, whaling on the same coast that season."

and a great many negroes. Many of the latter took up their residence here, and became the heads of families. They built a cluster of houses near the south part of the Town, which is called New Guinea. Their inebriety and want of economy, generally kept them poor, although they made great voyages.”*

It was about this time (1792) that New Bedford began to show increased activity in the whale fishery, and the cloud over Nantucket's supremacy in that business, “at first no bigger than a man's hand,” began to show evidence of that maritime rivalry which was eventually to completely overshadow the Island's business. Boston, Providence, Gloucester, Sag Harbor also added vessels to the fleet with the customary result of over-production and reduced prices. Whalebone which, as Macy says,† prior to the Revolution brought, at times, a dollar a pound, was, at this time, slow in the market at ten cents, although it was long understood that Nantucket captains did not like to encumber their ships with bone. Of course, as the majority of Nantucket's captains were sperm whalers and the bone is a product of the right whale, the decline in the price of bone was not so serious a matter.

The French Revolution, and the subsequent wars between England and France, had a very depressing effect on the American fishery, and yet the wealth of the people increased, though slowly. The continued troubles forced many Nantucket men engaged in whaling from European ports to sell or dismantle their vessels.

In 1798, came a new danger. Diplomatic relations between the United States and France were in a serious condition. To the people of Nantucket whose ships were, many of them away on long voyages the situation was especially grave. French privateers in the excess of their zeal captured American vessels and the two countries, that so short a time before had fought England to a stand-still, were nearly imbroiled in war between themselves. Four Nantucket ships fell victims to French war vessels—the Joanna, Coffin, captured with 2,000 barrels of oil; the Minerva, Fitch, with 1,500 barrels; the Active, Gardner, 3,000 barrels; the Ann, Coffin, then in the merchant service; the total value of vessels and cargoes being estimated at \$130,000. Claims for the loss of these vessels and cargoes were among those assumed by the United States Government, and known as the French Spoliation Claims. It is one of the most discreditable events in the history of our Government that every attempt to adjust these claims, in the settlement of which with France the United States had received from that country the section of our country known as the Northwest Territory, had been thwarted either by one house of Congress or by Executive veto. As long after the event as 1846, the status of claims and owners were thus reported—the

*Page 138.

†Page 138.

Joanna, one of the original owners still living, 75 years old and poor; claims never sold; Minerva, one of the original owners living, 68 years old and poor; master still alive, 78 years old, with small means and many dependents; one of the crew alive, poor, claims never sold; Active, same owners as Minerva, with captain; captain died in 1844, aged 85, leaving a large family and grandchildren; claims never sold; Ann, captain left a large family in slender circumstances; one of the underwriters died a few years prior to 1846, in the almshouse, who, at the time of the capture, stood high among Nantucket merchants; claims never sold.*

*The Nantucket Inquirer of April 9, 1836, published the following names of captured vessels with the awards allowed: Sloop Sophia, Smith, award \$4,850; Schooner Mary, Folger, award \$9,050; Sloop Union, Clisby, award \$5,650; Brig Union, Stubbs, award \$6,500, also Nantucket Warder May 20, 1846.

ABBREVIATIONS — Sh., Ship; Bk., Bark; Bg., Brig.; Sch., Schooner; Sl., Sloop.

1788

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Fox.....	Bg.	Barzillai Folger	— 1789	There is no report of vessels from Nantucket or New Bedford for 1784, 5, 6, and 7, although doubtless some sailed.
Harmony.....	Sh.	....	Seth Folger	....	....	.... 1789	....	....	....
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Gilbert Folger	....	....	— 1789	....	....	....
Sally.....	Sh.	194	Joseph Chase	....	....	....	....	....	....
Spy.....	Sh.	....	William Fitch	....	....	....	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	Barzillai Coleman	....	....	....	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	Benjamin Clark	....	....	....	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....

1789

Asia.....	Sh.	Elijah Coffin	Aug. 27	Built 1778.
Africa.....	Sh.	....	William Barnard	....	Aug. 27	....	....	....	....
Amazon.....	Bg.	....	David Giles	....	Aug. 27	June 16, 1790	....	....	....
Britannia.....	Bg.	....	Peter Fosdick	....	Sept. 1	....	....	....	....
Columbia.....	Sh.	....	Obed Barnard	Woolwich B.	Sept. 11	— 1790	....	770	....
Fox.....	Bg.	....	Barzillai Folger	....	Sept. 1	....	....	....	....
Favourite.....	Sh.	....	Silas Jones	....	Sept. 14	....	....	....	....
Harlequin.....	Bg.	....	Benjamin Whippy	Woolwich B.	Sept. 11	— 1790	....	750	....
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Gilbert Folger	Woolwich B.	Sept. 1	— 1790	....	951	....
Leo.....	Bg.	217	William Clisby	....	Aug. 27	June 15, 1790	....	....	....
Minerva.....	Sh.	200	S. Coffin	Woolwich B.	....	— 1790	....	1160	....
Mary Ann.....	Sh.	....	T. Folger	Woolwich B.	....	— 1790	....	1140	....
Manilla.....	Bg.	....	David Barnard	Woolwich B.	Aug. 27	— 1790	....	....	....
Nantucket.....	Sh.	....	B. Folger	Woolwich B.	....	— 1790	....	920	....

1789—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale- Oil	Whale- bone	
Ranger.....	Sh.	....	William Swain	....	Sept. 1	— — 1790	....	1160	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	Seth Folger	....	Sept. 1	....	....	....	....
Trial.....	Bg.	....	George Chase	....	Sept. 11	May 17, 1790	....	....	....
Venus.....	Bg.	....	Obed Eldridge	....	Sept. 20	June 17, 1790	....	....	....
Warren.....	Sh.	....	Robert Meader	....	Sept. 3	— — 1791	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	— Baxter	Brazil	Oct. —	....	....	....	....

No report accessible for 1790

1791

Alliance.....	Sh.	....	Bartlett Coffin	Delago B.	Oct. —	Feb. 15, 1794	....	....	....	Capt. Coffin died. Ship made a poor voyage.
Beaver.....	Sh.	....	Paul Worth	Pacific O.	Aug. —	Mar. 25, 1793	1100	200	....	Built 1791. The first American whaler in the Pacific. Refused supplies in Lima and ordered off the coast by the Spaniards.
Diana.....	Sh.	....	Timothy Long	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
Favourite.....	Sh.	....	Obed Barnard	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
Hector.....	Sh.	....	Thomas Brock	Pacific O.	....	Apr. 8, 1793	700	500	....	Built 1791.
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	Seth Folger	Pacific O.	....	Apr. 30, 1793	800	240	....
Washington.....	Sh.	....	George Bunker	Pacific O.	....	Apr. 8, 1793	800	400	....	Built 1791. First vessel to fly the American flag in a Spanish port.
Warren.....	Sh.	....	Robert Meader	....	....	— — 1793	....	....	....

1792

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Amazon.....	Bg.	...	David Giles	Brazil	...	July 23, 1793	...	650	...	
Fox.....	Sh.	...	Daniel Kelley	Woolwich B.	...	Nov. 1, 1793	...	800	...	
Hero.....	Sh.	...	Obed Eldridge	Woolwich B.	...	Oct. 16, 1793	...	1300	...	
Harmony.....	Sh.	...	James Chase	Woolwich B.	...	Oct. 16, 1793	...	800	...	
Harlequin.....	Sh.	...	Benj. Whippley	Woolwich B.	...	Nov. 1, 1793	...	800	...	
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Gilbert Folger	Brazil	...	May 3, 1793	...	900	...	
Juno.....	Sh.	...	George Clark	Africa	...	Nov. —, 1793	...	600	...	
Leo.....	Bg.	217	William Clisby	Brazil	...	July 23, 1793	...	550	...	
Minerva.....	Sh.	...	Seth Coffin	Brazil	...	June 6, 1793	...	1200	...	
Maria.....	Sh.	...	— Hillman	Pacific O.	...	Mar. 27, 1794	730	90	...	
Mary Ann.....	Sh.	...	Tris. Folger	Brazil	...	Aug. —, 1793	...	1100	...	
Ranger.....	Sh.	...	William Swain	Brazil	...	June 6, 1793	...	1100	...	
Sally.....	Bg.	194	....	Woolwich B.	...	Oct. 16, 1793	...	700	...	
Sea Fox.....	Sh.	...	....	....	...	.... —, 1793	...	....	...
Venus.....	Bg.	...	James Brown	Woolwich B.	...	Nov. —, 1793	...	500	...	Built 1792.

1793

Amazon.....	Bg.	...	David Giles	....	Oct. 16	June 30, 1794	...	...	...
Beaver.....	Sh.	...	Paul Worth	Brazil	Aug. 5	May 16, 1794	...	...	...
Britannia.....	Bg.	...	Joseph Wyer	Woolwich B.	Aug. 5	Sept. 16, 1794	...	...	...
Columbia.....	Sh.	...	Alpheus Coffin	Brazil	Sept. 15	June 22, 1794	...	...	...
Favourite.....	Sh.	...	Obed Barnard	Coast Peru	July 13	....	...	...	...
Favorite.....	Sh.	...	David Folger	....	Dec. 16	....	...	...	...
Hector.....	Sh.	...	Thomas Brock	....	Aug. 17	— —, 1794	...	...	...
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Obed Aldridge	....	Dec. 6	— —, 1795	...	...	...

1793—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Industry.....	Sh.	172	William Fosdick	Brazil	Aug. 3	May 16, 1794	....	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	Zenas Coffin	Brazil	Oct. 10	July 6, 1794	....	....	....
Leo.....	Bg.	217	William Clisby	Brazil	Sept. 14	June 21, 1794	....	....	....
Maria.....	Bg.	....	— Cash	Atlantic	....	July — 1793	100	....	....
Minerva.....	Sh.	200	Peter Myrick	Brazil	Aug. 9	July 14, 1794	....	900	....
Manilla.....	Sh.	....	Andrew Barnard	..	Aug. 9	May 21, 1794	....	....	....
Mary Ann.....	Sh.	....	Tris. Folger	....	Dec. 12	....	....	....	....
Polly.....	Bg.	....	— Pinkham {	Bahamas	....	— 1793 }	....	....	....
			— Starbuck	C. of Good H.	Oct. —	— 1794 }	Clean	....	....
Ranger.....	Sh.	....	Gilbert Folger	....	Aug. 5	....	....	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	Seth Folger	Brazil	Aug. 17	June 19, 1794	....	....	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	....	Isaiah Clark	....	Sept. 14	....	....	....	....
Swallow.....	Sch.	....	Latham Gardner	Falklands	....	May 17, 1794	....	....	....	Whaling and sealing.
Swan.....	Sh.	....	— Swain	Brazil	....	July 14, 1794	....	400	....
Union.....	Sh.	....	Grafton Gardner	....	Aug. 18	June — 1794	....	1280	....	The Union did not anchor once on the voyage, and the only land she sighted was Cape Augustine on the way home.
Washington.....	Sh.	....	Solomon Smith	Peru & Chili	July 10	May 16, 1795	700	....	....	About.
Warren.....	Sh.	....	Matt. Starbuck	....	Sept. 15	....	....	....	....

1794

Boston Packet.....	Sh.	....	— Easty	Woolwich B.	....	Oct. — 1795	....	Full	....
Cato.....	Sh.	....	— Swain	Delago B.	....	Jan. — 1796	....	....	....
Commerce.....	Sh.	....	A. Gardner	Woolwich B.	....	Oct. — 1795	....	Full	....

1794—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Fox.....	Sh.	....	— Joy	Woolwich B.	....	Oct. 3, 1795	....	Full	....
Hector.....	Sh.	....	Thomas Brock	Pacific O.	....	....	....	Full	....
Hudson.....	Sh.	....	Grafton Gardner	Delago B.	....	Feb. — 1796	....	....	....
Joanna.....	Sh.	....	— Fosdick	Pacific O.	....	Aug. — 1796	1100	400	....
Minerva.....	Sh.	200	William Myrick	Woolwich B.	....	Oct. 3, 1795	....	Full	....
Ranger.....	Sh.	....	William Swain	Brazil	....	....	....	1200	....
Uniba.....	Sh.	....	— Gardner	Woolwich B.	....	Oct. 3, 1795	....	Full	....

1795

Alliance.....	Sh.	V. Pease	Woolwich B.	Dec. 15, 1796	1100	Returned dismasted in October. Arrived early in 1797. Last reported with 1200 bbls. sperm. Put into Charleston, S. C. with loss of main-mast, cross-trees, quarter-rails and boards, and boats stove. Took 36 whales—saved 25. Last reported with 700 sperm.
Beaver.....	Sh.	....	— Long	Brazil	....	— — 1796	....	1100	....
—.....	Sh.	....	Paul Worth	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Caesar.....	Sh.	....	S. Smith	C. of Good H.	Aug. —	Jan. — 1797	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	W. Easton	Pacific O.	At Charleston, S. C. in distress. Oct., 1796.
Harlequin.....	Sh.	....	— Clark	Brazil	Dec. —	May — 1797	....	1100	....
Union.....	Sh.	....	— Barney	Woolwich B.	....	— — 1796	....	900	7000

1796

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Alliance.....	Sh.	....	— Pease	Woolwich B.	....	Dec. 15, 1796	....	....	....
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	L. Coffin	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
Beaver.....	Sh.	....	— Long	Brazil	....	— 1797	....	....	....
Cato.....	Sh.	....	V. Swain	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	— Folger	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	David Giles	.....	....	....	....	....	....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	— Aldridge	Woolwich B.	Feb. 4	....	....	....	....	Capt. Cash killed by first whale struck.
Leo.....	Sh.	217	William Cash	....	....	....	....	....	....	Last reported with 700 bbls. whale.
Lion.....	Sh.	....	A. Barnard	Woolwich B.	....	July — 1797	....	....	....	Last reported with 850 bbls. whale.
Mars.....	Sh.	....	D. Folger	....	....	....	....	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	S. Long	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
—.....	Sh.	....	Uriah Bunker	....	....	....	....	....	....

1797

Alliance.....	Sh.	....	Hezekiah Barnard	Pacific O.	....	Oct. 18, 1799	....	....	....	Nearly full.
Beaver.....	Sh.	....	Nathan Long	Woolwich B	....	Dec. 30, 1798	....	1200	....	Capt. Gardner, his mate and boat's crew were barbarously treated by the Spaniards at S. Mary's in January, 1799.
Commerce.....	Sh.	....	Amaziah Gardner	Pacific O.	July 5	Sept. 26, 1799	1000	200	....	Nearly full.
Caesar.....	Sh.	....	Solomon Swain	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Diana.....	Sh.	....	— Swain	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Eagle.....	Sh.	....	— Clasby	Delago B.	....	Mar. 8, 1799	....	Full	....
Fortitude.....	Sh.	....	Obed Paddock	Delago B.	....	Mar. 4, 1799	....	Full	....

1797—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
—	Sh.	...	Obed Aldridge*	Delago B.	...	Mar. 18, 1799	Nearly full.
—	Sh.	...	Alpheus Coffin	...	...	Dec. 29, 1799	...	...	...
Hope	Sh.	...	David Giles	...	...	Nov. —, 1799	...	...	...
Hector	Sh.	...	Benjamin Worth	Peru	...	Dec. 25, 1798	Full	...	...
Mars	Sh.	...	D. Folger	...	...	Feb. 5, 1800	1000	50	...
Ruby	Sh.	221	Andrew Myrick	Pacific O.	...	—, 1799	1250	150	...	
Renown	Sh.	...	....	Pacific O.	...	Nov. —, 1799	800	...	...
Trial	Sh.	...	Simeon Starbuck	Pacific O.	...					

1798

Favourite	Sh.	...	Thadeus Folger	Pacific O.	...	Aug. 20, 1800	1200	...	...
Leo	Sh.	217	Joseph Allen	Pacific O.	...	Dec. 9, 1800	800	300	...	
Phebe	Sh.	...	Edward Coffin	South Seas	...	Dec. 14, 1800	...	Full	...	
Ruby	Sh.	221	Andrew Myrick	Pacific O.	...	Feb. 5, 1800	1000	50	...	

1799

Industry	Sh.	172	Brazil	...	—, 1800	...	900	...	Captain was killed by a whale Crew badly affected with scurvy Crew badly affected with scurvy Full—60 bbls. of it—sperm.
—	Sh.	...	William Easton	Pacific O.	...	June 28, 1801	...	Full	...	
—	Sh.	...	Uriah Bunker	Pacific O.	...	June 28, 1801	...	Full	...	
—	Sh.	...	Levi Starbuck	Pacific O.	...	June 28, 1801	...	Full	...	
—	Sh.	...	Simeon Long	Brazil	...	July 3, 1800	60	Full	...	

*So many Nantucket captains commanded English and French whalers that one may occasionally be included in this list which is compiled prior to about 1835 from the marine lists of the newspapers of the time.

1801

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Tonnage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	— Folger	So. Atlantic	Aug. 12, 1802	Full; probably about 1500 whale. Full; probably about 1800 whale.
Diana.....	Sh.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Fame.....	Sh.	....	— Barnard	Woolwich B.	....	Nov. 5, 1802	....	....	....
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Obed Fitch	Brazil	....	Aug. 12, 1802	....	....	....
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	William Clark	Brazil	....	July 17, 1802	....	....	....
Leo.....	Sh.	217	— Allen	Pacific O.	Aug. —	Feb. — 1803	1000	500	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	— Starbuck	Woolwich B.	....	Nov. 5, 1802	....	....	....
Mars.....	Sh.	....	— Swain	....	....	Aug. 12, 1802	....	....	....
Renown.....	Sh.	....	— Coffin	....	....	Nov. 26, 1802	....	....	....
Union.....	Sh.	....	Grafton Gardner	Brazil	....	July 17, 1802	....	1400	....

1802

Alliance.....	Sh.	.....	Amaziah Gardner	Brazil	.....	June 30, 1803	.....	.....	.....	"Most full."
Atlas.....	Sh.	249	William Easton	Pacific O.	Sept. 16	Mar. 30, 1805	1800	.....	.....	Had, also, some whale oil.
Boston.....	Sh.	187	David Harris	C. of Good H.	.....	Jan. 2, 1804	600	300	.....	Sailed again Oct. 19, 1802.
Betsey.....	Sch.	.....	— Coffin	C. de Verde	.....	Aug. 12, 1802	No	.....	.....
Belvidere.....	Sh.	.....	Hézekiah Barnard	Pacific O.	.....	Jan. 2, 1804	Rep't 800	.....	.....
Commerce.....	Sh.	.....	.....	.....	.....	May 25, 1804	.....	.....	.....
Cato.....	Sh.	.....	Solomon Folger, Jr.	Pacific O.	.....	Nov. 12, 1804	.....	.....	.....	Nearly full.
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	— Joy	Brazil	Aug. 22	Mar. 15, 1804	.....	.....	.....
Hope.....	Sh.	.....	Obed Joy	So. Atlantic	.....	Aug. 11, 1803	.....	1000	.....
Hazard.....	Sl.	.....	.....	Atlantic	Dec. —	.....	.....	.....	.....	Last reported with 40 sperm.
Harriet.....	Sh.	.....	Philip Fosdick	Woolwich B.	.....	Dec. 3, 1803	.....	1000	.....
Hudson.....	Sh.	.....	Uriah Bunker	Pacific O.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

1802—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Geo. Russell, Jr.	Brazil	Sept. 13, 1803	450	Last reported with 32,000 seal skins, bound for China.
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	William Clark	Woolwich B.	....	Nov. 5, 1803	....	900	....
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	230	— Fitch	....	Aug. 24	....	....	....	....
Mary Ann.....	Sh.	Tris. Folger	Woolwich B.	Nov. 9, 1803	900	Whaling and sealing; reported with 23,000 seal skins.
Minerva.....	Sh.	200	— Jones	Pacific O.	....	Aug. — 1804	....	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	George Chase	Brazil	Apr. — 1803	Full.
—.....	Sh.	....	— Coffin	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Ranger.....	Sh.	William Joy	Brazil	Sept. 13, 1803	900	Bought from Boston 1802.
Sukey.....	Sh.	....	David Whippey	Pacific O.	....	Sept. 1, 1804	900	....	....
Union*.....	Sh.	....	....	....	....	Apr. 20, 1804	....	....	....

NOTE — Vessels sailing for the Pacific did not usually fill in that ocean, preferring to round Cape Horn on the return with a well-trimmed ship and fill with right whale oil on the Coast of Brazil, hence many sperm whalers brought some right whale oil. Per contra some right whalers picked up a sperm whale outward or homeward bound. Probably the gross amounts would not, however, vary much from the returns.

1803

Alligator.....	Sh.	— Swain	Delago B.	Mar. — 1804	1600	Full—mostly elephant oil.
Aurora.....	Bg.	....	— Coffin	C. of Good H.	....	....	....	....	....
Alliance.....	Sh.	....	Amaziah Gardner	Patagonia	....	Apr. 14, 1804	....	....	....
Betsey.....	Sch.	— Gardner	Reported at Barbadoes Feb. 17 1804 with 400 sperm.
Dove.....	Sl.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Eliza.....	Bg.	....	— Paddock	Patagonia	....	June — 1804	....	....	....
Henry.....	Sh.	Peter Myrick	Pacific O.	Oct. 31, 1805	1000	

*The Eliza Bunker, also sailed in July on a sealing voyage.

1803—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE*			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Hope.....	Sh.	...	Obed Joy	Brazil	....	July 20, 1804	....	....	....
Harlequin.....	Sh.	...	— Starbuck	....	....	Aug. 3, 1804	....	....	....
Leo.....	Bg.	217	Uriah Bunker	Patagonia	....	Feb. 24, 1804	....	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	— Ray	....	....	Nov. 28, 1804	....	....	....
Margaret.....	Sh.	...	Reuben Starbuck	Pacific O.	....	Dec. 13, 1805	1100	....	....
Neutrality.....	Sh.	...	....	Brazil	....	Apr. 20, 1804	....	....	....
Perseverance.....	Sh.	...	— Coffin	....	....	Nov. 23, 1804	....	....	....
Renown.....	Sh.	...	Alpheus Coffin	Pacific O.	....	Nov. 3, 1805	1250	....	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	Tris. Barnard	Pacific O.	....	....	Full	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	...	George Chase	Brazil	....	Sept. — 1804	....	800	....
Swallow.....	Bg.	...	— Bunker	Patagonia	Oct. 15	....	....	....	....
.....	Sh.	...	Barzillai Hussey	Brazil	....	May 5, 1804	....	1000	....
Three Nantucket whaling schooners (one com- manded by David Folger) are reported to have been seized by the French armed schooner Telegraphe, off Aux Cayes, carried into Jacmel and condemned; the crews were imprisoned in the fort, and six of them are said to have died. The ships Favorite, Coffin, sailed in 1802 or 1803, arrived May 6, 1804.										

1804

Alliance.....	Sh.	...	Anaziah Gardner	Patagonia	Mar. 21	Apr. — 1805	....	Full	....	Elephant oil.
Alligator.....	Sh.	...	David Swain	C. of Good H.	Aug. —	Feb. 4, 1806	750	317	....
Aurora.....	Sh.	340	— Hussey	New Holland	Aug. 24	....	....	....	....
Boston.....	Sh.	187	William Perkins	C. of Good H.	....	Nov. — 1806	....	Full	....

1805

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Commerce.....	Sh.	....	Jesse Bunker	....	....	....	....	....	A missing ship; last seen near the “line” homeward bound with full cargo of oil.
Cato.....	Sh.	....	Sol. Folger, Jr.	Brazil	....	— 1806	....	....
Chili.....	Sh.	293	— Bunker	....	....	Aug. 25, 1807	Full	....	
Eliza.....	Bg.	....	— Chase	....	....	....	....	....
Edward.....	Sh.	....	Isaiah Ray	Brazil	....	— 1806	Full	....	
Fame, 2nd.....	Sh.	....	Richard Folger	Brazil	....	— 1806	Full	....	
Hope.....	Sh.	....	Obed Joy	Brazil	....	— 1806	1200	....	
Hudson.....	Sh.	....	Uriah Bunker	Patagonia	....	— 1806	Full	....	
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	Paul Ray	Brazil	....	Apr. 14, 1806	Full	....	
Mary.....	Sh.	....	— Barney	Patagonia	....	Mar. — 1806	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	George Chase	Brazil	....	— 1806	Full	....	
Sukey.....	Sh.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Union.....	Sh.	....	Silas Swain	Brazil	....	Aug. — 1806	1400	....	

1806

Alliance.....	Sh.	....	— Pinkham	East Cape	....	Apr. 21, 1808	....	....
Essex.....	Sh.	238	David Harris	Delago B.	....	Jan. 9, 1808	....	1300	
Fame.....	Sh.	....	— Folger	Brazil	....	Aug. 31, 1807	....	....	Last reported with 1000 bbls. whale.
Hope.....	Sh.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	Last reported with 800 bbls. whale.
Henry.....	Sh.	....	— Myrick	Pacific O.	....	Aug. 8, 1808	Full	....
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	William Clark	Pacific O.	....	Jan. 9, 1808	1400	....
Mars.....	Sh.	....	....	Pacific O.	....	June 21, 1808	....	....
Neutrality.....	Sh.	....	— Folger	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	Lost on coast of Brazil, Feb., 1807; oil (1000 bbls. sperm) saved.

1806—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Ranger.....	Sh.	Pacific O.	June 21, 1808	Last reported with 1000 bbls. whale.
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	....	Pacific O.	....	Sept. 11, 1808	....	....	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	—Barnard	Pacific O.	....	Dec. 2, 1808	....	....	....
Sukey.....	Sh.	....	—Gardner	Pacific O.	....		....	1000	....
Union.....	Sh.	

1807

Alert.....	Bg.	—Worth	Nov. —	Boarded and badly damaged by a water spout 1808. Brought oil and seal skins. Struck on a whale and sunk Oct 1. The crew landed at Flores Oct. 8, after a voyage of 600 miles in open boats.
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	—Perkins	....	Dec. 12	....	....	....	....
Boston.....	Sh.	187	—Clasby	East Cape	....	Sept. 18, 1808	....	Full	....
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	—Starbuck	Pacific O.	Aug. 27	....	....	....	....
Chili.....	Sh.	293	—Bunker	Pacific O.	Dec. 12	Aug. — 1809	1500	....	....
Gardner.....	Sh.	....	—Briggs	C. of Good H.	....	Oct. 31, 1808	....	....	....
Hope.....	Sh.	....	....	....	Sept. 19	....	....	....	....
Leo.....	Sh.	217	—Gardner	Pacific O.	....	May 17, 1809	Full	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	—Allen	....	Aug. 27	....	....	....	....
Lion.....	Sh.	....	—Paddack	....	....	....	....	....	....
Olive.....	Sh.	....	—Swain	....	July 6	....	....	....	....
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	—Gardner	Pacific O.	....	May 5, 1809	1700	....	....
Union.....	Bg.	....	—Hussey	Patagonia	....	Mar. 12, 1808	....	....	....
Union.....	Sh.	....	Edmund Gardner	....	Sept. 19	....	....	....	....

1808

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Alliance.....	Sh.	— Pinkham	C. of Good H.	Apr. 12, 1810	700	Last reported with 1200 bbls. whale. Condemned at Payta 1809. Also some whale oil.
Adolphus.....	Sl.	....	— Joy	Atlantic	Apr. 27	....	....	....	....
Atlas.....	Sh.	....	— Joy	....	....	....	....	....	....
Alligator.....	Sh.	....	— Nichols	....	....	....	....	....	....
Belvidere.....	Sh.	....	— Worth	....	Apr. —	— 1810	....	....	....
Brothers.....	Sh.	....	— Starbuck	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Criterion.....	Sh.	225	— Chase	....	Apr. —	....	....	....	....
Eliza.....	Bg.	....	— Clark	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....
Hope.....	Sh.	....	— Starbuck	....	....	May 17, 1809	....	Full	....
Harlequin.....	Sh.	....	— Ciark	Pacific O.	....	June 27, 1809	....	....	....
John and James...	Sh.	— Owen Swain	Brazil	June 3, 1810	1400	
John Jay.....	Sh.	....	— Folger	Pacific O.	....	Aug. — 1810	....	500	....
Leo.....	Bg.	....	— Swain	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	....	— Joy	....	Apr. —	— 1809	....	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	....	— Swain	Brazil	....	Apr. — 1809	....	....	....
Mars.....	Sh.	....	— Joy	Pacific O.	....	May 1, 1810	....	....	....
Ranger.....	Sh.	....	— Pinkham	Pacific O.	....	June 3, 1810	....	1800	....
Reliance.....	Sh.	....	— Luce	C. of Good H.	....	Apr. 11, 1810	....	....	....
Union.....	Bg.	....	— Luce	C. of Good H.	....	Mar. 5, 1810	....	....	....

1809

Atlas.....	Sh.	249	Reuben Joy	Pacific O.	June 27	Nov. 18, 1810	Some whale oil.
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	Benjamin Worth	Pacific O.	....	July 2, 1811	....	....	....
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	William Clasby	Pacific O.	....	Nov. — 1811	Full	....	....
Chili.....	Sh.	293	James Bunker	Pacific O.	Nov. 5	Nov. — 1811	Full	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1809—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Delight.....	Sch.	....	— Coffin	Atlantic	Dec. —	....	....	....	....
Eliza.....	Sh.	....	....	....	June 20	....	....	....	....
Essex.....	Sh.	238	Daniel Russell	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Fame.....	Sh.	....	Job Coffin	East Shore	....	Apr. 26, 1811	....	....	....	Full, lacking 100 bbls.
Gardner.....	Sh.	....	Isaiah Ray	Pacific O.	Oct. —	July 16, 1811	Full	....	....
Golden Farmer...	Sh.	295	Geo. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Oct. —	June 22, 1811	Full	....	....
Hope.....	Sh.	....	— Clark	Brazil	....	Nov. — 1810	200	1000	....
Henry.....	Sh.	....	Isaac Gardner	Pacific O.	....	Feb. 9, 1811	1200	....	....
Hunter.....	Sl.	....	— Luce	Atlantic	May 7	....	....	....	....
Industry.....	Sh.	172	G. Russell	Brazil	....	Nov. — 1810	....	900	....	Last reported 30 days out—Clean.
John and James...	Sh.	....	— Perkins	Brazil	....	Nov. — 1810	....	1200	....	Capt. Swain was killed by a whale.
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	Silas Swain	Brazil	....	July 1, 1810	....	....	....
Lima.....	Sh.	284	Solomon Swain	Pacific O.	July 11	July 11, 1811	1900	....	....
Lion.....	Sh.	....	Peter Paddack	Pacific O.	....	Jan. 13, 1811	1600	....	....
Leo.....	Sh.	217	Robt. Gardner, Jr.	Pacific O.	Aug. 2	Nov. — 1811	Full	....	....	Mostly sperm.
Mount Hope.....	Sch.	....	....	Atlantic	Feb. —	Jan. 13, 1811	....	....	....	Last reported June 10—90 bbls.
Monticello.....	Sh.	....	Barzillai Coffin	Pacific O.	....	Jan. 13, 1811	1350	....	....
Perseveranda.....	Sh.	....	Absalom Coffin	Pacific O.	....	Nov. 18, 1810	Full	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	George Chase	Brazil	....	Aug. 4, 1810	Full	Full	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	Christ Wyer	Pacific O.	....	Oct. 17, 1811	Full	....	....
Ranger.....	Sh.	....	— Joy	Woolwich B.	....	....	....	....	....
Sterling.....	Sh.	....	Richard Folger	Pacific O.	....	June 22, 1811	Full	....	....
Sukey.....	Sh.	....	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	....	June 6, 1811	Full	....	....
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	Jonathan Swain	Pacific O.	....	June 22, 1811	Full	....	....
Thomas.....	Sh.	269	Davis Whippey	Pacific O.	....	Sept. 27, 1811	Full	....	....	Built 1809.

1810

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Alligator.....	Sh.	....	Owen Swain	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....	Captured by the English 1812 with full cargo sperm oil. Sent into St. Thomas.
Alliance.....	Sh.	....	Hezekiah Pinkham	Pacific O.	July 8	Dec. 8, 1812	....	....	....	Arrived at Newport
Boston.....	Sh.	187	....	Pacific O.	....	July 16, 1812	....	....	....	....
Dove.....	Sl.	....	— Wood	West Indies	....	— 1811	....	....	....	No report.
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	Wm. B. Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 16	Sept. 4, 1812	Full	....	....	Arrived at Newport.
—.....	Sh.	....	....	Pacific O.	....	Dec. 4, 1812	....	....	....	Arrived at New Bedford.
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	230	Elisha Folger, Jr.	Pacific O.	....	Jan. 29, 1812	1150	....	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	David Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	....	July 21, 1812	Full	....	....	Capt Swain was killed by a whale.
Leo.....	Bg.	217	Obed Luce	Pacific O.	....	Apr. 8, 1813	Full	....	....	Also 60 bbls. on deck.
Mars.....	Sh.	315	John Fitch	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	Oct. 26, 1812	1000	....	....	Arrived at Norfolk, Va.
Minerva.....	Sh.	20	Brown Chase	Pacific O.	....	Dec. 7, 1812	1400	....	....	....
Mary Ann.....	Sh.	....	— Folger	Coast Africa	....	Mar. 16, 1811	....	Full	....	....
Renown.....	Sh.	....	....	South Seas	....	Mar. — 1811	....	....	....	....
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	— Coffin	Woolwich B.	....	....	....	....	....	Last reported with 600 bbls. whale oil.
Ranger.....	Sh.	....	William Joy	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....	Captured wth 1300 bbls. sperm and sent into Bermudas 1812.
Sukey.....	Sh.	....	....	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....	....
Union.....	Bg.	....	— Bunker	South Coast	....	Jan. 11, 1811	....	....	....	....

1811

Atlas.....	Sh.	249	Obed Joy	Pacific O.	Nov. —	Dec. — 1813	850	....	....	....
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	Benj. Whippey, Jr.	Pacific O.	....	Dec. 7, 1812	1800	....	....	....
Betsey.....	Sch.	....	— Gardner	Atlantic	Jan. —	....	50	....	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1811—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	William Clark	Pacific O.	....	Dec. — 1813	Full	....	....	Arrived in Rhode Island.
Chili.....	Sh.	293	Robt. Gardner, Jr.	....	....	....	....	....	....	Captured by English brig Nimrod.
Dove.....	Sl.	....	— Luce	Atlantic	July 20	— 1812	60	....	....
Essex.....	Sh.	238	— Russell	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Fame.....	Sh.	....	Job Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. —	....	....	....	....	Captured in 1813 with 1200 bbls. sperm; sent to England.
Golden Farmer....	Sh.	295	Geo. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Oct. 3	Dec. — 1812	1800	....	....	Arrived at New Bedford.
Gardner.....	Sh.	....	Isaiah Ray	Pacific O.	Dec. 12	....	....	....	....	Captured by the Loire, Dec. 4, 1813; had 400 bbls. sperm.
George.....	Sh.	....	Benj. Worth	Pacific O.	Nov. 23	....	....	....	....	Captured in 1813 with 1300 bbls. sperm and sent into Halifax.
Hope.....	Sh.	....	Reuben Weeks	Woolwich B.	Aug. 4	....	....	....	....	Captured with a cargo of oil by the Tribune Sept. 27, 1812; sent into Barbadoes.
Hunter.....	Sl.	....	— Luce	Atlantic	May 7	....	....	....	....	No report.
Industry.....	Sh.	172	— Russell	Patagonia	June 4	....	....	....	....
Lion.....	Sh.	....	— Paddock	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....	Captured, sent into Bermuda.
Leo.....	Sh.	217	Tris. Folger	Coast Africa	....	May — 1813	.... Full	....	....	Capt. Folger was 61 yrs. old. Had 60 bbls. oil on deck.
Lima.....	Sh.	280	— Swain	....	....	....	....	....	....	Captured. Sent into Bermuda.
Monticello.....	Sh.	....	Barzillai Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 28	....	....	....	....	Captured by English brig Sophie off Delaware. Had 580 bbls. sperm.
Mary Ann.....	Sh.	....	Geo. Russell, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 3	....	....	....	....	Captured by the Albion Dec. 7, 1813; sent into Bermudas.
Manilla.....	Sh.	....	Joseph McCleave	Patagonia	....	....	....	....	....	Captured within five day's sail of Nantucket by English letter of marque Tiger in 1812; full cargo of elephant oil.

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

421

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Mount Hope.....	Sch.	....	.....	Atlantic	Feb. —	....	....	....	....	No report.
Ocean.....	Bg.	....	Absalom Coffin	South Seas	....	....	....	....	....	Sent home 83 bbls. sperm; cap- tured 1812 and sent into Cape of Good Hope.
Orange.....	Sl.	....	William Perkins	Atlantic	....	Aug. 17, 1811	Full	....	....	Captured on Tuckanuck Shoals, 1814, by an English 74; had 350 bbls. sperm.
Perseveranda.....	Sh.	....	Thomas Paddock	Pacific O.	July 21	....	....	....	....	Sent home 37 casks sperm; cap- tured by an English armed whaler; had 1600 sperm.
Renown.....	Sh.	....	Zacc. Barnard	Pacific O.	Aug. 4	....	....	....	....	Captured by an English brig and sent into Rio Janeiro.
Rebecca.....	Sh.	....	Jethro Coffin	Brazil	....	....	....	....	....	Captured and sent into Barbadoes 1813.
Sterling.....	Sh.	....	Jona. Swain	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....	Returned Oct. 12, having sprung foremast; sailed again in 1811.
Sukey.....	Sh.	....	John Macy	Pacific O.	Oct. 9	....	....	....	....	No report.
Stanhope.....	Sch.	....	— Gamble	Atlantic	July 11	....	....	....	....	Arrived at New Bedford.
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	Prince Coleman	Pacific O.	Oct. —	— 1813	1100	....	....	Captured Dec. 4, 1813 and sent into Cape of Good Hope; had 1300 bbls. sperm.
William Penn.....	Sh.	159	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	Nov. 9	....	....	....	....

1812

Brothers.....	Sh.	256	— Worth	Pacific O.	June 28	Heard of the War and came home.
Charles.....	Sh.	274	Grafton Gardner	Pacific O.	....	Feb. 28, 1814	1750	....	....
Diana.....	Bg.	86	Calvin Bunker	Atlantic	....	July — 1812	170	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1812

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Dove.....	Sl.	....	David Swain	Atlantic	....	July — 1812	120	....	....	Heard of the War and came home.
Lima.....	Sh.	280	— Swain	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....	The first whaler to fall a victim to
Mount Hope.....	Sch.	....	David Cottle	Atlantic	Mar. — Mar. 7	....	....	....	....	the English; captured and burned with 170 bbls. sperm on board July 9, 1812.
Nancy.....	Sl.	....	Marshall Crosby	Atlantic	....	Aug. 2, 1812	....	80	....	Advised by English armed cruiser to go home—and did.
President.....	Sch.	....	William Brown	Atlantic	....	July — 1812	50	....	....	Heard of the War and came home.
President.....	Sh.	293	Solomon Folger	Pacific O.	....	Dec. 8, 1813	1000	....	....	Built at Rochester 1811.
Thetis.....	Sch.	....	William Perkins	Atlantic	....	Aug. — 1812	90	....	....

Two Nantucket schooners, with 50 to 60 bbls. of oil each, put into Boston Oct. 19, 1812; names not ascertained.

1813

Juno.....	Sh.	.....	Obed Ray	.....	Shoals	.....	.....	.....	.....	Captured by an English brig; never heard of afterwards.
Nancy.....	Sl.	.....	.....	.....	Shoals	.....	.....	.....	.....	Captured by an English brig July 8, 1813.

There were about 10 small vessels from Nan-
tucket humpback whaling on the Shoals in
1813. Several made similar voyages in 1814.

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Atlas.....	Sh.	249	William Easton	Pacific O.	June 29	June 6, 1817	1372	Capt. Folger died on the voyage.
Alert.....	Bg.	...	Seth Folger	C. of Good H.	Nov. 16	Dec. 20, 1816	130	480	...	
Boston.....	Sh.	187	Reuben Clasby	Pacific O.	May 16	Aug. 25, 1816	974	...	...
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	Benj. Whippley	Pacific O.	June 29	Mar. 19, 1817	1552	Elephant oil.
Belvidere.....	Bg.	...	Reuben Baxter	Patagonia	May 18	Mar. 1, 1816	...	840	...	Detained 45 days in Valparaíso, then sent to Lima for adjudication for having no "sea-letter."
Charles.....	Sh.	274	Benjamin Worth	Pacific O.	June 4	Nov. 4, 1817	1872	...	...
Charles.....	Sch.	...	— Cottle	Atlantic	May —	Sept. — 1815	60	...	...
Criterion.....	Sh.	329	Shubael Brown	Coast Africa	Nov. —	Apr. 10, 1817	1410	Last reported with 25 bbls. sperm in July, 1815.
Diana.....	Bg.	86	— Bunker	Pacific O.	July 20	Aug. 28, 1815	60	...	...
Dauphin.....	Sh.	210	Seth Pinkham	Atlantic	May —	Oct. — 1815	clean	...	...
Dove.....	Sl.	...	— Swain	Pacific O.	Sept. —	Jan. 17, 1817	1020	60	...	
Essex.....	Sh.	...	Daniel Russell	Atlantic	July 28	....	...	...	...
Experiment.....	Sl.	238	— Randall	Pacific O.	July 13	Nov. 19, 1816	1431	Alexander Coffin, first mate, killed by falling from aloft. Built at Haverhill 1809. Built 1815; the first ship bringing in over 2000 bbls.
Edward.....	Bg.	...	Charles Coleman	Atlantic	Sept. —	Sept. — 1815	15	clean	...	
Golden Farmer.....	Sh.	294	Geo. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Dec. 30	Jan. 26, 1817	173	...	...
Ganges.....	Sh.	265	Isaiah Ray	Pacific O.	June 29	Dec. 29, 1816	1115	420	...	Made 3 voyages. First reported with 34 bbls. aboard and a 30-bbl. whale alongside. Second lost both boats. Last reported with 60 bbls.
Globe.....	Sh.	293	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	Oct. 17, 1817	1785	139	...	
Gen. Jackson.....	Bg.	174	Stephen Skinner	C. of Good H.	Oct. 24	Jan. 1, 1818	1896	125	...	
Hannah.....	Sl.	...	— Coffin	Atlantic	Dec. 30	Dec. 28, 1816	170	576	...	

1815—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Geo. Russell, Jr.	Brazil	July 2	Oct. 6, 1816	734	Built at Rochester 1812.
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Elisha Folger	Pacific O.	July 31	Nov. 7, 1817	1473	340	....
John.....	Sl.	— Brown	Atlantic	Aug. 23, 1815	150	Elephant oil.
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	David Swain	Pacific O.	Sept. 6	June 7, 1817	1410	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	Joseph McCleave	Patagonia	May 16	Mar. 10, 1816	....	1012	....
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Chris. Weyer	Pacific O.	June 25	Dec. 24, 1817	1824	....	....
Leo.....	Sh.	217	William Joy	Brazil	July 2	Oct. 21, 1816	38	1310	Built at Pembroke, 1810; detained 20 days in Valparaiso, and part of her crew impressed on a patriot armed vessel for a short cruise.
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	230	Peter Paddack	Pacific O.	Aug. 14	May 11, 1817	1168	....	....
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Reuben Weeks	Pacific O.	July 2	Oct. 20, 1817	1654	....	....
Maria.....	Sch.	— Worth	Patagonia	Apr. 2, 1816	700	Elephant oil.
Minerva.....	Sh.	200	Geo. B. Chase	Pacific O.	July 17	Sept. 18, 1817	1460	....	....
Mason's Daughter.	Sl.	William Perkins	Atlantic	May —	July 9, 1815	100	First whaler to arrive after the War.
Nancy.....	Sl.	....	— Swain	Atlantic	July —	Sept. 3, 1815	120	....	....
New Packet.....	Sl.	— Paddack	Atlantic	Sept. 3, 1815	70	Took three whales.
						July 27, 1815	15	....	....
Olive.....	Sl.	....	....	Atlantic	....	Sept. — 1815	90	....	....
President.....	Sh.	293	Jona. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	....	Sept. — 1815	1778	111	....
President.....	Sch.	— Luce	Atlantic	June 25	July 1, 1817	250	Lost one boat. Got two humpback whales in company with sloop Success.
Parnel.....	Sch.	....	— Chadwick	Atlantic	May —	Sept. — 1815	clean	....	....
Rover.....	Sl.	....	....	Atlantic	....	Sept. — 1815	....	....	....
					Sept. 27	Sept. 29, 1815	....	....	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	Albert Clark	Brazil	June 4	Oct. 4, 1816	1512	Sold at Pernambuco 1815.
Statira.....	Bg.	....	— Barney	Brazil	May —	....	....	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	Ariel Coffin — Davis	Pacific O. Atlantic	July 17	May 9, 1817	1640	....	....	Got two humpback whales in company with sloop Rover.
Success.....	Sl.	....	— Chase	Atlantic	July 26	July 18, 1815	60	....	....
Tarquin*.....	Sh.	301	James Bunker	Brazil	Sept. 27	Sept. 29, 1815	....	....	....	Sailed June 28; returned in August, in distress, with 50 bbls. sperm.
					Aug. 19	June 5, 1817	80	1390	....
Thomas.....	Sh.	270	John Macy	Pacific O.	Oct. 9	May 11, 1817	1009	....	....	Heard the country was at war and returned.
Three Sons.....	Bg.	....	Obed Joy	Patagonia	May 24	....	....	....	....	Lost on the coast of Patagonia Aug. 30, 1815.
Union.....	Bg.	....	— Bunker	Atlantic	....	Oct. 20, 1815	....	clean	....	Was thrown on her beam-ends, and damaged in a gale.
Weymouth.....	Sh.	329	David Harris	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	Apr. 17, 1818	1980	....	....	Built 1815.
William Penn.....	Bg.	....	Matthew Norton	C. of Good H.	Dec. 30	Jan. 11, 1817	185	485	....	Reported Aug. 22. 30 bbls. sperm.
—.....	Sl.	....	— Randall	Atlantic	Aug. 12	....	....	....	....	Reported Sept. 12. Clean.
—.....	Ship	....	— Sedgewick	Atlantic	July —	....	....	....	....

* On the voyage the Tarquin fell in with a disabled Portuguese frigate and towed her into port. As a recompense she was allowed 900 bbls. of oil and permission to whale in Portuguese waters for three years.

1816

Amphibious.....	Sch.	— Ray	West Indies	July 16, 1816	80	The Amphibious sailed again; arrived Sept. 26 with 10 bbls. whale. Last reported at Rio Janeiro May 6; 9000 skins and full of oil.
Antoinette.....	Sh.	....	— Folger	Patagonia	....	....	....	....	....
Boston.....	Sh.	187	Reuben Clasby	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	May 12, 1818	989	....	....
					Nov. 19	July 1, 1817	170	....	....

1816—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Belvidere.....	Bg.		Reuben Baxter	Patagonia	May 7	June 5, 1817	777	Lost at St. Michael's Sept. 4, 1817.
Boniff.....	Bg.		John H. Pease	....	May 21	June 7, 1817	....	450	....
Charles.....	Bg.		— Meader(?)	Africa	....	Oct. 13, 1817	150	....	....
Diana.....	Bg.		— Bunker	Atlantic	....	Aug. 12, 1816	....	8	....
Dispatch.....	Bg.		William Brown	....	Aug. 15	Nov. 19, 1817	70	420	....
Dove.....	Sl.		— Swain	Atlantic	....	Aug. 6, 1815	80	....	....
Experiment.....	Sl.		Randall	Atlantic	June 19, 1816	60	15	The Experiment (Brown) sailed again; arrived Sept. 26 with 100 sperm. Built 1816.
Francis.....	Sh.	291	Barzillai Coffin	Pacific O.	July 15	Sept. 1, 1818	1805	....	....
Fanny.....	Bg.		....	....	Jan. —	....	....	....	....
Franklin.....	Sh.	309	Grafton Gardner	Pacific O.	Oct. 6	Nov. 22, 1818	1831	21	....
George.....	Sh.	359	John Fitch	Pacific O.	Feb. 25	July 24, 1818	2100	5	....
Hope.....	Sl.		....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	James Russell	Pacific O.	Oct. 18	Feb. 27, 1819	2025	33	Built at Rochester 1816
Hannah.....	Sl.		— Coffin	Atlantic	....	July 16, 1816	50	....	....
Hycso.....	Sh.	290	Wm. B. Coffin	Pacific O.	Nov. 7	Sept. 8, 1818	1545	55	....
Hazard.....	Sl.		— West	C. de Verde	June 1	Dec. 28, 1816	120	....	....
Indus.....	Bg.	262	Obed Joy	Patagonia	May 19	July 1, 1817	....	1490	....
Juno.....	Sch.		— Paddock	South Coast	....	Oct. — 1816	70	....	....
John.....	Sl.		— Coffin	West Indies	July 16	Oct. 4, 1816	60	The John sailed once before in 1816, returning June 19 with 120 sperm.
Liberty.....	Bg.		— Gardner	Guinea	Oct. 14	Oct. 16, 1817	200	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	Shub. Hussey	Brazil	July 27	July 21, 1817	....	700	....
Morning Star.....	Sch.		....	Atlantic	Apr. 19	....	....	....	....

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Mason's Daughter.	Sl.	....	William Perkins	Atlantic	....	June 21, 1816	150	....	....	The Mason's Daughter sailed again arriving Sept. 16 with 160 bbls. sperm.
Maro.....	Sh.	315	Joseph Allen	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	July 9, 1819	2363	..	....	Built 1816
New Packet.....	Sl.	....	— Coffin	Atlantic	May —	Aug. 11, 1816	25	....	....	Sailed again; arrived Sept. 24, with one small whale.
North America....	Sh.	351	Absalom Coffin	Pacific O.	Nov. 30	Nov. 8, 1818	234	942	....
President.....	Sch.	....	Obed Luce	Atlantic	Aug. 21	Sept. 5, 1816	70	....	....
Phoenix.....	Sch.	....	— Paddock	C. de Verdes	....	Sept. 22, 1816	70	..	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	Albert Clark	Brazil	Nov. 21	Apr. 17, 1818	82	1235	....
Success.....	Sl.	....	— Davis	Atlantic	....	May 22, 1816	90	....	....	Sailed again; arrived Aug. 15 with 30 bbls. sperm.
South America....	Sh.	397	George Clark	Brazil	June 19	May 26, 1818		1955	....	Sailed again Aug. 8; returned Sept. 2, clean.
Sally.....	Sl.	....	George Luce	Atlantic	Apr. 2	Aug. 2, 1816	160	....	....
William and Nancy	Bg.	....	Coffin Whippey	Guinea	Oct. 9	Oct. 13, 1817	170	....	....	The William and Nancy is reported as having arrived Sept. 6, 1816, with 120 bbls. sperm; probably sailed late in 1815 or early in 1816.
Vulture.....	Sh.	299	Jesse Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 19	June 3, 1819	1532	172	....

A galliot, Capt. Coleman, made an unsuccessful cruise. Schooner Charles, Cottle, arrived Nov. 19 from the Cape de Verdes with 230 sperm; probably sailed early in 1816.

1817

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Atlas.....	Sh.	247	Robert M. Joy	Pacific O.	Nov. 19	Nov. 11, 1819	1222	331	Condemned at Bonavista 1817. Capt. Luce chartered schooner Jane Marsh and finished his voyage..
Alert.....	Bg.	....	David Cottle	Pacific O.	Apr. 19	Nov. 9, 1818	329	333	....
Brothers.....	Sh.	247	Alex. D. Bunker	Pacific O.	Aug. 8	Nov. 5, 1819	1505	110	....
Betsey.....	Bg.	....	William Brown	....	July 20	Oct. 18, 1817	....	clean	....
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	Shub. Brown	Pacific O.	Aug. 18	Dec. 10, 1819	1315	....	....
Charles.....	Bg.	Obed Luce	C. de Verdes	Mar. 13	Had 60 bbbs. at last report; sailed again Sept. 3.
Dauphin.....	Sh.	216	Seth Pinkham	Pacific O.	May 31	Nov. 16, 1819	1041	148	....
Dove.....	Sl.	....	— Swain	Atlantic	....	July 7, 1817	60	....	....
Diana.....	Bg.	....	Calvin Bunker	Iceland	May 14	Sept. 25, 1817	....	100	....
Essex.....	Sh.	238	Daniel Russell	Pacific O.	June 11	Apr. 14, 1819	1284	154	....
Experiment.....	Sl.	— Randall	West Indies	June 19	July 6, 1817	Sailed again July 7 under Capt. Brown.
Edward.....	Bg.	....	William Paddack	Iceland	May 14	Jan. 1, 1818	30	....	....
Factor.....	Sh.	299	Reuben Swain	Pacific O.	Oct. 8	July 8, 1819	420	1183	....
Golden Farmer.....	Sh.	294	Matthew Norton	Brazil	June 1	Apr. 20, 1818	....	1417	....
Gov. Strong.....	Sh.	270	Obed Fitch	Pacific O.	July 12	Oct. 30, 1819	73	1075	....
Gen. Jackson.....	Bg.	174	Stephen Skinner	Pacific O.	Apr. 5	Jan. 27, 1819	318	97	Built 1817.
Gen. Lincoln.....	Sh.	285	Shub. Chase	Brazil	Sept. 20	Aug. 12, 1818	....	665	....
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Jethro Coffin	Brazil	May 31	July 25, 1818	....	890	....
Independence.....	Sh.	311	Geo. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 25	Nov. 12, 1819	1388	568	....
Improvement.....	Sh.	256	Obadiah Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 7	Dec. 8, 1819	1527	50	....
Indus.....	Bg.	Obed Joy	Brazil	Aug. 15	Sept. 17, 1818	1132	Built 1817. Capt. Swain prophesied no ship would fill again with sperm oil.

1817—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Leo.....	Sh.	217	William Joy	Brazil	June 11	Sept. 8, 1818	804	Broken up at Nantucket 1818.
Lydia.....	Sh.	160	Elias Ceeley	Brazil	Sept. 5	Aug. 15, 1818	....	665	....
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	230	Shub. Hussey	Pacific O.	Oct. 25	Oct. 2, 1819	1240	23	....
Mason's Daughter.	Sl.	William Perkins	Atlantic	Last reported with 60 bbls. sperm.
President.....	Sh.	293	Jona. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Nov. 19	May 7, 1820	1577	374	....
Success.....	Sl.	....	— Crosby	New F'd'land	....	Aug. 28, 1817	170	....	....
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	Ariel Coffin	Brazil	Aug. 4	July 22, 1818	65	1595	No report.
Tarquin.....	Sh.	301	George Barrett	Brazil	Aug. 10	Apr. 5, 1819	....	1930	....
Thomas.....	Sh.	270	John Brown	Pacific O.	Aug. 11	Jan. 12, 1820	1000	500	....
William.....	Sl.	....	....	Atlantic	Sept. 3	....	....	....	....
William.....	Sh.	208	Thomas Paddock	Brazil	July 3	Sept. 14, 1819	21	695	....
William Penn.....	Bg.	....	Benjamin Folger	So. Atlantic	Mar. 6	Mar. 11, 1818	170	324	....

1818

Boston.....	Sh.	187	Frederick Barnard	Brazil	Aug. 12	Nov. 25, 1819	812	No report.
Betsey.....	Bg.	....	William Brown	....	Jan. 18	Sept. 10, 1818	70	12	....
Charles.....	Sh.	274	Abraham Swain	Pacific O.	Jan. 15	Aug. 13, 1820	1782	....	....
Cordelia.....	Sl.	....	— Cook	Atlantic	....	Aug. — 1818	....	....	....
Diana.....	Bg.	....	Calvin Bunker	....	May 2	Oct. 6, 1818	....	40	....
Dispatch.....	Bg.	William Brown	Atlantic	Oct. 31	May 27, 1819	72	198	Boarded twice in Gulf of Mexico and robbed of provisions and boats. Came home leaky.
Dove.....	Sl.	....	....	Gulf Mexico	July 8	Aug. 20, 1819	....	371	....
Eagle.....	Sh.	335	Wm. H. Coffin	Pacific O.	Jan. —	— 1818	....	....	....
					Oct. 17	June 12, 1821	2142	

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1818—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Equator.....	Sh.	262	Elisha Folger	Pacific O.	Oct. 31	Dec. 1, 1820	709	611	....	The Equator and the Balaena of New Bedford were the first whalers to visit the Sandwich Islands, arriving there Sept 17, 1819. Built 1818.
Eagle.....	Bg.	....	Joseph McCleave	Patagonia	June 4	May 18, 1819	....	806	....
Edward.....	Bg.	....	Latham Paddack	Atlantic	Apr. 26	June 3, 1819	....	420	....
Francis.....	Sh.	291	Tim. Fitzgerald	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	Nov. 28, 1821	784	611	....
Fortunate Farmer.	Sh.	....	....	....	July 13	....	....	....	....
Globe.....	Sh.	293	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	Mar. 3	May 29, 1820	2090	....	....
Ganges.....	Sh.	265	Isaiah Ray	Pacific O.	June 22	June 2, 1821	1616	....	....
Golden Farmer....	Sh.	294	Peter Coffin	Brazil	July 19	June 20, 1819	40	1389	....
Gen. Lincoln.....	Sh.	285	Shub. Chase	Brazil	Sept. 21	....	....	....	....	Dismasted in a gale Sept. 27, 1818; abandoned Oct. 20; one man lost.
George.....	Sh.	359	John Fitch	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	May 19, 1821	2135	25	....
Hannah.....	Sl.	....	— Alley	Banks	....	Sept. 12, 1818	170	....	....	Captured by an English cruiser and a prize crew put on board and her own crew taken away. Was recaptured by Capt. Alley and one of his mates two days after.
Hycso.....	Sh.	290	Ammiel Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 13	June 11, 1821	1500	....	....
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Amaziah Gardner	Brazil	Oct. 6	Aug. 21, 1819	66	574	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	290	Peter Paddack	Pacific O.	Jan. 15	Dec. 5, 1820	788	862	....
Juno.....	Sch.	....	Abm. Pollard	Banks	....	Oct 6, 1818	....	100	....	Was taken by an English cruiser and carried into St. John's where she was released. Brought the rest of the Hannah's crew.

1818—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	{ Wm. H. Coffin John Bunker	Pacific O.	Feb. 6	May 6, 1818	369	100	.....	Got ashore at Bonavista and re-turned leaking.
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Albert Clark	Pacific O.	Aug. 29	May 16, 1821	1762	177	.....
Leo.....	Sh.	217	William Joy	Brazil	July 13	Sept. 10, 1820	.....	600	.....
Minerva.....	Sh.	200	Sylv. Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 13	July 15, 1820	.....	704	.....	Broken up at Nantucket 1819.
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Reuben Weeks	Pacific O.	Feb. 6	July 25, 1819	1620	.....	.....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	David Harris	Pacific O.	June 28	July 29, 1821	.....	.....	.....
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	Benj. Whippley	Pacific O.	Aug. 29	Dec. 5, 1820	1146	463	.....	Built at Hanover 1818.
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Chris. Wyer	Pacific O.	Aug. 29	Oct. 8, 1820	1764	543	.....	Built 1818.
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Geo. B. Chase	Pacific O.	Sept. 25	Nov. 3, 1821	1966	60	.....	Built at Scituate 1818.
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	Obed Ray	Brazil	Sept. 25	Sept. 15, 1820	1890	394	.....	Built 1818 at Middletown, Conn.
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Benjamin Worth	Pacific O.	Aug. 22	Feb. 24, 1820	.....	1300	.....
States.....	Sh.	290	David Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Nov. 21	Oct. 31, 1821	2040	.....	.....	Built at Kingston 1818.
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	Hezekiah Pinkham	Brazil	July 8	June 27, 1820	1698	.....	.....	Built 1818.
Success.....	Sh.	.....	.....	shoals	Sept. 16	May 1, 1820	.....	1700	.....
South America.....	Sh.	397	Joseph Earle	Pacific O.	July 25	.....	.....	.....	.....	Last reported Aug. 1 with two whales.
Two Brothers.....	Sh.	217	Geo. B. Worth	Pacific O.	Sept. 25	Oct. 20, 1820	378	1836	.....
Weymouth.....	Sh.	329	Wm. Chadwick	Pacific O.	Nov. 21	Aug. 5, 1821	1231	158	.....
William.....	Sh.	208	Obed Luce	Brazil	July 20	Dec. 27, 1820	1597	433	.....
William and Nancy Bg.	Bg.	.....	Coffin Whippley	.....	Oct. 30	Feb. 28, 1820	113	540	.....
William Penn.....	Sh.	.....	Benjamin Folger	C. of Good H.	May 4	Sept. 25, 1818	.....	clean	.....
					May 29	Feb. 12, 1819	38	639	.....

1819

Aurora.....	Sh.	346	Daniel Russell	Pacific O.	Dec. 26	Dec. — 1822	1630	130	.....	Built at Haddam, Conn., 1819.
Ark.....	Sh.	372	Reuben Clasby	Pacific O.	Feb. 12	Mar. 27, 1822	612	1200	.....	Broken up at Nantucket, 1822
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	Barzillai Coffin	Pacific O.	July 4	Jan. 18, 1822	1530	120	.....	Built at Haddam, 1819.

1819—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Peter Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 15	Nov. 22, 1821	1940	....	....	Built at Rochester, Mass., 1819.
Chili.....	Sh.	291	Absalom Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 12	Nov. 12, 1822	500	370	....	Built 1819.
Diana.....	Bg.	....	Calvin Bunker	Brazil	July 17	....	....	....	....	Condemned at St. Domingo after obtaining some oil.
Eagle, 2nd.....	Sh.	233	Tris. C. Swain	C. of Good H.	July 18	....	....	....	....	Stove by a whale Nov., 1820; cap- tain, mate and three men saved in the boats; three men left on Disco Island.
Essex.....	Sh.	238	Geo. Pollard, Jr.	Pacific O.	Aug. 12	....	....	....	....	The bottom of the Foster was pierced by a horn-fish and the horn left there. On sawing it off in the hold the water rushed through the opening 1000 strokes per hour. Built 1819.
Franklin.....	Sh.	309	Elihu Coffin	Pacific O.	Jan. 25	Nov. 23, 1821	1254	15	....	Took her oil on the afterwards celebrated "Tristan" ground. Taken off St. Mary's by the pirate Beneveder. Carried to Aranco, where Capt. Russell and a boy were shot. The mate, Obed Star- buck, brought the ship home. Last reported with 30 sperm. Altered from a brig 1818. Capt. Barrett died on the voyage.
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Shub. Chase	Pacific O.	July 22	Apr. 12, 1822	1624	....	....
Gideon.....	Bk.	204	John R. Caswell	Brazil	May 21	July 25, 1820	50	920	....
George Porter.....	Sh.	285	David Cottle	Brazil	June 17	Mar. 28, 1821	....	684	....
General Jackson...	Bg.	174	Henry Cottle	So. Atlantic	May 14	May 15, 1820	25	534	....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	James Russell	Pacific O.	July 17	Aug. 5, 1821	1070	63	....
Huntress.....	Sch.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Indus.....	Sh.	262	Obed Joy	Pacific O.	Jan. 25	Oct. 29, 1821	735	565	....
Independence, 2nd.	Sh.	352	George Barrett	N. Zealand	July 23	June 16, 1822	2150	18	....

1819—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Industry.....	Sh.	172	Amaziah Gardner	Brazil	Dec. 20	....	....	....	....	Condemned at St. Domingo, 1820; had 339 bbls. of oil.
John Adams, 2nd..	Sh.	268	David Easton	Brazil	June 23	Feb. 1, 1821	51	1260	....
Juno.....	Sch.	....	....	Gulf Mexico	....	June 15, 1820	90	....	....
Leander.....	Sh.	313	Ariel Coffin	Pacific O.	July 20	Oct. — 1822	1370	200	....	Built 1819.
Maro.....	Sh.	315	Joseph Allen	Pacific O.	Oct. 26	Mar. 10, 1822	2425	....	....	Took his oil off Coast of Japan.
Paragon.....	Sh.	309	William Perkins	Pacific O.	Jan. 7	Dec. 26, 1821	1690	....	....
Prince George.....	Bg.	155	George Luce	....	Jan. 7	May 8, 1822	....	800	....	Filled once and sold her oil at San Salvador 1820. Captured from the English in the War of 1812.
Roxana.....	Sh.	237	Francis Coffin, 2nd	Brazil	June 5	Feb. 10, 1821	19	1195	....
Reaper.....	Sh.	338	Jedediah Fitch	Pacific O.	Nov. 30	....	1250	300	....	Built 1819. Capt. Fitch died on the voyage.
Sally.....	Sh.	195	Thomas Paddock	Brazil	Mar. 22	Aug. 26, 1820	22	487	....
Sea Lion.....	Sh.	307	Benjamin Folger	C. of Good H.	July 8	Mar. 26, 1821	....	1087	....
Thomas, 2nd.....	Sh.	206	Laban Cottle	Pacific O.	May 9	Mar. 2, 1821	....	1005	....
Tarquin.....	Sh.	301	Micajah Gardner	Brazil	July 20	Apr. 4, 1821	....	500	....	Reported at Charleston, S. C., Nov. 21, 1820, with 500 bbls. whale. 40 hogheads sperm, 1000 lbs. bone.
Vulture.....	Sh.	299	Jesse Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 14	Dec. — 1822	1354	122	....
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Reuben Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Dec. 26	Feb. 14, 1822	1920	....	....	Built at Hanover, 1819.

A sloop sailed from Nantucket whaling in Decem-
ber, 1819.

1820

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Atlas.....	Sh.	247	Robert M. Joy	Pacific O.	July 16	Apr. 4, 1823	1604	Sold 1823.
Alert.....	Bg.	....	Peleg Brock	Atlantic	....	Mar. 24, 1822	255	100	....
Boston.....	Sh.	187	Frederick Barnard	Pacific O.	Jan. 20	Mar. 17, 1822	1100	Last reported in Aug. 60 bbls. sperm. Lost at Valparaiso; had 1600 bbls. sperm. Saved 775 sperm and shipped it home. Built 1820; sold 1823.
Brothers.....	Sh.	250	David Brayton	Pacific O.	June 14	June 5, 1823	1407	....	....
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	Seth Coffin, Jr.	Pacific O.	May 14	Apr. 13, 1823	1400	....	....
Crown Prince.....	Sch.	....	....	Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....
Charles.....	Sh.	274	Abm. Swain	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	Last reported with 25 sperm. Skinning voyage.
Columbus.....	Sh.	344	Daniel Folger	Pacific O.	July 23	Apr. 1, 1823	1903	....	....
Dauphin.....	Sh.	273	Zimri Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 4	July — 1823	1272	Built 1820. Capt. Brown accidentally killed on the voyage. Benjamin Swain, mate, died on voyage.
Dispatch.....	Sl.	....	— Bunker	Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....
Diana.....	Bg.	Calvin Bunker	So. Atlantic	Sold 1822.
Factor.....	Sh.	299	John Maxcy	Pacific O.	Aug. 9	Aug. 16, 1823	1707	....	....
Falcon.....	Sh.	297	Shub. Brown	Pacific O.	Oct. 8	Nov. 8, 1822	1600	Altered from a brig 1820. Sold 1823.
Golden Farmer.....	Sh.	294	Alfred Alley	Pacific O.	Feb. 5	Jan. 12, 1822	200	800	....
Gov. Strong.....	Sh.	270	Moses Smith	Pacific O.	Feb. 21	Jan. 12, 1822	917	350	Sealing voyage.
Globe.....	Sh.	293	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 9	May 3, 1822	2025	....	....
Gen. Jackson.....	Sh.	174	John Fisher	Pacific O.	Oct. 8	July 6, 1823	860	Built 1820. Sold 1823.
Galen.....	Sh.	365	Seth Pinkham	Pacific O.	Dec. 31	Sept. 6, 1823	2210	70	....
Hesper.....	Sh.	247	Reuben Joy, Jr.	Pacific O.	June 5	Sept. 12, 1822	900	Sold 1823.
Huntress.....	Sch.	....	Chris. Burdick	So. Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....
Improvement.....	Sh.	256	Obadiah Coffin	Pacific O.	June 20	Apr. 2, 1823	805	467	

1820—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Independence.....	Sh.	311	Jona. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 20	Apr. 8, 1823	2023	....	....	Last reported with 100 bbls. sperm.
Lucy.....	Bg.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	230	Shub. Hussey	Pacific O.	Feb. 28	Oct. 17, 1821	1136	80	....	Last reported with 200 bbls. sperm.
Liberty.....	Sch.	....	— Coffin	Atlantic	....	Nov. 27, 1820	....	....	....	Broken up at Nantucket 1823.
Leo.....	Sh.	217	Henry Cottle	Pacific O.	Oct. 20	June 7, 1823	1108	....	....	....
Lively.....	Sch.	....	— Coffin	Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....	....
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Nathaniel Gorham	Pacific O.	Dec. 6	July 6, 1823	1225	....	....	....
Mason's Daughter.	Sch.	....	— Brown	Atlantic	Dec. —	July 19, 1821	170	....	....	Boarded and plundered by pirates.
North America.....	Sh.	351	Obed Wyer	Pacific O.	May 17	July 8, 1823	660	....	....	Capt. Wyer died on the voyage.
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	Alex. D. Bunker	Pacific O.	Nov. 29	Nov. 14, 1823	1948	....	....	Built at Rochester 1820.
Oliver H. Perry.....	Sch.	....	— Coffin	Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....	....
President.....	Sh.	293	Shub. Cottle	Pacific O.	Aug. 9	Nov. 17, 1822	1383	400	....	....
Phoenix.....	Sch.	....	....	Atlantic	July 1	....	....	....	....	....
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	Franklin Chase	Pacific O.	Dec. 16	Aug. — 1823	1639	....	....	....
Planter.....	Sh.	240	Job Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	Nov. 17, 1823	1465	201	....	....
Ruby.....	Sh.	221	Obed Ray	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	....	....	....	....	Condemned at Oahu 1822; oil shipped home.
Spermo.....	Sh.	296	James Bunker	Pacific O.	Aug. 27	Mar. 24, 1823	1920	....	....	Built 1820; sold 1823.
States.....	Sh.	290	Isaac Chase	Pacific O.	Sept. 4	Apr. 8, 1823	1100	....	....	....
Samuel.....	Sh.	287	Robert Inott	Pacific O.	Oct. 25	....	....	....	....	Condemned at Rio Janeiro 1822; oil (1800 sperm) shipped home; sold 139 sperm.
Sally.....	Sh.	194	Samuel Barrett	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	July 9, 1823	970	....	....	Broken up at Nantucket 1823.
Thomas.....	Sh.	270	John Brown	Pacific O.	Aug. 4	Sept. — 1822	1515	....	....	....
Urchin.....	Bg.	....	....	Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....	....
Vesta.....	Sch.	....	— Holmes	Atlantic	....	Oct. 19, 1821	90	....	....	Returned from a whaling and sealing voyage clean.
William and Nancy	Bg.	....	Tristram Folger	So. Atlantic	....	....	....	....	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1821

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale- Oil	Whale- bone	
Ann.....	Sch.	...	— Perry	Atlantic	Oct. 3	...	...	...	...
Alexander.....	Sh.	421	Geo. B. Chase	Pacific O.	Aug. 18	May 2, 1824	2836	...	...
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	David Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	June 24	July — 1823	2013	...	...	Built at Hanover 1821.
Cyrus.....	Sh.	348	Elisha Folger, Jr.	Pacific O.	Nov. 8	Mar. 10, 1825	2111	...	...
—.....	Sl.	...	.....	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	Last reported with 100 bbls. sperm.
Equator.....	Sh.	262	Joseph Barney	Pacific O.	Feb. 28	July 6, 1823	1443	...	...
Eagle.....	Sh.	335	George Kelley	Pacific O.	Nov. 13	Aug. 4, 1824	1566	...	...
Francis.....	Sch.	...	.....	Atlantic	July 16	.....	...	...	...	Last reported Aug. 26 with 60 sperm.
Ganges.....	Sh.	265	Joshua Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 15	Mar. 31, 1824	1823	...	...
Gideon.....	Sh.	204	Obed Clark	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	.....	...	...	...	Condemned at St. Bartholomew's; had 444 sperm, 214 whale.
George.....	Sh.	359	John Fitch	Pacific O.	Oct. 3	Dec. 10, 1824	1414	287	...	
George Porter.....	Sh.	285	Prince B. Moores	Pacific O.	.....	Dec. 10, 1824	1531	...	...	Sold to New Bedford 1824.
Harmony.....	Sch.	...	— Hodges	N.S. Shetland	.....	June 10, 1822	...	250	...	Brought also 1000 seal skins.
Hycso.....	Sh.	290	Ammiel Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 18	May 6, 1824	1528	...	...
Industry.....	Sch.	...	— Macy	Brazil	.....	Dec. 30, 1821	...	250	...	
Iris.....	Sl.	...	— Luce	South	Apr. 29	.....	...	...	...
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Geo. Bunker, 2nd	Pacific O.	June 23	Aug. 22, 1823	1109	...	...	Capt. Bunker died; mate and boat's crew were lost. Sold to New Bedford 1824.
John Adams.....	Sh.	268	Ammiel Joy	Pacific O.	Dec. 12	Feb. 28, 1825	1176	...	...
Lion.....	Sh.	326	Albert Clark	Pacific O.	June 24	.....	...	...	...	Built 1821; lost on rocks going into Fanning's Island. Had 1400 sperm—saved 250.
Loper.....	Sh.	316	Wm. H. Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 20	May 6, 1824	1071	...	...
Mason's Daughter. Sch.	Sh.	...	— Brown	.....	.....	.....	...	...	...	Condemned at Port Royal, Mar. 1822.

1821—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Martha.....	Sh.	273	John H. Pease	Pacific O.	Dec. 3	Apr. 27, 1825	1583	.....	.....	Reported Aug. 13, 1821; homeward bound with 80 or 180 sperm.
Oeno.....	Sh.	328	Geo. B. Worth	Pacific O.	Dec. 19	July 24, 1824	1883	60	.....
Oliver H. Perry...	Sch.	.....	.....	Gulf Mexico	....	....	....	....	....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Peter Veeder	Pacific O.	Mar. 4	Apr. 24, 1824	1525	238	.....	Built 1821.
Ploughboy.....	Sh.	391	William Chadwick	Pacific O.	July 31	May 11, 1824	2497	.....	.....	Built 1821 at Rochester. Temporarily withdrawn 1824.
Phenix.....	Sh.	323	David Harris	Pacific O.	Sept. 10	Apr. 30, 1824	1935	.....	.....	Sold out 1824; condemned at St. Bartholomew's subsequently.
Roxana.....	Sh.	237	Alexander Ray	Pacific O.	July 25	June 4, 1824	1775	34	.....	Built at Rochester 1821.
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	Geo. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Aug. 18	Nov. 5, 1823	2090	.....	.....	Second mate, Ensign Rogers, drowned by a foul line. Sold out 1825.
Sea Lion.....	Sh.	307	Alexander Russell	Pacific O.	Aug. 29	Apr. 30, 1824	1567	.....	.....	Lost on a coral reef 24° North, 168° West. Crew saved by Martha, Capt. Pease.
Thomas.....	Sh.	209	Laban Cottle	Pacific O.	June 13	Feb. 12, 1824	716	529	.....	Last of 1821, reported on Brazil with 500 bbls. whale.
Two Brothers.....	Sh.	217	Geo. Pollard, Jr.	Pacific O.	Nov. 26	....	....	....	....
Urchin.....	Bg.	....	— Chadwick	Atlantic	Apr. —	....	....	....	....
Weymouth.....	Sh.	329	Moses Harris	Pacific O.	June 23	Mar. 25, 1824	1970	....	....

1822

Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	Syl. Russell	Pacific O.	June 23	Mar. 19, 1825	1990	....	....
Alert.....	Bg.	....	Charles Ray	Pacific O.	June 23	Dec. 23, 1824	444	214	....
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Peter Coffin	Pacific O.	Jan. 16	Dec. — 1823	1810	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1822—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Belvidere.....	Sch.	— Cobb	Gulf Mexico	Aug. 2, 1822	150	The Boston was probably trans- ferred to New York and arrived there May 9, 1825. Returned Sept. 15, 1822 with 290 sperm and sailed again Nov. 12. No report. Sold 650 bbls. at River Francisco; at 75 cents per gallon and refitted. Samuel Merry, second mate, lost overboard, 1824.
Boston.....	Sh.	187	George Joy	Pacific O.	Dec. 18	.....	1144	.....	.....
Dove.....	Bg.	.....	William Collins	Gulf Mexico	Jan. 24	— 1823	190	.....	.....
Diana.....	Bg.	.....	— Bunker	C. de Verdes	Oct. 31	.....	.....	.....	.....
Dolphin.....	Bg.	Charles Macy	Brazil	June 3	Dec. 23, 1824	444	214	Built at Haddam, Conn., 1822. Sold out 1825.
Dispatch.....	Sl.	.....	— Bunker	C. de Verdes	May 28	July 1, 1823	.....	.....	.....
Enterprise.....	Sh.	413	Reuben Weeks	Pacific O.	Sept. 3	Jan. 27, 1826	2425	95	.....
Franklin.....	Sh.	309	Elihu Coffin	Pacific O.	June 11	— 1824	1969	.....	.....
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Shub. Chase	Pacific O.	June 24	Dec. 27, 1824	2167	On this voyage and on this ship occurred the most horrible mu- tiny recounted in the annals of the whale fishery from any nation or port.
Francis.....	Sh.	291	Josiah B. Whippey	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	Aug. 9, 1825	1134	.....	.....
Franklin.....	Sch.	.....	— Coffin	Gulf Mexico	.....	Nov. 15, 1822	.....	clean	.....
Friendship.....	Sch.	.....	.....	.....	May 7	.....	.....	.....	.....
Golden Farmer....	Sh.	294	Alfred Alley	Pacific O.	June 3	— 1824	1563	Barzillai Luce, first mate, drowned 1822.
Globe.....	Sh.	293	Thomas Worth	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	Nov. 14, 1824	372	.....	.....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Obed Starbuck	Pacific O.	Jan. 4	Feb. 9, 1824	2173	.....	.....
Indus.....	Sh.	262	Obed Fitch	Brazil	June 23	May 4, 1823	.....	1050	.....

1822—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Industry.....	Sh.	.....	— Boston	C. de Verdes	.....	Nov. — 1822	70	.....	.....	Manned wholly by blacks.
Independence.....	Sh.	352	William Plaskett	Pacific O.	Sept. 3	July 24, 1825	1954	.....	.....
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	Alexander Drew	Pacific O.	Jan. 4	— 1824	1250	.....	.....
Japan.....	Sh.	332	Shub. Hussey	Pacific O.	July 18	Oct. 20, 1825	1915	127	.....	Built at Scituate 1822
Kingston.....	Sh.	312	Alexander Perry	Pacific O.	July 14	Dec. 8, 1824	1807	.....	.....	Built 1822.
Lady Adams.....	Sh.	230	Charles Tobey	Pacific O.	Mar. 11	.....	.....	.....	.....	A missing ship; supposed to have been burned at sea off Japan; all on board lost.
Lydia.....	Sh.	325	Joseph Allen	Pacific O.	Aug. 22	July 3, 1825	2318	.....	.....	Built 1822. Sent home 70 sperm.
Maro.....	Sh.	315	Richard Macy	Pacific O.	Aug. 2	Apr. 17, 1825	2350	.....	.....
Maria.....	Sh.	365	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	Nov. 17	Apr. 27, 1825	2345	.....	.....	Built at Haddam, Conn., 1822.
Nancy.....	Sl.	.....	— Luce	Atlantic	Aug. 9	Oct. 16, 1822	.....	8	.....
Ocean.....	Sh.	349	Tim. Fitzgerald	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	Apr. 16, 1825	1990	.....	.....
O. H. Perry.....	Sch.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Edward Clark	Pacific O.	Jan. 9	Apr. 2, 1824	2161	.....	.....
Paragon.....	Sh.	309	Henry Bunker	Pacific O.	June 11	Jan. 18, 1825	1850	.....	.....
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Wm. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	Jan. 9	Mar. 22, 1824	1880	.....	.....
South America.....	Sh.	397	Stephen West	Brazil	May 13	July 5, 1823	120	1734	.....
Syren.....	Sl.	.....	— Gardner	Atlantic	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Returned, leaking 300 strokes an hour.
Thetis.....	Sch.	.....	— Brown	Atlantic	.....	Sept. 13, 1822	10	.....	.....	Abandoned at sea, off Barbadoes.
Marquim.....	Sh.	301	Daniel Bunker	Pacific O.	Jan. 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	Condemned at Oahu, 1825.
Thomas.....	Sh.	270	Benj. F. Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 18	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Reub. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	June 23	Feb. 26, 1825	2054	.....	.....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1823

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Aurora.....	Sh.	346	Seth Coffin, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 2	Dec. 22, 1826	1556	.....	.....	Condemned at Rio Janeiro 1823 or 1824.
Brothers.....	Sh.	256	James Britton	Brazil	Aug. 24	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chili.....	Sh.	291	Frederick Barnard	Pacific O.	Apr. 15	May 17, 1826	1720	.....	.....	Sold to New Bedford, 1826.
Dove.....	Sl.	.....	— Collins	Gulf Mexico	.....	Sept. 9, 1823	200	.....	.....	The Dove sailed again in 1823; arrived at Philadelphia Aug. 27, 1824, with 130 bbls. sperm and two live sea elephants.
Dauphin.....	Sh.	273	Obed Swain	Pacific O.	Dec. 6	Jan. 28, 1826	1560	.....	.....	Thomas Clark, second mate, killed by a whale in May, 1824.
Diana.....	Bg.	.....	— Bunker	Atlantic	.....	Oct. 7, 1824	.....	clean	.....	Sold to New Bedford, 1826.
Equator.....	Sh.	262	Joseph Barney	Pacific O.	Oct. 2	Feb. 5, 1826	1424	.....	.....
Falcon.....	Sh.	297	Benj. C. Chase	Pacific O.	Feb. 21	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lost on the Island of Ohiteroa.
Factor.....	Sh.	299	John Maxcy	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	.....	.....	.....	.....	Took a full cargo (1816 sperm); sprung a leak off Cape Horn and threw overboard 800 bbls. Put into Rio Janeiro and was condemned; balance of oil shipped home.
Hesper.....	Sh.	247	William Chase	Pacific O.	Feb. 21	Apr. 11, 1825	1087	.....	.....	Sold to New Bedford, 1825.
Indus.....	Sh.	262	Samuel Joy	Brazil	June 23	May 21, 1824	.....	1500	.....
Independence.....	Sh.	311	William Whippley	Pacific O.	Aug. 5	Aug. 7, 1826	1875	.....	.....	Broken up 1824.
Improvement.....	Sh.	256	Reuben Kelley	Brazil	Aug. 8	Mar. 17, 1825	.....	1100	.....	Lost on Eel Pt., Nantucket, 1825.
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	Albert Clark	Pacific O.	Nov. 25	July 23, 1826	1766	456	.....
Rose.....	Sh.	350	Shub. Cottle	Pacific O.	Aug. 12	Nov. 9, 1825	2160	116	.....	Built at Rochester, 1823.
Reaper.....	Sh.	338	Alex Ramsdell	Pacific O.	Oct. 2	Mar. 10, 1826	1854	.....	.....
Swift.....	Sh.	456	Fred'k Arthur	Pacific O.	June 5	Oct. 28, 1825	3126	.....	.....	Built 1823.
South America.....	Sh.	397	Edm. Gardner	Brazil	Aug. 21	May 14, 1824	54	1427	.....
Urchin.....	Bg.	.....	— Chadwick	Brazil	June 2	.....	.....	.....	.....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Alexander.....	Sh.	421	Samuel Bunker	Pacific O.	July 24	June 17, 1827	2844	Capt. Ewer was killed while cutting in the last whale.
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Peter Coffin	Brazil	June 14	Apr. 29, 1825	160	1600	....
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	Alvan Ewer	Pacific O.	July 4	Aug. 8, 1826	1420	....	....
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Isaac Chase	Pacific O.	July 24	May 15, 1826	2015	Lost on Huakeine Island, 1825 or 1826.
Hycso.....	Sh.	290	Reuben Coffin	Pacific O.	Nov. 15	....	....	....	....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Nat. Fitzgerald	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	Apr. 16, 1827	2222	....	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Daniel Folger	Pacific O.	June 30	May 25, 1827	1617	Capt. Chase died outward bound. Sold 1828.
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Abrn. Swain	Pacific O.	July 11	Apr. 26, 1827	1477	....	....
Loper.....	Sh.	316	Obed Starbuck	Pacific O.	Dec. 7	Oct. 19, 1826	2000	....	....
North America....	Sh.	351	Franklin Chase	Pacific O.	Sept. 3	Nov. — 1827	2080	230	....
Oeno.....	Sh.	328	Samuel Riddell	Pacific O.	Nov. 4	....	....	....	....
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	Alex D. Bunker	Pacific O.	Sept. 1	Mar. 12, 1827	2250	Lost on the Fiji Islands, 182—; crew all murdered by natives, except William S. Cary, who escaped after several years imprisonment among them.
Ploughboy.....	Sh.	391	William Chadwick	Pacific O.	Sept. 17	Mar. 3, 1827	2615	....	....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Samuel Joy	Pacific O.	Sept. 17	Dec. 11, 1827	1332	84	....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Clement Norton	Brazil	Nov. 22	— 1825	....	1400	....
Sea Lion.....	Sh.	307	Alex Russell	Brazil	Aug. 8	Aug. 12, 1825	....	1084	....
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	Prince B. Mooers	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	Jan. 14, 1827	2116	Sold her oil at Pernambuco; took freight to New York. Lost in Long Island Sound on way to Nantucket.
South America....	Sh.	397	Job Coffin	Brazil	Nov. 22	....	....	....	....
Thomas, 2nd.....	Sh.	205	Frederick Swain	Brazil	June 25	Aug. 8, 1825	....	1000	....

1825

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	John J. Gardner	Pacific O.	June 27	Mar. 21, 1828	2165	.....	.....
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Peter Coffin	Brazil	July 2	June 17, 1826	.....	1946	.....
Cyrus.....	Sh.	328	David Harris	Pacific O.	July 9	June 2, 1828	2037	.....	.....
Eagle.....	Sh.	335	Benj. A. Coleman	Pacific O.	Dec. 5	May 14, 1828	2269	.....	.....
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Edy Coffin	Pacific O.	June 7	Oct. 16, 1827	2291	39	.....	Partly sheathed with leather. Built 1825 at Duxbury.
Franklin.....	Sh.	309	Thaddeus Coffin	Pacific O.	July 17	Nov. 17, 1827	2037	12	.....
George.....	Sh.	359	Charles Lawrence	Pacific O.	June 10	Dec. 13, 1827	1562	69	.....	Partly sheathed with leather.
Ganges.....	Sh.	265	Josh. Coffin	Pacific O.	June 16	Nov. 20, 1827	1665	.....	.....	Sold out 1828 and went to Buenos Ayres; broken up there.
Globe.....	Sh.	293	Reub. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	June 13	May — 1828	2105	.....	.....
Golden Farmer....	Sh.	294	George Joy	Pacific O.	Aug. 14	Apr. 4, 1828	1685	.....	.....
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	Richard Macy	Pacific O.	Oct. 7	May 8, 1828	2158	.....	.....	Built at Middletown, Conn., 1825.
Independence.....	Sh.	352	William Plasket	Pacific O.	Oct. 30	Aug. 8, 1828	1850	.....	.....
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	Alex Drew	Pacific O.	Dec. 3	Mar. 21, 1828	910	.....	.....	Lost mate; second mate died of injuries received from captain.
Japan.....	Sh.	332	Shub. Chase	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	Mar. 18, 1829	2134	.....	.....
Kingston.....	Sh.	312	Alexander Perry	Pacific O.	June 7	Mar. 11, 1828	2117	.....	.....	Partly sheathed with leather.
Lydia.....	Sh.	325	David Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 28	Aug. 13, 1828	2281	88	.....
Maria.....	Sh.	365	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	July 17	June 2, 1828	2269	.....	.....
Maro.....	Sh.	315	Barzillai Swain	Pacific O.	Aug. 4	Feb. 22, 1828	2437	.....	.....	John Hackleton, second mate, killed by a whale, 1826.
Ocean.....	Sh.	349	Tim. Fitzgerald	Pacific O.	Aug. 2	May 18, 1828	1807	.....	.....
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Alexander Macy	Pacific O.	June 8	Dec. 14, 1827	2285	.....	.....	Lost Paul Bunker, first mate.
President.....	Sh.	293	Henry Winslow	Pacific O.	June 27	Apr. 22, 1828	1597	.....	.....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Henry Bunker	Pacific O.	Sept. 30	Mar. 21, 1828	2322	.....	.....
Paragon.....	Sh.	309	Dav. N. Edwards	Pacific O.	Nov. 16	.....	.....	.....	.....	Sunk at sea a few days after leaving Oahu, 1828; crew taken off by the Rosalie of Newport; had 2100 sperm.

1825—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Wm. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 18	Nov. 20, 1828	1875	Lost David Starbuck, first mate.
Sarah Porter.....	Sl.	.....	{ — Cathcart	Shoals	.....	Aug. 19, 1825	25	.....	.....
Weymouth.....	Sh.	329	{ — McCleave	Pacific O.	Sept. 6	Sept. 10, 1825	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Moses Harris	Pacific O.	July 10	July 6, 1828	2048	.....	.....
			George Kelley	Pacific O.	July 17	Apr. 5, 1828	2027	

1826

Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Joseph Barney	Pacific O.	Sept. 29	Nov. 19, 1829	1680	115	Capt. Chase would not go around Cape Horn. Went to the Brazil Banks and returned, accusing his crew of mutiny. Built 1826. Built 1823 at Mattapoisett
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Isaac Chase	Pacific O.	Aug. 1	Apr. 13, 1827	.....	601	.....
Clarkson.....	Sh.	380	Joseph Allen	Pacific O.	Sept. 29	June 14, 1830	2800	.....	.....
Congress.....	Sh.	339	Benj. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 29	May 2, 1829	2507	.....	.....
Dauphin.....	Sh.	273	Benj. F. Hussey	Pacific O.	July 10	Mar. 14, 1829	1517	Built 1826. Built 1823 at Mattapoisett
Enterprise.....	Sh.	413	Obed Swain	Pacific O.	Aug. 1	Mar. 7, 1829	2904	.....	.....
Independence.....	Sh.	311	William Whipple	Pacific O.	Nov. 8	May 19, 1829	2044	.....	.....
John Adams.....	Sh.	268	Seth Cathcart	Pacific O.	Sept. 30	Oct. 15, 1828	1356	.....	.....
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Benjamin Gardner	Pacific O.	Jan. 13	Apr. 22, 1828	1843	Built 1826. Built at Rochester, 1826. Built 1826.
Otter.....	Bg.	165	Robt. S. Cathcart	Africa	June 27	Aug. 20, 1827	400	.....	.....
Orion.....	Sh.	354	Alfred Atley	Pacific O.	Aug. 24	June 16, 1829	2627	.....	.....
Omega.....	Sh.	363	Allen Tilton	Pacific O.	Aug. 28	Dec. 26, 1829	2189	40	.....
Phebe.....	Sh.	379	Micajah Swain	Pacific O.	Sept. 6	Feb. 4, 1830	2597	Built 1826. Built at Rochester, 1826. Built 1826.
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	David Baker	Pacific O.	Nov. 4	Mar. 8, 1829	2182	.....	.....
Phenix.....	Sh.	323	Wm. Fitzgerald	Pacific O.	Dec. 27	June 22, 1829	2234	

1826—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Rose.....	Sh.	350	Shub. Cottle	Pacific O.	June 4	Mar. 30, 1828	2261	An excellent voyage. Built at Rochester 1826. Built 1826. Third mate died 1827.
Reaper.....	Sh.	338	Benj. F. Coffin	Pacific O.	Nov. 8	June 23, 1829	1985	....	....
Swift.....	Sh.	456	Jona. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Jan. 6	Apr. 21, 1828	3245	....	....
Susan.....	Sh.	349	Frederick Swain	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	Oct. 27, 1829	2582	121	....
Statira.....	Sh.	346	Peter Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 6	June 9, 1829	2526	....	....

1827

Alexander.....	Sh.	421	Samuel Bunker	Pacific O.	Sept. 13	Mar. 12, 1831	2225	Built at Mattapoisett 1827.
Aurora.....	Sh.	346	Fred. B. Chase	Pacific O.	Dec. 6	Dec. 22, 1829	2023	....	....
Ann.....	Sh.	361	Prince B. Mooers	Pacific O.	Dec. 13	Mar. 28, 1830	2663	....	....
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Alexander Coffin	Pacific O.	June 19	Oct. 13, 1830	1915	....	....
Diana.....	Bg.	....	.....	....	....	May 27, 1828	300	....	....
Edward.....	Bg.	— Coleman	June 3, 1828	500	Built 1827. Took some oil. Went into St. Catharines and was sold.
Hero.....	Sh.	313	George Alley	Pacific O.	Sept. 18	May 1, 1830	2353	....	....
Iris.....	Sl.	....	— Luce	Atlantic	....	Sept. 1, 1827	40	....	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	George Clark	Brazil	Sept. 18	Mar. 13, 1829	....	1517	....
Loper.....	Sh.	316	Obed Starbuck	Pacific O.	June 22	Jan. 10, 1829	2131	....	....
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Chas. G. Andrews	Pacific O.	Aug. 8	Nov. 3, 1830	1420	....	....
Lydia.....	Sh.	325	Peter F. Chase	Pacific O.	Oct. 13	Sept. 3, 1830	2367	....	....
Mary Mitchell.....	Sh.	354	Timothy Upham	Pacific O.	Dec. 13	May 1, 1831	2432	....	....
Otter.....	Bg.	165	Robt. S. Cathcart	Africa	Sept. —	....	....	....	....
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	John G. Coffin	Brazil	July 23	June 19, 1828	....	1100	....
Ploughboy.....	Sh.	391	Nathan Chase	Pacific O.	June 23	July 15, 1830	2522	

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

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NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Tonnage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Rapid.....	Sl.	....	— Myrick	Atlantic	June 30	Oct. 21, 1827	....	....	....	Between the two dates the Rapid made seven trips on Nantucket Shoals, taking in all 40 to 50 bbls. whale oil.
Sarah.....	Sh.	495	Fred. Arthur	Pacific O.	May 26	Apr. 19, 1827	3497	....	....	Built 1827. The largest quantity of sperm oil ever brought into Nantucket on one voyage.
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	William Pitman	Pacific O.	May 30	July 1, 1829	2324	....	....	Run into by another vessel and lost her boats.
William.....	Sch.	....	— Whitteus	Atlantic	June 3	Sept. 14, 1827	.... clean	....	....	Built at Rochester 1827; lost first mate, Nicholas Easton.
Zone.....	Sh.	365	Alex D. Bunker	Pacific O.	Dec. 13	Feb. 12, 1830	2614	....	....
1828										
American.....	Sh.	340	David Paddack	Pacific O.	Apr. 19	July 18, 1830	2189	88	....	Formerly a merchantman built at New York 1822. Added from New York 1828.
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	John J. Gardner	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Formerly a merchantman; added 1828.
Baltic.....	Sh.	410	William Chadwick	Pacific O.	Jan. 14	May 12, 1831	3173	.....	.....	Out 10 days, returned leaking 1200 strokes an hour.
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	Ambrose Whitteus	Brazil	Apr. 19	Apr. 29, 1828	.....	491	.....	Capt. Hussey came home sick but rejoined the ship again; Mr. Clasby, first mate, drowned.
Cyrus.....	Sh.	328	Benj. R. Hussey	Pacific O.	June 22 Sept. 6	July 4, 1829 May 12, 1832	2055	.....	.....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1828—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Eagle.....	Sh.	335	Benj. A. Coleman	Pacific O.	Oct. 5	May 10, 1831	1904	Formerly a merchantman; added 1828.
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Job C. Clark	Brazil	Apr. 19	June 30, 1829	.....	935	.....
Fame.....	Sh.	374	John Ramsdell	Pacific O.	June 13	May 9, 1831	1995	.....	.....
Franklin.....	Sh.	309	Joseph M. Chase	Pacific O.	June 20	June 28, 1830	2058	.....	.....
George.....	Sh.	359	Edwin Barnard	Brazil	July 10	June 17, 1829	.....	1337	.....
Ganges.....	Sh.	265	Joshua Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 8	May 8, 1832	1660	Built 1828.
Howard.....	Sh.	354	Peleg Brock	Pacific O.	Oct. 5	May 8, 1832	1860	.....	.....
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	Dav. N. Edwards	Pacific O.	Nov. 17	Nov. 13, 1831	2685	Broken up at Nantuket 1830.
John Jay.....	Sh.	217	Abrm. Swain	Brazil	July 20	July 5, 1829	329	472	.....
Kingston.....	Sh.	312	Wm. E. Sherman	Pacific O.	July 31	May 24, 1832	1515	First mate died. Run into by French ship Archimedes; put into Rio Janeiro Dec. 20, and was condemned.
Maro.....	Sh.	315	Elihu Fisher	Brazil	June 10	.....	.....	.....	.....
McDonough.....	Sl.	— Imbert	Atlantic	Sept. 16, 1828	Damaged by collision with a Salem brig.
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Sylv. Swain	Brazil	July 13	Dec. 28, 1830	.....	324	.....
Maria.....	Sh.	365	Benjamin Ray	Pacific O.	Sept. 6	June 10, 1832	1980	21	Capt. Coffin died June 15, 1831.
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	John G. Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 5	Apr. 24, 1832	2106	.....	.....
Ocean.....	Sh.	349	Edwin Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 15	Nov. 14, 1831	2270	.....	.....
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Alexander Macy	Pacific O.	June 8	Oct. 21, 1831	1960	79	.....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Joseph Pease	Brazil	June 18	June 14, 1829	.....	718	.....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Isaac Brayton	Brazil	June 22	Oct. 21, 1830	99	1769	Built at Mattapoissett 1828; lost at Fayal Sept. 3, 1828.
President.....	Sh.	293	Charles Robbins	Pacific O.	Oct. 5	July 16, 1831	1766	.....	.....
Rose.....	Sh.	350	George Russell	Pacific O.	June 22	June 17, 1829	2079	.....	.....
Richard Mitchell..	Sh.	380	Edy Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 16	.....	.....	.....	.....
Swift.....	Sh.	456	Barzillai Coffin	Pacific O.	July 13	June 17, 1831	2828	.....	.....
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Barzillai Swain	Pacific O.	July 24	May 24, 1832	1774	Built at Hanover 1828.
Weymouth.....	Sh.	329	Moses Harris	Pacific O.	Dec. 23	June 12, 1831	2288	.....	.....
Zenas Coffin.....	Sh.	338	George Joy	Pacific O.	Sept. 1	Nov. 15, 1831	2732	.....	.....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	Elihu Fisher	Pacific O.	Dec. 26	Jan. 26, 1832	2153	Formerly a merchantman; added 1829.
Congress.....	Sh.	339	Thomas Brock	Pacific O.	June 26	June 1, 1830	7	1299	.....
Criterion.....	Sh.	229	Barzillai Folger	Brazil	July 26	Condemned at Halifax, 1829.
Dauphin.....	Sh.	273	Benj. F. Hussey	Brazil	Aug. 14	Lost in Saldanha Bay, Cape of Good Hope, 1830.
Enterprise.....	Sh.	413	John Stetson	Pacific O.	June 30	Aug. 4, 1832	2955	Sent home 79 bbls. sperm.
Fabius.....	Sh.	432	Thaddeus Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 14	Mar. 23, 1833	2162	Formerly a merchantman; added 1829. First mate, Samuel Robins, died Nov., 1830.
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Job C. Clark	Pacific O.	Nov. 15	Jan. 27, 1833	2260	An excellent voyage—gone 14 months, 14 days. Formerly a merchantman; added 1829; built 1822 at New York.
George.....	Sh.	359	Edwin Barnard	Brazil	July 22	June 9, 1830	155	1217	.....
Independence.....	Sh.	311	William Whippey	Pacific O.	Oct. 29	June 6, 1833	1500	21	.....
John Adams, 2nd..	Sh.	268	Seth Cathcart	Pacific O.	June 26	Feb. 28, 1831	626	.....	.....
Japan.....	Sh.	332	John Lincoln	Brazil	June 21	Mar. 29, 1832	7	1299	.....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	George Clark	Brazil	Aug. 1	June 7, 1830	.....	198	.....
Loper.....	Sh.	316	Obed Starbuck	Pacific O.	June 21	Sept. 7, 1830	2280	.....	.....
Montano.....	Sh.	380	Benjamin Worth	Pacific O.	July 24	Dec. 18, 1832	2816	.....	.....
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Alex Whippey	Pacific O.	Nov. 27	July 15, 1833	1680	Built 1829, at Mattapoisett.
Orion.....	Sh.	354	Shadrack Freeman	Pacific O.	Sept. 30	Oct. 10, 1832	2620	.....	.....
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	William Plaskett	Brazil	June 12	June 8, 1830	80	1607	.....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Joseph Pease	Brazil	July 13	June 2, 1830	64	1152	.....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Charles Fisher	Brazil	Aug. 1	June 9, 1830	159	1469	.....
Phoenix.....	Sh.	323	John J. Gardner	Pacific O.	Oct. 7	Aug. 10, 1831	2340	.....	.....
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Wm. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	June 26	Feb. 28, 1832	2240	.....	.....
Richard Mitchell..	Sh.	386	David Baker	Pacific O.	July 21	Sept. 3, 1831	3012	.....	.....

1829—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Tonnage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Reaper.....	Sh.	338	Benj. F. Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 23	Apr. 21, 1832	1808	Capt. Coffin died on the voyage.
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	William Pitman	Pacific O.	Aug. 31	Sept. 2, 1831	2361	.....	.....
Susan.....	Sh.	349	Frederick Swain	Pacific O.	Dec. 10	Aug. 9, 1833	2180	.....	.....

1830

Aurora.....	Sh.	340	John Hussey	Pacific O.	May 7	Apr. 25, 1833	2135	Built at New York.
Ann.....	Sh.	361	Isaac Brayton	Pacific O.	June 13	Apr. 28, 1833	2824	.....	.....
American.....	Sh.	340	William Wyer	Pacific O.	Sept. 15	Oct. 29, 1833	1474	220	.....
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Wm. Barney, Jr.	Brazil	May 27	May 9, 1831	40	1190	Capt. Briggs died on the voyage.
Columbus.....	Sh.	344	Peter Coffin	Brazil	Apr. 19	Apr. 18, 1831	220	1550	.....
Congress.....	Sh.	339	Thomas Brock	Brazil	June 22	Oct. 5, 1831	546	1363	.....
Clarkson.....	Sh.	380	Alex D. Bunker	Pacific O.	Aug. 23	Apr. 13, 1834	2962	.....	.....
George.....	Sh.	359	Edwin Barnard	Brazil	July 29	Mar. 1, 1832	.....	2140	.....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	George Alley	Pacific O.	Oct. 27	Apr. 26, 1833	2240	.....	.....
John Adams.....	Sh.	290	Shubael Clark	Brazil	July 18	Mar. — 1831	87	1185	.....
Loper.....	Sh.	310	John Cotton	Pacific O.	Dec. 30	Aug. 19, 1832	2170	.....	.....
Lydia.....	Sh.	325	David Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Dec. 5	Jan. 20, 1833	2120	106	.....
Omega.....	Sh.	363	Fred. B. Chase	Pacific O.	June 27	Jan. 6, 1833	2575	27	.....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Charles Fisher	Brazil	Nov. 1	Feb. 8, 1832	.....	2600	24,000
Phebe.....	Sh.	379	Wm. C. Briggs	Pacific O.	May 28	Nov. 5, 1833	2131	.....	.....
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	William Plaskett	Brazil	July 11	May 27, 1831	23	1780	.....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Joseph Pease	Brazil	July 18	Apr. 2, 1831	134	1423	.....
Ploughboy.....	Sh.	391	Nathan Chase	Pacific O.	Oct. 16	Mar. 5, 1834	1741	.....	.....
Statira.....	Sh.	340	Prince Coffin, 2nd	Pacific O.	May 7	Oct. 27, 1833	1104	.....	.....
Sarah.....	Sh.	495	Benjamin Barney	Pacific O.	Aug. 11	Jan. 14, 1834	2093	.....	.....
Zone.....	Sh.	365	John M. Russell	Pacific O.	June 27	Sept. 29, 1833	2430	.....	.....

1831

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Alexander	Sh.	421	Jona. Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Oct. 20	Sept. — 1834	1416	Sold to New Bedford.
Barclay	Sh.	301	Wm. Barney, Jr.	So. Atlantic	July 1	May 8, 1832	....	1390	....
Baltic	Sh.	410	William Chadwick	Pacific O.	Sept. 20	Apr. 29, 1835	2322	....	....
Columbus	Sh.	344	Peter Coffin	Atlantic	May 26	Mar. 26, 1832	15	1896	Built 1831 at Mattapoisett.
Constitution	Sh.	318	Frederick Arthur	Atlantic	June 9	Apr. 11, 1832	131	1492	....
Catharine	Sh.	384	Joseph M. Chase	Pacific O.	July 21	Jan. 17, 1835	2690	....	....
Eagle	Sh.	335	Joseph Pease	Atlantic	July 20	Mar. 30, 1832	90	1510	Capt. Prince, the mate and five men died of scurvy; Matthew Clark, a boatsteerer, took command. Lost on the coast of Brazil. Saved 400 bbls. sperm.
Franklin	Sh.	309	George Prince	Pacific O.	June 27	....	....	....	....
Fame	Sh.	374	Seth Worth	Atlantic	July 24	Apr. 22, 1832	74	1731	Third mate, F. W. Ramsdell, drowned by a foul line 1831.
John Adams	Sh.	296	Shubael Clark	Pacific O.	June 9	Apr. 22, 1832	105	1148	Built at Rochester, 1831. Third mate died of scurvy, 1834.
Lima	Sh.	286	Oliver P. Winslow	Pacific O.	May 21	May 11, 1834	1637	....	....
Mary	Sh.	369	David Paddock	Pacific O.	July 20	Mar. 21, 1835	2612	19	....
Mary Mitchell	Sh.	354	Elihu Coffin	Pacific O.	July 25	Jan. 22, 1835	1897	Stranded on the bar going out; got off and taken into the harbor July 31, 1832. Refitted and sailed again in 1833.
Peru	Sh.	257	Wm. Brooks, Jr.	Atlantic	May 26	Mar. 27, 1832	109	1405	....
Pacific	Sh.	314	William Plaskett	Atlantic	Aug. 17	May 8, 1832	107	1588	....
Phenix	Sh.	323	Sanford Wilber	Pacific O.	Oct. 10	Jan. — 1834	2205	Broken up at Nantucket, 1835.
President	Sh.	293	Seth Cathcart	Pacific O.	Nov. 20	Apr. 14, 1834	1630	....	....
Rose	Sh.	350	Obed Starbuck	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....
Richard Mitchell	Sh.	386	James Gwinn	Pacific O.	Nov. 12	Nov. 16, 1834	1950	
Spartan	Sh.	333	David W. Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 4	Dec. 31, 1834	2140	....	....
Swift	Sh.	456	Barzillai Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 3	Oct. 28, 1834	1868	....	....
Weymouth	Sh.	329	Moses Harris	Pacific O.	Sept. 30	Feb. 15, 1835	1552	

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1832

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Alexander Coffin	Sh.	381	David Baker	Pacific O.	Dec. 25	May 19, 1836	1946	...	...	Built 1832.
Atlantic	Sh.	321	Elihu Fisher	Pacific O.	Oct. 9	Sept. 14, 1835	1845	...	...
Barclay	Sh.	301	Wm. Barney, Jr.	Pacific O.	Sept. 3	July 21, 1835	1006	4	...	
Congress	Sh.	339	Charles Abrahams	Pacific O.	Jan. 13	Apr. 29, 1835	988	...	...
Constitution	Sh.	318	James G. Coffin	Indian O.	June 29	Apr. 21, 1833	...	1230	...	
Columbus	Sh.	344	Reub. Russell, 2nd	Atlantic	July 7	May 21, 1834	...	900	...	
Charles Carroll	Sh.	376	Owen Chase	Pacific O.	Oct. 10	Mar. 3, 1836	2610	...	...	Built at Nantucket, 1832.
Charles and Henry	Sh.	336	George Joy	Pacific O.	Nov. 25	July 7, 1836	2546	...	...	Built 1832.
Cyrus	Sh.	328	Benj. R. Hussey	Pacific O.	Oct. 3	Apr. 21, 1836	1810	...	...
Eagle	Sh.	335	Charles Smith	Atlantic	July 8	May 7, 1833	203	723	...	
Enterprise	Sh.	413	John Stetson	Pacific O.	Dec. 30	June 12, 1836	1896	...	...	Capt. Stetson left the ship and came home sick.
Franklin	Sh.	246	Joshua Coffin, 2nd	Atlantic	May 8	Apr. 12, 1834	921	...	...
Factor	Sch.	...	— Macy	Nant. Shoals	....	Sept. 29, 1832	...	...	...	Schooner Factor made two voy- ages; returned Sept. 12 with nine black-fish and again Sept. 29 with a large whale.
Fame	Sh.	374	Seth Worth	Atlantic	June 10	Mar. 30, 1833	...	910	...	
Ganges	Sh.	265	Russell S. Bodfish	Pacific O.	June 5	Aug. 24, 1835	1467	...	...
George	Sh.	359	John C. Congdon	Atlantic	July 31	May 7, 1834	...	2100	...	
Hazard	Sl.	...	— Swain	Gulf Mexico	Nov. 22	July 17, 1833	90	...	...
Harvest	Sh.	360	Alex Pollard	Pacific O.	June 11	Dec. 21, 1835	2280	...	...
Howard	Sh.	364	Wm. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 22	May 11, 1835	2070	...	...	First mate, Ammiel Joy, died on voyage.
John Adams	Sh.	296	Shubael Clark	Atlantic	July 6	Mar. 14, 1833	224	1456	...	
Japan	Sh.	332	William Plaskett	Indian O.	June 17	May 6, 1834	632	678	...	
Kingston	Sh.	312	Wm. E. Sherman	Pacific O.	Oct. 19	Oct. 3, 1835	484	...	...
Lexington	Sch.	...	— Cash	So. Atlantic	....	Sept. 6, 1833	130	...	...

1832—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Loper.....	Sh.	316	John Cotton	Pacific O.	Nov. 25	....	....	....	....	Sunk at sea, homeward bound with 1800 sperm.
Mariner.....	Sh.	349	Eben Coleman	Pacific O.	Aug. 12	— 1836	2429	....	....	Built at Rochester, 1832.
Mount Vernon....	Sh.	384	Edwin Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 15	July 25, 1835	3071	....	....	Built at Mattapoisett, 1832.
Maria.....	Sh.	365	Alexander Macy	Pacific O.	Oct. 10	Mar. 11, 1836	1665	....	....
Ocean.....	Sh.	349	Elijah Parker	Pacific O.	June 16	Nov. 13, 1835	1490	....	....
Orbit.....	Sh.	351	John J. Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 3	Feb. 9, 1836	2011	783	....	Built 1832.
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	Edwin Barnard	Pacific O.	Dec. 1	Aug. 4, 1836	1345	....	....
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Benj. Coggeshall	Pacific O.	June 10	Sept. 28, 1835	1854	....	....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Reuben Manter	Pacific O.	June 11	July — 1834	909	996	....
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	Joseph Congdon	Indian O.	June 28	Apr. 1, 1834	....	1450	....
Peru.....	Bk.	257	Wm. Brooks, Jr.	Atlantic	July 28	May 22, 1833	126	722	....
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Thomas Derrick	Pacific O.	June 17	Apr. 3, 1835	1697	....	....
Reaper.....	Sh.	338	Tris. P. Swain	Pacific O.	Sept. 5	Mar. 18, 1835	1950	48	....	Added 1832; formerly a merchant-man. Capt. Smith left at Talcahuano.
Thule.....	Sh.	285	Josiah Smith	Pacific O.	Dec. 21	May 30, 1835	270	....	....
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Thos. W. Hussey	Pacific O.	Nov. 5	Dec. 30, 1835	1538	....	....
Young Eagle.....	Sh.	377	Benj. A. Coleman	Pacific O.	July 11	Oct. 18, 1835	2625	....	....	Built at Rochester, 1832.
Zenas Coffin.....	Sh.	338	John B. Coleman	Pacific O.	June 24	Oct. 21, 1835	1720	....	....

1833

Ann.....	Sh.	361	Peter Brock	Pacific O.	Aug. 6	Oct. 15, 1837	1845	....	....
Aurora.....	Sh.	346	John Hussey, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 18	May 13, 1837	1713	....	....
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	James G. Coffin	Atlantic	July 13	Apr. 22, 1835	140	775	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1833—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Eagle.....	Sh.	335	Joseph Pease	Atlantic	Aug. 18	Apr. 7, 1835	604	580	....	James. Gibson, first mate, died 1835.
Fame.....	Sh.	376	Isaac Gardner	Atlantic	May 23	Mar. 3, 1835	280	1040	....	Came home leaky; broken up at Nantucket, 1835.
Fame.....	Sl.	....	Peter C. Myrick	Atlantic	July 27	....	....	....	....	Sailed in search of whales, <i>sea-serpents</i> , etc.; was armed with a patent harpoon charged with poison.*
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Josiah C. Long	Pacific O.	June 27	Nov. 16, 1836	1408	....	....	The Hazard probably arrived in September; sailed again in October; returned again Sept. 9, 1834.
Fabius.....	Sh.	432	Benj. C. Chase	Pacific O.	Aug. 31	July 31, 1837	863	....	....
Hazard.....	Sl.	....	— Swain	Gulf Mexico	May —	....	225	....	....
Harmony.....	Sch.	....	{ — Chadwick — Burdick	Atlantic	June 12 Nov. 14	.... Sept. 17, 1833	.... 15	....	....	Lost on Starbuck's Island with 1800 sperm.
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Peter Smith	Pacific O.	Oct. 4	Aug. 15, 1836	1177	....	....
Independence.....	Sh.	311	Isaac Brayton	Pacific O.	Nov. 17	....	....	....	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Obed Luce, Jr.	Atlantic	July 20	Mar. 13, 1835	149	1335	....	Built at Mattapoisett, 1833.
Levi Starbuck.....	Sh.	376	Shadrack Freeman	Pacific O.	July 27	Oct. 13, 1836	1885	....	....	Second mate died.
Lexington.....	Sch.	....	— Cash	West Indies	Oct. 6	Sept. 14, 1834	100	....	....	Burned at sea Jan. 31, 1835; supposed to have been fired by one of the crew.
Lydia.....	Sh.	325	Edward C. Joy	Pacific O.	Nov. 18	....	....	....	....

*Experiments had been made in the English fishery in 1831 in killing whales by the injection into them of poison from the barb of the harpoon, with such an effect as, it is reported, filled the men with such consternation that they refused to have any more to do with it. At what time this weapon was invented in Nantucket is somewhat uncertain. The Islanders have claimed it to be prior to the English discovery; but resting the matter upon the published record of actual use alone, England leads by about two years. The harpoon-gun is described by Scoresby as having been in use in the English service as early as 1733 (vol. ii. p. 70).

1833—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Montano.....	Sh.	365	Dav. N. Edwards	Pacific O.	June 1	Apr. 10, 1836	3097	....	....	First mate, E. Burditt, taken down by a foul line, Nov., 1833.
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Tris. Pinkham	Pacific O.	Nov. 24	Apr. 19, 1837	666	....	....	Capt. Brown came home sick.
Orion.....	Sh.	354	Moses Brown	Pacific O.	Jan. 15	Mar. 3, 1836	980	....	....	Built at Mattapoissett, 1833.
Omega.....	Sh.	363	Henry Phelon	Pacific O.	June 11	June 8, 1836	2904	....	....
Ohio.....	Sh.	381	Chas. W. Coffin	Pacific O.	Aug. 15	Jan. 8, 1837	2615	176	....
Peru.....	Bk.	257	Wm. Brooks, Jr.	Atlantic	July 4	— 1835	43	696	....
Pilot.....	Sch.	....	— Pinkham	So. Coast	Aug. 10	Aug. 29, 1833	....	20	....
Rose.....	Sh.	350	James Davis	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	Jan. 26, 1837	1180	....	....
Robert.....	Sl.	....	— Luce	So. Coast	May 17	July 20, 1833	20	....	....	Sailed again July 26; returned Sept. 1, clean.
Susan.....	Sh.	349	Fred Swain	Pacific O.	Nov. 17	May 14, 1837	1406	....	....
Three Brothers....	Sh.	384	George Alley	Pacific O.	Aug. 25	Nov. 2, 1836	2212	....	....

1834

American.....	Sh.	340	Aaron Coffin	Pacific O.	June 3	Nov. 21, 1837	1288	....	....	Built at Mattapoissett, 1834.
Alpha.....	Sh.	345	Fred. B. Chase	Pacific O.	July 25	Dec. 31, 1837	1660	....	....	Returned with boat stove.
Amazon.....	Sl.	....	— Riddell	Atlantic	Aug. 13	Aug. 15, 1834	....	35	....	No report.
					Aug. 15	Aug. 19, 1834	....	....	....
					Sept. 23	Oct. 7, 1834	....	....	....
					Oct. —	May 7, 1835	....	....	....
Christ'r Mitchell..	Sh.	387	Sanford Wilber	Pacific O.	July 15	Aug. 21, 1837	2843	....	....	Built at Mattapoissett, 1834.
Clarkson.....	Sh.	380	William Plaskett	Pacific O.	Aug. 9	Dec. 20, 1837	2523	....	....
Elizabeth Starbuck	Sh.	381	Obed Cathcart	Pacific O.	July 27	May 5, 1837	2708	....	....
Franklin.....	Sh.	246	Edw. H. Morton	Pacific O.	June 15	June 12, 1837	160	452	....	Built at Mattapoissett, 1834.

1834—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
George.....	Sh.	359	John C. Congdon	Atlantic	Aug. 4	May 12, 1836	396	1255	....	Sold to New Bedford, 1836.
Harmony.....	Sch.	....	{ ——— Chadwick ——— Swain	G. Mexico	....	Sept. 25, 1834	360	....	....
Jones Hale.....	Sl.	....	——— Kuhn	Atlantic	Dec. 5	July 20, 1836	150	....	....	Lost mainsail.
Japan.....	Sh.	332	Edwin Hiller	Indian O.	Aug. 11	Aug. 14, 1834	....	....	....	No report.
Lima.....	Sh.	286	William Wyer	Pacific O.	Aug. —	Aug. 19, 1834	....	....	....
Lexington.....	Sch.	....	——— Drew	Gulf Mexico	Sept. 3	Nov. 22, 1837	2115	....	....
Neptune.....	Sch.	....	{ ——— Farris ——— Coon	Atlantic	Dec. 9	Apr. 7, 1838	1173	....	....
Phebe.....	Sh.	379	Shub. S. Russell	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	Sept. 22, 1835	130	....	....	No report.
Phenix.....	Sh.	323	Isaac B. Hussey	Pacific O.	Aug. 23	Aug. 30, 1834	....	....	....	Clean.
Ploughboy.....	Sh.	391	Moses Brown	Pacific O.	Sept. 11	Sept. 26, 1834	....	....	....	Sent home 115 sperm.
Pacific.....	Sh.	314	Joseph Congdon	Pacific O.	May 25	Nov. 21, 1837	1009	....	....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Reuben Manter	Pacific O.	July 6	Feb. 3, 1837	2345	....	....
Primrose.....	Sch.	....	——— Fisher	{ Mexico { Guinea	July 22	Apr. 9, 1838	1811	471	....
Reliance.....	Sch.	....	{ P. C. Myrick ——— Farris	Atlantic	July 29	Nov. 13, 1837	2035	....	....	Returned leaky.
Statira.....	Sh.	346	Geo. Cannon, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 31	Aug. 6, 1837	1054	828	....
Sarah.....	Sh.	495	Joseph Holley	Pacific O.	Sept. 25	Aug. 25, 1834	70	....	....	No report.
					Aug. 15	Sept. 21, 1835	30	....	....	No report.
					Sept. 30	Sept. 30, 1834	....	....	....	Clean.
					Oct. 4	Oct. 9, 1834	....	....	....
					Aug. 14	June 14, 1838	1201	333	....	Went to New York, freighting
					Dec. 31	Nov. 3, 1837	2326	....	....	1837; returned to whaling 1839.
Warren.....	Sl.	....	——— Baker	Atlantic	Aug. 7	Aug. 10, 1834	....	18	....	No report.
Zone.....	Sh.	365	John M. Russell	Pacific O.	Aug. 10	Aug. 19, 1834	....	....	....	Returned with one small whale.
					Aug. 23	Aug. 30, 1834	....	....	....	Capt. Russell and one man lost
					Apr. 12	Sept. 7, 1837	1475	....	....	overboard in a gale off New Zea- land.

1835

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE		REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale-bone	
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Reuben Barney	Pacific O.	Nov. 13	— 1839	1550	Broken up at Nantucket 1837.
Baltic.....	Sh.	410	William Keene	Pacific O.	Sept. 8	Mar. 18, 1839	1420	1694	
Columbus.....	Sh.	314	Peter Coffin	Pacific O.	June 29	Nov. 12, 1838	1398	16	
Congress.....	Sh.	339	William Upham	Pacific O.	July 23	Nov. 20, 1838	1902	....
Catharine.....	Sh.	384	Joseph M. Chase	Pacific O.	July 29	Oct. 26, 1838	3016	....
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Edward C. Joy	Pacific O.	Oct. 25	Apr. 7, 1839	1630	....
Eagle.....	Sh.	335	Isaac Gardner	Atlantic	July 29	Apr. 17, 1837	625	1293	
Ganges.....	Sh.	265	Barzillai T. Folger	Pacific O.	Oct. 26	May 10, 1839	1644	....
Harmony.....	Sch.	.....	A. Swain	Gulf Mexico	Aug. 2	Aug. 20, 1836	260	150
Howard.....	Sh.	365	Wm. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 21	Apr. 21, 1838	2312	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Obed Luce, Jr.	Atl. & Ind. O.	July 15	July 9, 1837	302	1570	Supposed to have foundered in a gale off New Zealand and all on board lost.
Mary Mitchell.....	Sh.	354	Samuel Joy	Pacific O.	July 14	May 17, 1838	596	1974	
Mary.....	Sh.	369	Thos. Coffin, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 30	May 12, 1839	1866	515	
Mount Vernon.....	Sh.	384	Lewis B. Imbert	Pacific O.	Oct. 5	July 13, 1839	2456	....
President.....	Sh.	293	Seth Cathcart	Pacific O.	June 24	June 1, 1838	1670	....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Wm. Brown, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 4	Apr. 13, 1839	676	149	
Richard Mitchell.....	Sh.	385	H'y. C. Cleveland	Pacific O.	July 20	Dec. 27, 1838	1172	937	
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Rob.M. McCleave	Pacific O.	Sept. 8	Aug. 23, 1838	2246	....
Reaper.....	Sh.	338	Tim. R. Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 12	....	....	....
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	David W. Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 4	May 4, 1839	1790	....

1836

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale-bone	REMARKS
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	Thomas Russell	Pacific O.	Jan. 27	Dec. 4, 1838	1701	....	Built at Mattapoisett, 1836.
Alexander Coffin.....	Sh.	381	John C. Congdon	Pacific O.	Aug. 25	July 10, 1840	1884	....
Catawba.....	Sh.	335	John B. Coleman	Pacific O.	Jan. 14	Sept. 20, 1839	1698	139	

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1836—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Charles Carroll	Sh.	376	Owen Chase	Pacific O.	Aug. 30	Feb. 14, 1840	2678	...	...
Cyrus	Sh.	328	Benj. R. Hussey	Pacific O.	Sept. 9	May 1, 1840	1697	...	...
Charles and Henry	Sh.	326	George Joy	Pacific O.	Dec. 1	Oct. 12, 1840	1920	...	...
Dromo	Bg.	...	— Chadwick	Mexico	...	July 1, 1836	...	...	...
Enterprise	Sh.	413	George Haggarty	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	June 29, 1840	1395	...	...
Harvest	Sh.	360	William B. Cash	Pacific O.	July 21	Apr. 6, 1840	2299	...	...
Henry	Sh.	346	George G. Chase	Pacific O.	Oct. 23	Jan. 16, 1840	2436	...	...	Built at Rochester, 1826.
Harmony	Sch.	...	— Gifford	Gulf Mexico	Oct. 8	July 2, 1837	200	200	...	Fell in with wreck of Industry and saved about 200 bbls.
Jefferson	Sh.	377	Obed Swain	Pacific O.	Aug. 11	Mar. 14, 1840	2309	...	...	Built 1838.
Kingston	Sh.	312	Thaddeus Coffin	Pacific O.	July 22	Oct. 27, 1839	753	...	...	Built at Nantucket 1836. Capt. Pollard died on the voyage.
Lexington	Sh.	399	Alexander Pollard	Pacific O.	Nov. 27	June 10, 1840	2185	...	...	No report.
Lexington	Sch.	...	— Hamblin	Gulf Mexico	Apr. 18	...	...	...	...
Mariner	Sh.	349	Geo. Gardner, Jr.	Pacific O.	Sept. 14	June 20, 1840	1925	...	...
Maria	Sh.	365	Elisha H. Fisher	Pacific O.	Oct. 22	Oct. 14, 1839	2069	47	...	
Orbit	Sh.	351	Benj. B. Raymond	Pacific O.	May 1	May 12, 1839	395	2146	...	
Ocean	Sh.	349	Elijah Parker	Pacific O.	Sept. 5	July 8, 1840	1847	...	...
Orion	Sh.	354	Elihu Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 2	Feb. 21, 1840	1652	...	...
Omega	Sh.	363	Alb. C. Gardner	Pacific O.	Nov. 5	Apr. 22, 1840	2452	13	...	Capt. Gardner died on the voyage.
Ontario	Sh.	354	Geo. G. Cathcart	Pacific O.	Dec. 19	Nov. 19, 1839	1480	30	...	Formerly a merchantman; bought 1836; sold to Sagharbor, 1839.
Panama	Sh.	253	Alex D. Bunker	Pacific O.	Jan. 3	Aug. 4, 1839	1330	...	...	Clean.
Primrose	Sch.	...	— Fisher	Atlantic	Apr. 28	Nov. 6, 1836	...	...	...
Peruvian	Sh.	334	David Osborne	Pacific O.	July 31	Apr. 24, 1840	1590	...	...
Thule	Sh.	285	James Coleman	Atlantic	July 19	July 19, 1839	68	2085	...	
Washington	Sh.	308	Charles F. Coffin	Pacific O.	July 14	Dec. — 1839	1780	...	...
Walter Scott	Sh.	339	Benj. Coggeshall	Pacific O.	Aug. 11	Sept. 2, 1840	2227	...	...
Young Eagle	Sh.	377	George Crocker	Pacific O.	July 8	May 1, 1840	2440	...	...
Zenas Coffin	Sh.	338	Hiram Bailey	Pacific O.	Sept. 3	Jan. 14, 1840	2259	...	...	Built 1836.

1837

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale-bone	Whale Oil	
Ann.....	Sh.	361	Peter C. Brock	Pacific O.	July 5	June 22, 1841	2427	....	....	Sold to New Bedford, 1841.
Aurora.....	Sh.	346	John Hussey, Jr.	Pacific O.	Nov. 5	Dec. 2, 1840	2036	....	....
Elizabeth Starbuck	Sh.	381	Alex M. Chase	Pacific O.	Nov. 16	May 2, 1841	1359	7	....
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Josiah C. Long	Pacific O.	Sept. 1	Apr. 28, 1841	2101	....	....
Franklin.....	Sh.	246	Benj. F. Riddell	Pacific O.	Oct. 12	Feb. 13, 1841	1711	37	....
Harmony.....	Sch.	....	— Coleman	Atlantic	Aug. 30	Aug. 9, 1838	130	....	....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Reuben Joy, Jr.	Pacific O.	Aug. 16	May 18, 1841	1992	....	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Asa Coleman	Pacific O.	Nov. 27	Oct. 4, 1840	1050	650	....
Levi Starbuck.....	Sh.	376	John C. Lincoln	Pacific O.	Aug. 27	Nov. 29, 1840	2375	25	....
Montano.....	Sh.	365	Benjamin C. Sayer	Pacific O.	Aug. 4	May 30, 1839	53	2716	....
Maria.....	Sl.	....	— Hiller	Atlantic	Aug. 2	Sept. 11, 1837	....	....	....	Clean.
Martha.....	Sh.	273	James Alley	Pacific O.	Sept. 6	Mar. 31, 1840	308	1112	....
Nantucket.....	Sh.	350	Dav. N. Edwards	Pacific O.	June 12	Feb. 1, 1841	2036	465	....	Built at Nantucket, 1837.
Ohio.....	Sh.	383	Charles W. Coffin	Pacific O.	July 12	Apr. 19, 1841	2520	....	....
Obed Mitchell.....	Sh.	354	Reuben Ray, Jr.	Pacific O.	Sept. 22	June 27, 1841	870	....	....	Built 1837.
Phenix.....	Sh.	323	Isaac B. Hussey	Pacific O.	Nov. 4	Feb. 14, 1840	2419	....	....
Primrose.....	Sch.	90	{ — Swain — Gifford	Gulf Mexico	Feb. 27	Aug. 9, 1837	100	50	....	The Primrose sailed again Oct. 23, 1837 and June 13, 1838; took 25 sperm, 75 whale.
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Eben M. Hinckley	Pacific O.	Nov. 14	May 28, 1841	1460	24	....
Rose.....	Sh.	356	Benj. A. Coleman	Pacific O.	Oct. 3	May 29, 1841	1987	....	....
Susan.....	Sh.	348	Reuben Russell	Pacific O.	Dec. —	May 28, 1841	1892	477	....
Three Brothers.....	Sh.	384	Henry Phelon	Pacific O.	June 12	Apr. 28, 1841	2719	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1838

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Tonnage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
American.....	Sh.	340	David Barker	Pacific O.	July 4	Oct. 21, 1841	2181	9	Sent home 90 bbls. sperm.
Alpha.....	Sh.	345	Joseph Congdon	Pacific O.	June 3	Dec. 2, 1841	2265	....	....
Christ'r Mitchell..	Sh.	387	Charles A. Veeder	Pacific O.	Apr. 28	Apr. 5, 1841	2714	52	....
Clarkson.....	Sh.	380	Joseph C. Chase	Pacific O.	July 16	Apr. 17, 1841	1580	310	Built at Mattapoisett, 1838. Lost in the Indian Ocean Feb. 8, 1839.
Daniel Webster....	Sh.	336	Jos. N. Plaskett	Pacific O.	Dec. 16	Oct. 15, 1842	1832	....	....
Harmony.....	Sch.	....	— Tracy	Indian O.	Sept. 22	....	....	....	....
Howard.....	Sh.	364	Wm. Worth, 2nd	Pacific O.	Oct. 19	Jan. 1, 1841	2209	Made three trips; took one small whale. — Hiller was also captain.
Iris.....	Sl.	....	— Weeks	Shoals	....	....	....	....	....
Japan.....	Sh.	332	John Tobey	Pacific O.	June 10	Dec. 12, 1841	2176	27	....
James Loper.....	Sh.	348	Obed Cathcart	Pacific O.	June 26	May 11, 1842	1842	Built at Rochester, 1837. Built at Nantucket, 1838.
Joseph Starbuck...	Sh.	410	Sanford Wilbur	Pacific O.	Nov. 15	Apr. 3, 1842	3321	....	....
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Obed Luce, Jr.	Pacific O.	Aug. 29	Feb. 7, 1842	1660	....	....
Mary Mitchell....	Sh.	354	Joseph McCleave	Pacific O.	Aug. 26	Apr. 27, 1842	1370	96	David O. Bearse, second mate, died Sept. 13, 1841. Built at Rochester, 1838.
Napoleon.....	Sh.	360	William Plasket	Pacific O.	Sept. 9	Sept. 13, 1842	1676	512	....
Phebe.....	Sh.	379	George Allen, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 18	April 2, 1842	1387	....	....
Primrose.....	Sch.	— Coleman	Atlantic	Nov. 14, 1838	Clean. Made several voyages; took 60 bbls. humpback oil.
President.....	Sh.	293	Reuben Starbuck	Pacific O.	Nov. 15	July 18, 1842	1840	....	....
Robert.....	Sl.	....	— Meader	Shoals	....	....	....	....	....
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Robert McCleave	Pacific O.	Dec. 12	Nov. 10, 1842	1548	Built at Rochester, 1838.
Thule.....	Sh.	285	James Coleman	Pacific O.	Oct. 19	Dec. 20, 1841	1526	527	....
Young Hero.....	Sh.	339	George Alley	Pacific O.	June 27	Oct. 21, 1841	2504	....	....

Brig Dromo, Lawrence, Nantucket, was spoken Aug. 3, 1838, off Western Islands one large whale alongside. She sailed May 13.

1839

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	George C. Hoeg	Pacific O.	May 12	May 11, 1843	1255	95	....	Sold to Fairhaven, 1843.
Baltic.....	Sh.	410	John J. Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	Apr. 6, 1843	2007	323	....
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Reuben Barney	Pacific O.	Dec. 10	Aug. 12, 1843	818	2	....
Catharine.....	Sh.	384	John Brown	Pacific O.	May 8	June 23, 1843	650	270	....
Comet.....	Sch.	....	— Coffin	Atlantic	Aug. 3	Aug. 29, 1839	....	....	....	Clean.
Columbus.....	Sh.	344	Wm. B. Gardner	Pacific O.	May 25	Apr. 28, 1843	1180	....	....	Sold to New London.
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Obed Ramsdell	Pacific O.	July 21	May 31, 1842	2167	20	....	Sold to New Bedford.
Congress.....	Sh.	339	John Pitman	Pacific O.	Aug. 27	June 18, 1843	1298	50	....	Reported late in 1839 with 200 sperm; condemned 1840.
Dromo.....	Bg.	....	— Lawrence	Atlantic	....	Dec. 29, 1839	....	....	....	Built at Rochester, 1839.
Henry Clay.....	Sh.	385	Benjamin C. Sayer	Pacific O.	Dec. 17	Feb. 27, 1844	1946	5	....	Second mate, Thomas M. Gardner, lost April, 1843.
Montano.....	Sh.	365	Reuben Chase	Pacific O.	July 20	July 7, 1841	236	2156	....	Lost near Payta; had 1200 sperm; saved 600 bbls. and sold it for \$3900.
Mary.....	Sh.	369	Thos. Coffin, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 10	July 14, 1843	1443	....	....	Sold to New Bedford, 1843.
Mount Vernon.....	Sh.	384	Lewis B. Imbert	Pacific O.	Oct. 31	June 23, 1844	2877	....	....	The first ship brought over the bar by "Camels."* Bells were rung, guns fired, and a great course of citizens greeted her arrival.
Orbit.....	Sh.	351	Isaac Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 10	....	....	....	....
Ploughboy.....	Sh.	391	Moses Brown	Pacific O.	June 27	May 15, 1843	747	700	....
Primrose.....	Sch.	90	— Carr	Atlantic	Apr. 17	June 4, 1840	200	25	....
Peru.....	Sh.	257	Joshua Coffin	Pacific O.	July 11	Oct. 13, 1842	1340	....	....

* The "Camels" were practically a floating dock, with a very light draught, and propelled by steam. They were made in two sections, which opened and were sunk by pumping water into chambers built for that purpose. The vessel to be conveyed over the Bar was floated into the opening between the sections which were then closed up and secured with chains, the vessel being then held in the dock shaped to her hull and securely jacked up to avoid any strain. The water was then pumped out, the dock floated and the vessel carried in or out of the harbor as desired. By the use of the "Camels" it was expected to fit the vessel for her voyage at the wharf and carry her over the shallow Bar and in the case of incoming ships to save "lightering" at the Bar with its attendant delay, expense and risk. The timbers of this structure that at one time promised so much for Nantucket, lay for some years on the South beach of the harbor, until time and the elements destroyed every vestige of it.

1839—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Richard Mitchell...	Sh.	385	Wm. H. Gardner	Pacific O.	July 17	May 11, 1843	1078	....	....	The Sarah arrived at New York and sailed from there in 1843.
Sarah.....	Sh.	495	William Upham	Pacific O.	July 14	July 15, 1843	2646	....	....
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	David U. Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 17	Mar. 23, 1843	1903	....	....	Sold to New Bedford, 1843.
Statira.....	Sh.	346	Barzillai T. Folger	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	May 29, 1843	2703	....	....
Tyleston.....	Sch.	111	— Swain	Atlantic	May 9	June 7, 1839	....	18	....	The Tyleston was built at Noble- borough, Me., 1836; sailed again in July 24, 1839; arrived June 10, 1840, with 200 sperm.
Telescope.....	Sch.	70	— Manter	Atlantic	June 6	Sept. 4, 1839	....	100	....	The Telescope sailed again Dec. 10, 1839; arrived June 17, 1840 with 90,000 whales.
Zone.....	Sh.	365	Edwin Hiller	Pacific O.	May 19	May 8, 1843	2061	....	....

1840

Alexander Coffin...	Sh.	381	Samuel C. Wyer	Pacific O.	Sept. 8	June 23, 1844	1953	Sold to New Bedford.
Catawba.....	Sh.	335	Henry Pease	Pacific O.	Feb. 2	Oct. 21, 1843	2009	40	....
Charles Carroll....	Sh.	376	Thos. S. Andrews	Pacific O.	May 29	Dec. 6, 1843	1926	Sent home 250 bbls. sperm.
Cyrus.....	Sh.	328	Daniel Emmons	Pacific O.	Nov. 1	Oct. 14, 1844	1458	....	....
Charles and Henry	Sh.	336	John B. Coleman	Pacific O.	Dec. 20	Mar. 8, 1845	689	146	Sold to New Bedford. Bought from Hudson, N. Y., 1839; mate, Alexander Swain, killed by a whale; Capt. Pinkham died at Pernambuco, April 17, 1844.
Enterprise.....	Sh.	413	George Cannon	Pacific O.	Dec. 18	June 17, 1844	1094	1014	....
Fabius.....	Sh.	432	Fred B. Chase	Pacific O.	July 12	Apr. 6, 1844	2140	....	....
Henry Astor.....	Sh.	375	Seth Pinkham	Pacific O.	Jan. 24	May 23, 1844	1277	980	....
Henry.....	Sh.	346	William Brown	Pacific O.	June 1	Apr. 16, 1844	1641	60	....
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	J. Gardner, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 17	Aug. 5, 1844	1636	....	....

1840—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Jefferson.....	Sh.	377	William B. Cash	Pacific O.	July 28	.....	....	....	....	Lost on Atooi, Sandwich Islands, June 22, 1842, with 2480 bbls. sperm, 89 bbls. whale.
Kingston.....	Sh.	312	William Rawson	Pacific O.	June 12	May 14, 1844	1067	342	....	Sold to Fairhaven, 1844
Lexington.....	Sh.	399	Henry W. Davis	Pacific O.	Aug. 29	Mar. 14, 1844	1336	1334	....	Sent home 125 bbls. sperm; Capt. Davis left the ship at Rio Janeiro, sick.
Lydia.....	Sh.	351	Geo. H. Cathcart	Pacific O.	Sept. 2	Feb. 17, 1845	1225	....	....	Built in 1840; sold to Fairhaven, 1845.
Maria.....	Sh.	365	Elisha H. Fisher	Pacific O.	Apr. 22	Feb. 20, 1842	2413	....	....	Sent home 40 bbls. sperm.
Mariner.....	Sh.	348	George Palmer	Pacific O.	Oct. 6	May 13, 1844	1632	7	....
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	Stephen B. Gibbs	Pacific O.	May 28	Nov. 20, 1842	2073	....	....	Sold to New Bedford, 1844.
Omega.....	Sh.	363	George Haggerty	Pacific O.	Sept. 8	Aug. 9, 1844	1397	....	....
Ocean.....	Sh.	349	Elijah Parker	Pacific O.	Oct. 18	Oct. 3, 1844	1662	....	....	Sent home 300 bbls. sperm.
Phenix.....	Sh.	323	Josiah Hamblen	Pacific O.	June 21	Feb. 17, 1844	2241	24	....
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Frederick Arthur	Pacific O.	July 31	June 23, 1844	1212	508	....	Sailed Aug. 20, but returned with mate sick.
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Stephen Bailey	Pacific O.	May 14	Sept. 24, 1843	1095	58	....
Walter Scott.....	Sh.	339	Cromwell Bunker	Pacific O.	Oct. 31	July 8, 1844	1296	....	....
Young Eagle.....	Sh.	377	Edward C. Austin	Pacific O.	Sept. 1	July 19, 1843	2544	....	....
Zenas Coffin.....	Sh.	323	Hiram Bailey	Pacific O.	July 12	May 25, 1843	3049	177	....

1841

Aurora.....	Sh.	346	Fred S. Coffin	Pacific O.	May 13	Dec. 9, 1844	1801	New this voyage. Built at East Boston.
American.....	Sh.	339	Alexander Coffin	Pacific O.	Dec. 1	July 10, 1845	1890	....	....
Columbia.....	Sh.	329	George Joy	Pacific O.	Sept. 4	Dec. 2, 1845	1660	....	....

1841—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Christ'r Mitchell..	Sh.	387	William Keene	Pacific O.	Oct. 25	June 24, 1845	1250	First and second mates, boat-steerers and nearly all the crew left the ship at Bay of Islands. New this voyage; built at Rochester.
David Paddack...	Sh.	352	John Hussey, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 7	Oct. 16, 1845	882	17	Built at Rochester, 1841. Sent home 116 bbls. sperm.
Edward Cary.....	Sh.	353	John Tobey	Pacific O.	Sept. 26	July 22, 1845	1559	32	Capt. Ray died on the voyage; Henry Starbuck took command. Rebuilt and enlarged at Brant Point.
Elizabeth Starbuck	Sh.	381	Henry Bigelow	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	Aug. 10, 1845	1109	....	....
Foster.....	Sh.	317	J. C. Congdon	Pacific O.	July 28	Sept. 1, 1845	1430	....	....
Franklin.....	Sh.	246	Shubael Ray	Pacific O.	Aug. 11	Apr. 3, 1845	1440	16	....
Ganges.....	Sh.	315	George Pitman	Pacific O.	July 28	May 20, 1845	732	476	Capt. Stockman died;——Thompson took command.
Hero.....	Sh.	313	William S. Chase	Pacific O.	Sept. 29	Feb. 22, 1846	830	Capt. Baxter left the ship at Zanzibar and came home; Richard C. Gibbs took command. New this voyage; built at Mattapoisett. New this voyage.
Howard.....	Sh.	364	Alexander Bunker	Pacific O.	Nov. 1	June 8, 1845	1963	2	....
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	Isaac Stockman	Pacific O.	Aug. 31	June 24, 1845	540	....	....
Japan.....	Sh.	332	Benj. F. Riddell	Pacific O.	Sept. 17	June 10, 1845	1890	....	....
Levi Starbuck.....	Sh.	376	Joseph P. Nye	Pacific O.	May 26	Mar. 31, 1845	859	865	Peter F. Swain, second mate, taken out of his boat by a foul line, Jan. 21, 1842.
Martha.....	Sh.	273	William Baxter	Pacific O.	July 28	June 17, 1845	1057	276	....
Monticello.....	Sh.	358	Benj. Coggeshall	Pacific O.	Aug. 2	July 15, 1845	2430	....	....
Massachusetts.....	Sh.	360	Seth Nickerson	Pacific O.	Aug. 26	Mar. 24, 1845	1252	1388	12,000	
Montano.....	Sh.	365	Roswell M. Coon	Pacific O.	Dec. 25	Apr. 10, 1845	1488	442	
Nantucket.....	Sh.	350	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	June 16	May 12, 1845	1279	1326	....

1841—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Navigator.....	Sh.	323	Elihu Fisher	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	May 7, 1845	1737	246	....	New this voyage; built at Medford.
Narragansett.....	Sh.	398	Charles W. Coffin	Pacific O.	Nov. 7	Oct. 25, 1845	2554	....	....	New this voyage; built at Roches-ter.
Orion.....	Sh.	354	James Nichols	Pacific O.	July 5	Nov. 14, 1844	2040	169	1,000	Sold to New Bedford.
Ohio.....	Sh.	381	Veramus Smith	Pacific O.	July 18	May 3, 1845	2804	80	....	Lost near Trinidad, May, 1842; had 280 bbls. sperm.
Obed Mitchell.....	Sh.	354	Elihu Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 4	May 10, 1845	1183	2	....	New this voyage; built at Matra-poisset.
Primrose.....	Sch.	....	— Narbeth	Atlantic	July 8	....	....	....	....
Potomac.....	Sh.	356	Isaac B. Hussey	Pacific O.	Nov. 12	May 4, 1845	2354	....	....
Penobscot.....	Bg.	138	— Carr	Atlantic	Sept. 26	May 17, 1843	100	....	....
Susan.....	Sh.	348	Reuben Russell	Pacific O.	Dec. 9	May 27, 1846	635	1405	12,000	
Three Brothers.....	Sh.	384	Jos. Mitchell, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 12	Nov. 6, 1845	2150	22	....
Tylston.....	Bg.	111	— Brown	Atlantic	June 17	Sept. 5, 1842	230	....	....
United States.....	Sh.	372	Calvin B. Worth	Pacific O.	Nov. 12	Oct. 16, 1845	1422	10	....

1842

Alpha.....	Sh.	345	John B. Rodgers	Pacific O.	May 15	Nov. 19, 1845	2413	19	....	Third mate, Richard Ennis, killed by a whale.
Clarkson.....	Sh.	380	Joseph C. Chase	Pacific O.	Sept. 18	....	1825	12	....	Condemned at Talcahuano; oil shipped home.
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Obed R. Bunker	Pacific O.	Sept. 23	Feb. 12, 1847	1842	41	....	First ship taken out by the "Camels."
Geo. Washington..	Sch.	....	— Pinkham	Atlantic	....	Aug. 17, 1842	....	....	....	No report.
James Loper.....	Sh.	348	Joseph Congdon	Pacific O.	Oct. 30	May 6, 1846	2358	....	....	Lost on Nantucket Bar; wreck sold and broken up.
Joseph Starbuck...	Sh.	416	Charles A. Veeder	Pacific O.	....	....	....	....	....

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1842—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Lima.....	Sh.	286	Obed Luce	Pacific O.	May 31	....	....	....	....	Asa Gardner, third mate, lost 1842; condemned at Rio 1842; outward bound.
Maria.....	Sh.	365	Edward Jennings	Pacific O.	May 11	May 20, 1846	1706	....	....	Sold to San Francisco. Lost in the Arctic, 1851.
Mary Mitchell....	Sh.	354	Charles Lawrence	Pacific O.	Aug. 25	June 24, 1847	1176	587	....
Napoleon.....	Sh.	360	Elisha H. Fisher	Pacific O.	Oct. 24	Nov. 25, 1845	2495	19	....	Put into Pernambuco, Dec. 24, 1846, leaking 290 strokes an hour and was condemned. Shipped sperm oil home by Bark Carolina of Boston; sold 500 bbls. whale oil at Sydney and Pernambuco.
Phebe.....	Sh.	379	Sam W. Harris	Pacific O.	Sept. 19	....	1175	500	....
President.....	Sh.	293	John C. Brock	Pacific O.	Dec. 29	Apr. 8, 1847	1170	....	....	Lost on Booby Shoal—latitude 21½° south, longitude 159° east; mate and boat's crew lost.
Rose.....	Sh.	349	William B. Swain	Pacific O.	Feb. 8	Mar. 10, 1846	1650	250	2,500	
Tylston.....	Bg.	111	— Carr	Atlantic	Oct. 2	Sept. 2, 1843	130	40	....
Thule.....	Sh.	286	Charles W. Coffin	Pacific O.	June 17	....	....	....	....
Young Hero.....	Sh.	340	Peter Brock	Pacific O.	Apr. 17	Apr. 8, 1846	1429	....	....

1843

Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	James Coleman	Pacific O.	Oct. 28	June 22, 1846	1965	....	....
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Eben Baker	Pacific O.	Oct. 20	June 16, 1847	1280	3	....
Catawba.....	Sh.	355	William Coleman	Pacific O.	Dec. 24	Sept. 23, 1847	1853	41	....

1843—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Daniel Webster...	Sh.	336	Reu. F. Starbuck	Pacific O.	May 18	Nov. — 1847	1264	264	....	Sold 100 bbls. whale oil; new this voyage; built at Mattapoisett.
Empire.....	Sh.	403	Charles A. Veeder	Pacific O.	May 18	Nov. 27, 1847	2076	35	....
Mary.....	Sh.	369	Charles Pitman, Jr.	Pacific O.	Oct. 1	Apr. 16, 1847	862	82	1,500	Mate ——— Brooks, shot by a mutineer, 1844.
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	Stephen B. Gibbs	Pacific O.	May 24	May 2, 1846	2213	....	....
Penobscot.....	Bg.	138	—— Kelley	Indian O.	July 24	....	230	140	....	Condemned at Simons Bay, Cape of Good Hope, Feb., 1845.
Peru.....	Bk.	254	Edwin Barnard	Pacific O.	May 10	Sept. 19, 1846	966	....	....	Sent home 63 bbls. sperm; second mate killed by a whale Jan., 1844.
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Robert McCleave	Pacific O.	July 13	May 25, 1847	1578	52	....	No report.
Richard Mitchell..	Sh.	386	Josiah C. Long	Pacific O.	Oct. 14	Sept. 30, 1847	1808	....	....
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	Nehem'h C. Fisher	Pacific O.	Nov. 19	July — 1847	1387	....	....	Sunk at sea 1847, homeward bound.
Tyleston.....	Bg.	111	—— Luce	Atlantic	Oct. 21	Oct. 15, 1845	....	....	....
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Stephen Bailey	Pacific O.	Dec. 2	June 12, 1847	1613	20	....	Third mate Manuel Valado knocked overboard and drowned, Apr. 20, 1844. Sold to Fairhaven 1847.
Young Eagle.....	Sh.	377	Benjamin Lathrop	Pacific O.	Dec. 5	....	....	....	....
Zenas Coffin.....	Sh.	338	Obed Ramsdell	Pacific O.	Sept. 17	May 28, 1848	1820	320	3,000	
Zone.....	Sh.	365	Obed Starbuck	Pacific O.	Oct. 13	Nov 10, 1846	1226	....	....

1844

Charles Carroll....	Sh.	370	Thos. L. Andrews	Pacific O.	May 16	May 29, 1848	1261	473	9,000	Built 1844, at Boston. Sold 150 sperm, 425 whale.
Citizen.....	Sh.	360	Hiram Bailey	Pacific O.	Aug. 25	July 17, 1849	1302	1175	5,000	

1844—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL.	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	George D. Coffin	Pacific O.	Oct. 18	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lost second mate, 10 men, spars, boats, etc., by shipping a sea; returned Jan. 6, 1845, and sailed again in 1845.
Henry.....	Sh.	346	William Brown	Pacific O.	July 1	Apr. 24, 1848	1150	482	4,000	Sold 70 bbls. whale.
Henry Clay.....	Sh.	385	Edward C. Austin	Pacific O.	June 10	Aug. 15, 1847	2756	.....	.....	Sold 91 bbls. sperm.
Henry Astor.....	Sh.	375	Thos. Coffin, 2nd	Pacific O.	Oct. 14	Oct. 19, 1848	1796	.....	.....	Sold 120 bbls. sperm.
Lexington.....	Sh.	399	Edward Weeks	Pacific O.	June 26	July 7, 1848	1560	1374	.....	Sold 220 bbls. sperm, 30 bbls. whale.
Mariner.....	Sh.	349	Albert Ray	Pacific O.	July 31	Sept. 15, 1848	1236	407	3,000	Lost boats, spars, etc. in a gale Oct. 6; returned, and sailed again Nov. 8; sold to Mattapoisett, 1848.
Mount Vernon....	Sh.	385	Henry Coleman	Pacific O.	Oct. 3	Oct. 2, 1848	2607	10	.....	Built 1844; Capt. Gardner left the ship at the Sandwich Islands, sick; ship sunk at sea, homeward bound, Jan. 12, 1849, bottom bored by worms.
Nippon.....	Sh.	340	J. Gardner, 2nd	Pacific O.	Nov. 29	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lost second mate, Andrew Brock and two men by boat capsizing.
Omega.....	Sh.	363	Chas. H. Morton	Pacific O.	Oct. 26	July 4, 1848	1095	.....	.....	Sold to Edgartown.
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	George B. Folger	Pacific O.	Oct. 1	Jan. 29, 1848	1515	.....	.....
Phoenix.....	Sh.	324	Perry Winslow	Pacific O.	Sept. 17	June 3, 1848	1648	24	.....
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Barzillai T. Folger	Pacific O.	Sept. 15	Apr. 26, 1847	1276	914	7,500	
Two Brothers.....	Sch.	.....	.....	Atlantic	.....	June — 1844	.....	20	.....
Walter Scott.....	Sh.	339	Charles Grant	Pacific O.	Aug. 31	Mar. 10, 1849	1868	55	.....

1845

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE		
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone
American.....	Sh.	340	Fred W. Luce	Pacific O.	Nov. 5	July 22, 1849	1270	390	....
Aurora.....	Sh.	346	Fred. W. Coffin	Pacific O.	May 19	June 25, 1848	1980	34	....
Christ'r Mitchell..	Sh.	387	Enoch Ackley	Pacific O.	June 29	July 4, 1848	1936	66	....
Charles and Henry	Sh.	336	Benj. C. Sayer	Pacific O.	June 4	....	....	....	....
Cyrus.....	Sh.	328	Alex M. Myrick	Pacific O.	May 9	....	....	....	....
David Paddack...	Sh.	352	Chas. B. Swain, 2d	Pacific O.	Dec. 8	....	....	....	....
Edward Cary.....	Sh.	353	Benj. C. Sayer	Pacific O.	Oct. 9	Mar. 28, 1848	175	2232	11,000
Elizabeth Starbuck	Sh.	381	Elijah Parker	Pacific O.	Dec. 29	....	....	....	....
Enterprise.....	Sh.	413	Samuel C. Weyer	Pacific O.	Dec. 28	Jan. 2, 1850	2108	....	....
Foster.....	Sh.	317	Francis C. Coffin	Pacific O.	Nov. 18	....	....	....	....
Franklin.....	Sh.	246	Henry Starbuck	Pacific O.	July 13	May 1, 1849	1463	....	....
Ganges.....	Sh.	315	James Nichols	Pacific O.	July 15	June 28, 1849	1910	....	....
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	George D. Coffin	Pacific O.	Feb. 17	July —	383	....	....
Howard.....	Sh.	364	Alexander Bunker	Pacific O.	Nov. 29	....	....	....	....
Japan.....	Sh.	332	Val. S. Riddell	Pacific O.	Sept. 25	May 3, 1849	1199	456	5,000
John Adams.....	Sh.	296	William Rawson	Pacific O.	Aug. 12	June 30, 1849	1080	290	....
Levi Starbuck.....	Sh.	376	Joseph P. Nye	Pacific O.	July 16	Apr. 19, 1850	1448	136	....
Martha.....	Sh.	273	Henry B. Folger	Pacific O.	Sept. 21	June 8, 1849	1667	10	....

Sold 100 bbls. sperm.

Sent home 161 bbls. sperm in 1845; sold 118 bbls. sperm. Struck on the Hodge Fench going out; returned and sailed again, July 18.

Lost on Corvo, June, 1845.

Sent home 12 casks sperm 1845; condemned at Rio Janeiro, Dec., 1845.

Lost in La Perouse Straits with a full cargo, mostly whale.

Sent home 11,578 lbs. bone.

Condemned at Monterey.

Shipped 8,000 gals. oil to London; condemned at Seychelle Islands, 1847.

Condemned and sold at Sydney.

Sold to New Bedford, 1850.

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1845—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Massachusetts	Sh.	360	James Codd	Pacific O.	May 31	Aug. 6, 1848	541	1945	5,000	Sold 20 bbls. sperm and 40 whale.
Montano	Sh.	365	Uriah Russell	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	Mar. 9, 1849	294	1320	. . . .	Third mate, ——— Fuller, and three men drowned by the staving of a boat by a whale; sold in California; sold 200 bbls. whale oil.
Monticello	Sh.	368	John M. Folger	Pacific O.	Oct. 13	May 7, 1850	1671	. . . .	. . . .	Sent home 25 casks sperm oil 1845; sold 250 bbls. sperm, 50 bbls. humpback; built 1845 at Mattapoisett.
Nantucket	Sh.	350	Benj. C. Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	Jan. 7, 1850	2051	. . . .	. . . .
Navigator	Sh.	333	George Palmer	Pacific O.	July 3	June 5, 1849	1825	30	
Norman	Sh.	338	Richard Gardner	Pacific O.	May 31	July 4, 1848	1771	30	
Orion	Sh.	354	Edward S. Ray	Pacific O.	July 15	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Condemned at New Zealand; repaired and sold by Capt. Ray in California.
Potomac	Sh.	356	Oliver C. Swain	Pacific O.	Sept. 4	May 31, 1849	2017	26	. . . .	Joseph T. Upham, first mate, killed by a whale.
Sarah Parker	Sh.	387	Thomas Russell	Pacific O.	June 15	May 10, 1849	59	2700	24,000	Bought 1845; sold for California 1849; formerly a merchantman; built at Portsmouth, N. H., 1827.
Scotland	Sh.	384	Veranus Smith	Pacific O.	Oct. 31	Feb. 8, 1851	2660	226	. . . .	Built 1845; fitted from Boston; sold 70 bbls. sperm; sold to New Bedford, 1851.
Tyleston	Bg.	111	Lost in Dec., 1849, near Tongataboo.
United States	Sh.	372	Calvin G. Worth	Pacific O.	Dec. 8	

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

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1846

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Tonnage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Alabama.....	Sh.	340	Benj. Coggeshall	Pacific O.	May 26	Sept. 26, 1850	1454	....	....	Built at Medford, 1846.
Alpha.....	Sh.	345	Joseph W. Folger	Pacific O.	July 2	Apr. 24, 1850	1182	180	3,000	Reuben Coleman, second mate, died Aug. 29, 1849.
Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	James Coleman	Pacific O.	Sept. 13	Dec. 2, 1849	2081	....	....	Sent home 85 bbls. sperm.
Columbia.....	Sh.	329	Joseph C. Chase	Pacific O.	Aug. 7	June 12, 1850	1689	183	....	Returned leaking; was rebottomed and sailed in 1847.
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Sylv. Swain	Pacific O.	Nov. 2	Nov. 15, 1846	....	....	....
James Loper.....	Sh.	348	Wm. S. Whippey	Pacific O.	Dec. —	May 10, 1851	1264	40	....	Crew all deserted in California, 1849; Capt. Coffin left ship in Talcahuana, sick.
Maria.....	Sh.	365	George A. Coffin	Pacific O.	Sept. 20	June 27, 1850	890	13	....	Capt. Gibbs came home sick; sold 90 bbls. sperm on voyage.
Napoleon.....	Sh.	360	Stephen B. Gibbs	Pacific O.	Dec. 31	May 15, 1851	1609	....	....	Sold some oil on the voyage.
Narragansett.....	Sh.	398	John B. Rogers	Pacific O.	Aug. 9	Apr. 1, 1851	2286	....	....	Take about 900 bbls. sperm; went to California and was sold.
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	John Horn	Pacific O.	July 10	Apr. 30, 1850	1205	179	....	Sold 120 bbls. sperm.
Rose.....	Sh.	349	William Miller	Pacific O.	Nov. 7	....	....	....	....	Added 1846; built at Baltimore 1839.
Susan.....	Sh.	349	Charles B. Ray	Pacific O.	Nov. 16	Aug. 16, 1851	744	....	....
Sophia.....	Sch.	170	— Swain	Atlantic	June 20	Oct. 20, 1847	130	....	....
Three Brothers.....	Sh.	384	Jos. Mitchell, 2nd	Pacific O.	July 7	July 15, 1851	1330	170	....	Added 1846; built at Newcastle, Me., 1829.
Two Brothers.....	Sch.	70	— Hatch	Atlantic	Dec. 17	Oct. — 1846	70	....	....
Young Hero.....	Sh.	340	William B. Swain	Pacific O.	July 12	June 17, 1850	2144	158	....	Capt. Swain left the ship, sick.

1847

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale- Oil	Whale- bone	
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	Eben Baker	Pacific O.	Oct. 29	Oct. 15, 1851	1150	.....	.....	Mr. Prince, third mate, died at sea; sold and sent home about 50 bbls.
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Obed Bunker	Pacific O.	Sept. 5	Apr. 23, 1852	555	90	.....
Henry Clay.....	Sh.	385	Sam. P. Skinner	Pacific O.	Oct. 27	.....	.....	.....	.....	Condemned at Rio Janeiro.
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Sylv. Swain	Pacific O.	Apr. 2	July 7, 1851	852	.....	.....	Sold 50 bbls. sperm.
Kirkwood.....	Bg.	201	Charles Alley	Pacific O.	Oct. 19	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bought from Baltimore, 1847; built 1843; third mate killed in 1849; Capt. Alley died in Panama and the brig was sold there.
Mary.....	Sh.	369	William B. Harris	Pacific O.	Oct. 17	Sept. 21, 1851	717	30	.....	Sold 30 bbls. sperm.
Peru.....	Bk.	257	Consider Fisher	Pacific O.	Aug. 21	Dec. 27, 1850	750	150	.....	Sold 60 bbls. black-fish.
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Isaac B. Hussey	Pacific O.	July 5	July 12, 1851	1095	530	.....	Sent home 8 casks sperm; Capt. Hussey shipped on brig William Penn of San Francisco, and was killed in a mutiny Nov. 6, 1852.
President.....	Sh.	293	Joseph Marshall	Pacific O.	Sept. 1	Dec. 9, 1850	1369	20	.....	Got ashore on Gallipago Islands and came home damaged.
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	Jas. H. Haughton	Pacific O.	Dec. 5	July 28, 1851	1837	8	.....	Sold 125 bbls. sperm; second mate killed by a whale, Dec., 1849.
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	C. Morselander	Pacific O.	Oct. 6	.....	868	.....	.....	Returned to Edgartown damaged in a gale and refitted.
Two Brothers.....	Sch.	70	— Carey	So. Atlantic	Nov. 21 June 19	June 21, 1851 Nov. 15, 1847	50	.....	.....	Returned in consequence of the illness of the captain.
Washington.....	Sh.	308	Stephen Bailey	Pacific O.	Oct. 30	.....	.....	.....	.....	Condemned at Oahu in 1849.

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Catawba.....	Sh.	335	Obed Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Apr. 24	June 16, 1852	1415	29	....	Sold 35 bbls. sperm, 200 bbls. whale. Sold in California, 1853.
Charles Carroll ...	Sh.	376	Josiah C. Long	Pacific O.	Dec. 2	Dec. 29, 1852	1050	93	....
Christ'r Mitchell..	Sh.	387	Thomas Sullivan	Pacific O.	Dec. 11	— — 1852	2023	....	....	Sold to New Bedford.
Daniel Webster...	Sh.	336	Henry C. Bunker	Pacific O.	May 19	May 17, 1852	230	660	2,500	Capt. Bunker came home sick.
Empire.....	Sh.	408	William Upham	Pacific O.	Jan. 2	June 7, 1852	1847	....	....	Sold to New Bedford.
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	William H. Tice	Pacific O.	Oct. 27	Mar. 20, 1853	1446	7	....	Sailed Sept. 23; returned dis-
Henry.....	Sh.	346	Benj. A. Coleman	Pacific O.	July 15	Aug. 10, 1853	900	....	....	masted. Sold 150 bbls. sperm,
Laura.....	Sch.	....	— Pratt	Atlantic	....	Sept. 3, 1848	40	....	....	50 bbls. whale.
Lexington.....	Sh.	399	Dav. Bunker, 2nd	Pacific O.	Nov. 10	Jan. 22, 1853	743	229	....	Sent home 3400 lbs. bone.
Massachusetts....	Sh.	360	Seth Nickerson, Jr.	Pacific O.	Nov. 16	Apr. 22, 1851	97	2412	38,000	Sold 200 bbls. whale; sent home 3200 lbs. bone. Built at Matta-
Nauticon.....	Sh.	372	Charles A. Veeder	Pacific O.	Sept. 12	Mar. 27, 1853	1100	145	1,400	poisett 1848; sold to New Bed-
Norman.....	Sh.	338	John J. Gardner	Pacific O.	Aug. 8	....	....	....	....	ford 1853.
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	George B. Folger	Pacific O.	July 16	Aug. 10, 1852	534	70	....	Went to California — voyage
Phoenix.....	Sh.	323	Perry Winslow	Pacific O.	Nov. 7	Feb. 3, 1853	1158	10	....	broken up.
Quito.....	Bg.	140	John C. Brock	Pacific O.	May 10	....	....	....	....	Sold 30 bbls. sperm, 40 bbls.
Richard Mitchell..	Sh.	386	Robert McCleave	Pacific O.	Aug. 31	Aug. 31, 1852	1745	53	....	black-fish.
Sophia.....	Sch.	170	William Baldwin	Pacific O.	June 15	....	....	....	....	Added 1848 from Sippican. Sent
Zenas Coffin.....	Sh.	338	Charles G. Arthur	Pacific O.	Nov. 9	July 12, 1853	478	11	....	home some sperm oil; went to

Poor year probably because of gold in California.

1849

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Edward Carey	Sh.	350	Roland Phinney	Pacific O.	Oct. 8	Nov. 12, 1853	1133	50	Returned July 30, with Capt. Ray sick and first mate hurt by falling from aloft; sailed again, Aug. 5 under Capt. David U. Coffin; took 837 bbls. sperm, and was condemned at Payta; refitted from Payta under name of "Sophia Somontes."
Ganges	Sh.	315	Thos. Coffin, 2nd	Pacific O.	Sept. 12	July 20, 1853	1813	....	....
Mariner	Sh.	349	Albert S. Ray	Pacific O.	May 20	....	....	....	....
Navigator	Sh.	333	George Palmer	Pacific O.	Aug. 27	June 19, 1854	837	Sold and sent home 60 bbls.
Omega	Sh.	363	Chas. C. Russell	Pacific O.	June 5	Oct. 3, 1853	696	....	....
Potomac	Sh.	356	Charles Grant	Pacific O.	Aug. 7	May 10, 1853	1976	25	....
Tyleston	Bg.	111	Reub. F. Starbuck	Atlantic	Apr. 7	July 27, 1850	30	80	....

1850

Alpha	Sh.	345	Joseph Congdon	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	July 25, 1854	1627	Sold to Edgartown. Bought from Portsmouth, N. H.; built 1846. Sent home 90 bbls. sperm. The bone, with the oil sent home on the voyage brought \$22,000. Capt. Swain left the ship at Talcahuano; sent home 15,630 lbs. bone.
American	Sh.	329	Fred. W. Luce	Pacific O.	Aug. 17	July 16, 1853	306	22	....
Apphia Maria	Sh.	260	Hiram Folger	Pacific O.	July 25	Aug. 24, 1854	340	282	....
Atlantic	Sh.	321	Z. M. Coleman	Pacific O.	July 7	Nov. 10, 1853	1330	The bone, with the oil sent home on the voyage brought \$22,000. Capt. Swain left the ship at Talcahuano; sent home 15,630 lbs. bone.
Columbia	Sh.	329	William Cash	Pacific O.	Oct. 13	May 28, 1854	....	1634	19,400
Enterprise	Sh.	413	Chas. B. Swain, 2d	No. Pacific O.	July 10	May 28, 1854	674	1194	10,000	

1850—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Maria.....	Sh.	365	David Baker	Pacific O.	Sept. 15	....	1326	30	....	Capt. Baker came home sick. Condemned at Rio Janeiro, Sept.; 1854.
Mohawk.....	Sh.	350	Oliver C. Swain	No. Pacific O.	May 29	Apr. 20, 1854	1800	70	....	Built at Medford, 1850.
Monticello.....	Sh.	365	John M. Folger	Pacific O.	Sept. 10	Sept. 6, 1853	604	1004	....	Sold 80 bbls. whale.
Nantucket	Sh.	350	Richard C. Gibbs	Pacific O.	June 8	Aug. 31, 1854	1022	63	....	Sent home 769 bbls. sperm, 100 bbls. whale.
Ontario.....	Sh.	354	Obed Cathcart	Pacific O.	Sept. 12	....	700	....	....	Condemned at Tahaiti; oil shipped to England.
Paragon.....	Bk.	309	Thomas Nelson	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	....	....	....	....	Built at Medford 1850; sent home and sold 210 bbls. sperm; lost Mar. 20, 1853 on Strong's Island.
Tyleston.....	Bg.	111	Shadrack Gifford	Atlantic	Sept. 2	May 4, 1851	22	....	....	Edward Narbeth, first mate, died.
Young Hero.....	Sh.	304	Samuel C. Wyer	Pacific O.	Nov. 4	June 27, 1855	1275	....	....

1851

Alabama.....	Sh.	340	Benj. Coggeshall	Pacific O.	June 10	Jan. 24, 1855	1794	....	....	Capt. Coggeshall left the ship, sick, and died at home Nov., 1854.
Citizen.....	Sh.	360	Richard C. Bailey	No. Pacific O.	Oct. 28	June 27, 1855	351	1597	16, 121	Sent home 17,236 lbs. bone; bought from New Bedford. Capt.
Edward.....	Sh.	339	Edward P. Mosher	No. Pacific O.	July 23	July 27, 1854	....	....	....	Mosher took 900 bbls. of oil, went to Sydney and sold it. Capt. E. E. Austin was sent to bring the ship home.

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

1851—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Joseph McCleave	Pacific O.	Nov. 1	May 31, 1855	810	23	8,300	Sent home 400 bbls. sperm, 800 bbls. whale, 15,000 lbs. bone.
James Loper.....	Sh.	348	Wm. S. Whippey	No. Pacific O.	Sept. 6	Apr. 9, 1855	15	1559	15,700	
Massachusetts.....	Sh.	360	Seth Nickerson	No. Pacific O.	Sept. 20	Mar. 12, 1853	276	2585	40,300	Sold to New Bedford.
Napoleon.....	Sh.	360	William Holley	Pacific O.	July 13	July 20, 1854	492	1263	.....
Narragansett.....	Sh.	398	James Coleman	Pacific O.	July 6	May 31, 1855	1757	.....	.....	Sent home 30 bbls. sperm; built at Plymouth, 1839.
Norman.....	Sh.	338	Joseph C. Chase	Pacific O.	Oct. 21	Aug. 4, 1855	20	1180	.....
Oneco.....	Sch.	90	Peter C. Raymond	Atlantic	May 10	Oct. 15, 1851	89	.....	.....	Sent home 1080 bbls. sperm; sold 220 bbls. black-fish.
Palmyra.....	Sch.	100	Benj. Raymond	Atlantic	July 5	Aug. 10, 1852	67	.....	.....
Peru.....	Bk.	257	Chas. E. Starbuck	Pacific O.	July 16	May 31, 1855	664	.....	.....	Sold to New Bedford, 1855. Condemned at Upola, 1855.
President.....	Sh.	293	Wm. C. Folger, 2d	Pacific O.	July 21	May 23, 1855	600	50	.....
Rambler.....	Sh.	318	John Porter	Pacific O.	Oct. 23	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bought the whale oil at the Navi- gator Islands of ship York.
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	James Wyer	Pacific O.	Oct. 26	Nov. 14, 1853	600	1570	.....
Susan.....	Sh.	349	Veranus Smith	Pacific O.	Dec. 5	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lost going into the Arctic, off Company Island, Apr. 26, 1853; had 400 bbls. sperm.
Three Brothers.....	Sh	384	Joseph Adams	No. Pacific O.	Oct. 15	Mar. 17, 1854	18	2295	26,300	
Tyleston.....	Bg.	111	Edw. Swain	Atlantic	June 18	Dec. 29, 1852	4	2	.....	There must be some error in the published return. This result is impossible.

1852

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Barclay.....	Sh.	301	David Cottle	Pacific O.	July 13	.....	.....	.....	....	Condemned at Tahiti 1856; oil shipped home by schooner Har- loise and lost near Rio.
Catawba.....	Sh.	335	Obed Swain, 2nd	Pacific O.	Dec. 25	May 31, 1857	789	.....	....	Sent home 417 bbls. sperm; broken up 1856.
Constitution.....	Sh.	318	Joseph Winslow	Pacific O.	Sept. 2	July 14, 1856	1600	130	....	Sold to New Bedford.
Daniel Webster...	Sh.	336	Henry Starbuck	Pacific O.	Aug. 28	July 15, 1856	750	....	....	Built at Mattapoisett 1852; Capt.
Gazelle.....	Sh.	340	William Upham	Pacific O.	Dec. 15	June 1, 1857	1060	....	....	Upham died on the voyage; sold to New Bedford.
Homer.....	Bg.	140	Joseph Fisher	Atlantic	June 6	Sept. 12, 1854	165	25	...	Built at Woolwich, Me., 1848.
Mary.....	Sh.	369	Benj. C. Sayer	Pacific O.	Aug. 5	May 11, 1856	300	1200	...	Built at Newburyport 1852; sent home 443 bbls. sperm; burned at Payta, Oct., 1854.
Memnon.....	Sh.	430	Jas. H. Houghton	Pacific O.	Oct. 2	.....	.....	.....	...	Reported arrived July 21, 1853, with 65 bbls. black-fish; sent home 35 bbls. sperm.
Oneco.....	Sch.	90	Alex G. Brown	Atlantic	May 20	June 21, 1853	.....	.....	...	Broken up at New Bedford 1857.
Palmyra.....	Sch.	105	Abraham Swain	Atlantic	Sept. 26	Aug. 22, 1853	60	30	....	Taken upon the Marine Railway at Nantucket and her hull re- paired; burned there in 1859.
Peruvian.....	Sh.	334	Edw. B. Hussey, Jr.	Indian O.	Dec. 6	Oct. 19, 1856	1000	....	....	Sent home 350 bbls. sperm; sold to Edgartown.
Planter.....	Sh.	340	Henry Pease	Pacific O.	May 19	Aug. 7, 1856	1300	100	....
Richard Mitchell..	Sh.	386	Thad. C. Defriez	Pacific O.	Dec. 22	July 14, 1856	734	....	....

1853

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale bone	
Game Cock.....	Sch.	....	William Patterson	Atlantic	June 20	July 24, 1853	Clean	....	....	Made two voyages between those dates.
Ganges.....	Sh.	315	John B. Nickerson	Pacific O.	Oct. 19	....	....	....	....	Condemned at Talcahuano, June, 1858.
Harvest.....	Sh.	360	Benj. F. Riddell	Pacific O.	Aug. 9	Nov. 10, 1857	495	770	....	Sent home 100 bbls. sperm, 450 bbls. whale, 22,537 lbs. bone. Sold to New Bedford.
Henry.....	Sh.	346	Dav. Bunker, 2nd	Pacific O.	Oct. 18	....	....	....	....	Sent home 446 bbls. sperm, 42 bbls. whale, 576 lbs. bone; condemned at Talcahuano, 1858.
Hamilton.....	Sch.	....	James McGuire	Atlantic	Apr. 8	Sept. 15, 1853	....	101	....	Made five voyages between those dates; built at New York, 1844.
Lexington.....	Sh.	399	Peter C. Brock	Atl. & P. O.	May 21	June 25, 1856	310	1637	....	Sold 20 bbls. whale; sent home 19,952 lbs. bone.
Massachusetts.....	Sh.	360	Horace Nickerson	No. Pacific O.	Aug. 16	June 20, 1856	30	1500	....	Sent home 15,500 lbs. bone.
Monticello.....	Sh.	368	Eben Baker	Pacific O.	Nov. 15	Jan. 15, 1858	1182	....	....	Sold to New London, 1859.
Oneco.....	Sch.	....	Alexander Brown	Atlantic	Aug. 4	Sept. 6, 1853	....	....	....	No report.
Omega.....	Sh.	363	Wm. T. Hawes	No. Pacific O.	Dec. 8	May 7, 1857	100	1900	....	Sold to Edgartown; sent home 11,056 lbs. bone.
Phoenix.....	Sh.	323	Israel Mowry	No. Pacific O.	July 19	May 13, 1856	72	975	....	Sent home 90 bbls. sperm, 1000 bbls. whale, 10,800 lbs. bone.
Potomac.....	Sh.	356	Enoch Ackley	Pacific O.	Oct. 27	Sept. 17, 1857	....	....	....	Capt. Ackley died on the voyage; sent home 300 bbls. sperm; was one of the "stone fleet" sunk off Charleston harbor.
Tyleston.....	Bg.	111	William H. Tice	Pacific O.	Oct. 30	....	....	....	....	Encountered gales off Cape Horn; returned to Pernambuco and was condemned; took no oil.

1853—Continued

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
William P. Dolliver	Sch.		David Patterson	Atlantic	Apr. 19	Sept. 21, 1853	...	186	...	Bought from New Bedford; built 1852; made four voyages between those dates.
Zenas Coffin	Sh.	368	J. R. Rose	No. Pacific O.	Nov. 17	Feb. 15, 1857	80	2515	...	Sent home \$15,000 worth of oil and bone; sold to New York.

1854

Atlantic	Sh.	321	Zenas M. Coleman	Pacific O.	June 13	Apr. 17, 1858	1038	...	...	Sent home 260 bbls. sperm; sold 10 bbls. sperm.
Columbia	Sh.	329	Hiram Folger	Pacific O.	Dec. 9	May 24, 1859	1040	...	...	Sent home 570 bbls. sperm.
Edward Carey	Sh.	353	Perry Winslow	Pacific O.	May 22	Aug. 8, 1858	665	...	...	Second mate, Charles H. Ellis, killed by the falling of a block.
Enterprise	Sh.	413	John Brown	No. Pacific O.	Dec. 16	May 5, 1858	213	2500	...	Dec., 1855; sold to New Bedford; broken up 1858; sent home 23,000 lbs. bone.
Hamilton	Sch.	75	Hiram Bailey	Atlantic	Apr. 25	July 26, 1854	...	136	...	Sold to Mattapoisett.
Mohawk	Sh.	350	Charles Grant	Pacific O.	Aug. 13	Aug. 23, 1858	1746	...	...	Sent home 179 bbls. sperm, 31,000 lbs. bone; largest quantity ever brought into Nantucket.
Palmyra	Sch.	100	Benj. Raymond	No. Atlantic	May 11	Aug. 7, 1855	100	22	...	
Spartan	Sh.	333	Elihu F. Turner	Pacific O.	July 3	June 21, 1858	1600	...	...
Three Brothers	Sh.	384	C. E. Cleaveland	Pacific O.	July 10	Apr. 20, 1859	...	6000	...	
William P. Dolliver	Sch.	90	{ Nathan Manter Hiram Bailey	Atlantic	Apr. 26 Dec. 17,	June 26, 1854	18 32	97 284	...	

1855

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale- Oil	Whale- bone	
Alabama.....	Bk.	340	Thos. Coffin, 2nd	Pacific O.	June 27	Sept. 28, 1859	1151	....	....	Returned Sept. 1, leaking; sailed again Sept. 24; sent home 54 bbls. sperm.
Alpha.....	Sh.	345	Wm. H. Haswell	Pacific O.	July 9	July 29, 1859	1281	....	....	Condemned at Valparaiso, Mar., 1859.
Apphia Maria.....	Bk.	260	Charles H. Chase	Pacific O.	May 23	....	....	....	....
Citizen.....	Sh.	360	William Cash	Pacific O.	Oct. 29	July 4, 1859	2012	130	....	Sent home 900 lbs. of bone; sold to New York.
Hamilton.....	Sch.	75	— Sheffield	Atlantic	Nov. 23	....	....	....	....	No report.
Homer.....	Bg.	140	Lewis B. Imbert	Atlantic	Aug. 12	Oct. 30, 1856	107	20	....	Sold to New York.
James Loper.....	Sh.	348	Obed Ramsdell	Pacific O.	Sept. 18	Aug. 14, 1860	928	64	....	Lost on Nashawena, homeward bound; had 736 bbls. sperm, 794 bbls. whale; sent home 240 bbls. sperm, 320 bbls. whale, 3000 lbs. bone.
Nantucket.....	Sh.	351	Richard C. Gibbs	Pacific O.	June 14	....	....	....	....	Built 1855; sold to the Spanish Government. Sent home 73 bbls. whale. Built at Manchester 1853; Capt. Bailey was drowned at Bona Vista, May 31, 1856. Added 1855. Burned at Sandwich Islands, 1858.
Narragansett.....	Sh.	398	Geo. W. Gardner	Pacific O.	Nov. 22	May 20, 1860	833	....	....
Norman.....	Sh.	338	Charles C. Ray	Pacific O.	Oct. 16	May 12, 1860	975	....	....
Ocean Rover.....	Sh.	417	Charles A. Veeder	Pacific O.	July 11	Oct. 26, 1858	1721	....	....
Peru.....	Bk.	259	Fred. A. Easton	Pacific O.	Oct. 4	Aug. 1, 1859	820	....	....
Watchman.....	Sch.	140	Hiram Bailey	Atlantic	Nov. 30	July 14, 1856	....	530	....
William P. Dolliver	Sch.	90	James Maguire	Atlantic	Nov. 8	....	....	....	....
Young Hero.....	Sh.	340	Valentine C. Long	No. Pacific O.	Oct. 8	....	....	....	....

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Hero.....	Sh.	313	William Holway	Pacific O.	Oct. 11	July 11, 1860	1150	250	Built at Fairhaven, 1856. Sent home 82 bbls. sperm, 628 bbls. whale, 12,385 lbs. bone; lost on Strong's Island in 1859; saved 100 bbls. sperm. Sold to New York; fitted for Cali- fornia. Sent home 43,000 lbs. bone; sold to San Francisco, 1861. Capt. Hinckley came home sick; sent home 150 bbls. sperm, 1075 bbls. whale; lost on Elbow Island, Ochotsk Sea. Built at Mattapoisett 1856; sold to Providence; afterwards bought for New Bedford. Obtained 4 bbls. of ambergris which sold for \$10,000. } Added 1856.
Homer.....	Bg.	140	James L. Fisher	Atlantic	Nov. 20	Sept. 9, 1857	77	54	....
Hamilton.....	Sch.	75	David Patterson	Atlantic	July 21	Aug. — 1856	....	40	....
Islander.....	Bk.	347	Chas. E. Starbuck	Pacific O.	Aug. 19	June 9, 1861	800	....	....
Lexington.....	Sh.	399	James Fisher	Pacific O.	Sept. 19	....	....	....	....
Mary.....	Sh.	369	John C. Brock	Pacific O.	Sept. 9	Apr. 29, 1861	1170	Built at Fairhaven, 1856. Sent home 82 bbls. sperm, 628 bbls. whale, 12,385 lbs. bone; lost on Strong's Island in 1859; saved 100 bbls. sperm. Sold to New York; fitted for Cali- fornia. Sent home 43,000 lbs. bone; sold to San Francisco, 1861. Capt. Hinckley came home sick; sent home 150 bbls. sperm, 1075 bbls. whale; lost on Elbow Island, Ochotsk Sea. Built at Mattapoisett 1856; sold to Providence; afterwards bought for New Bedford. Obtained 4 bbls. of ambergris which sold for \$10,000. } Added 1856.
Massachusetts....	Sh.	360	Thos. Chatfield	Pacific O.	Sept. 28	Oct. 14, 1860	....	1540	....
Phenix.....	Bk.	323	J. Hinckley	No. Pacific O.	Oct. 19	....	....	....	....
Sea Ranger.....	Bk.	370	Henry W. Davis	Pacific O.	Sept. 16	Oct. 14, 1860	1713	51	....
Watchman.....	Sch.	140	Chas. W. Hussey	Atlantic	Sept. 23	Aug. 26, 1858	44	386	1,350	
William P. Dolliver	Sch.	86	{ J. Maguire J. Maguire James Russell	Atlantic	{ June 24 Aug. 20 Oct. 30	{ Aug. 15, 1856 Aug. 25, 1856 Oct. 20, 1857	{ 20	{ 55 clean 66	{	Built at Fairhaven, 1856. Sent home 82 bbls. sperm, 628 bbls. whale, 12,385 lbs. bone; lost on Strong's Island in 1859; saved 100 bbls. sperm. Sold to New York; fitted for Cali- fornia. Sent home 43,000 lbs. bone; sold to San Francisco, 1861. Capt. Hinckley came home sick; sent home 150 bbls. sperm, 1075 bbls. whale; lost on Elbow Island, Ochotsk Sea. Built at Mattapoisett 1856; sold to Providence; afterwards bought for New Bedford. Obtained 4 bbls. of ambergris which sold for \$10,000. } Added 1856.

1857

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Catawba.....	Sh.	335	Israel Morey	So. Atlantic Pacific O.	Sept. 3	Apr. 19, 1859	21	2827	....	Sold to New York. Built at Mystic 1857; sold to New York, 1863.
Constitution.....	Sh.	400	Joseph Winslow		Sept. 18	July 1, 1863	1600	....	....
Eliza Jane.....	Sch.	130	William T. Swain	So. Atlantic	Aug. 15	Apr. 9, 1859	....	550	....	Added 1857; tender to ship Ca- tawba; sold to New Bedford.
Nautilus.....	Bk.	220	Ed'n M. Hardwick	Indian O.	June 22	....	....	....	....	Bought from Boston 1857; sent home 80 bbls. sperm; lost at Port Dauphin.

1858

Atlantic.....	Sh.	321	Zenas M. Coleman	Pacific O.	Aug. 2	Aug. 23, 1862	1316	Sold to New York. Sold in San Francisco; fitted for a whaler from there, and was cap- tured and burned by the Shenan- doah; sent home 1500 lbs. bone.
Edward Carey....	Sh.	353	Fran. M. Gardner	Pacific O.	Oct. 20	....	....	....	....
Homer.....	Bg.	140	George Haggerty	So. Atlantic Nant. Shoals Pacific O. Atlantic	July 6	Oct. 4, 1859	325	Sold to Fairhaven. Sold to New Bedford.
Key West.....	Sch.	....	James McGuire		July 7	July 25, 1858	....	14	....
Spartan.....	Sh.	333	Obed R. Bunker		Oct. 19	Aug. 23, 1863	643	557	....
Watchman*.....	Sch.	140	Chas. W. Hussey		....	....	....	563	....

*Four other schooners sailed, but returned clean.

1859

Mohawk.....	Sh.	350	George H. Swain	Pacific O.	May 12	June 29, 1863	1000	Sold to New York. Sold to New London. Sold to New Bedford.
Peru.....	Bk.	257	Elihu F. Turner	Pacific O.	Sept. 25	May 2, 1863	1360	12	....
Three Brothers....	Sh.	384	Calvin Swain	Pacific O.	....	Apr. 2, 1865	925	250	....
Watchman.....	Sch.	140	Chas. W. Hussey	Atlantic	Sept. 6	Sept. 25, 1860	65	430	....

1860

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Alabama.....	Bk.	340	Alfred M. Coffin	Pacific O.	May 6	Sent home 4000 gals. sperm; lost on Chatham Islands. Took 1000 bbls. sperm; sold at San Francisco. Capt. Abbott died at sea, Sept. 5, 1861; condemned at Upola. Lost in Algoa Bay, New Holland, 1861. Sold to New Bedford. Sold to Provincetown.
Alpha.....	Sh.	345	Wm. H. Caswell	Pacific O.	Apr. 26	....	....	....	....
Columbia.....	Sh.	329	Joseph Abbott	Pacific O.	Apr. 30	....	....	....	....
Hero.....	Sh.	313	Edw. B. Hussey, Jr.	Pacific O.	Sept. 30	....	....	....	....
Norman.....	Sh.	338	Richard C. Gibbs	Pacific O.	Aug. 20	May 3, 1865	1200	....	....
Watchman.....	Sch.	140	Chas. W. Hussey	Atlantic	Nov. 30	Oct. 13, 1861	20	400	

1861

Samuel Chase.....	Sch.	65	James McGuire	Shoals	125	Made five trips humpbacking; sold to Dartmouth.
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1862

Islander.....	Sh.	347	William Cash	Pacific O.	June 13	July 13, 1865	2400	560	Sent home 1800 lbs. bone; sold to New Bedford.
Rainbow.....	Sch.	80	{ James McGuire Robt. F. Kent	Atlantic Atlantic	May 8 Nov. 17	July 3, 1862 June 23, 1863	35 29	56	....
R. L. Barstow....	Bk.	200	Chas. W. Hussey	Atlantic	May 9	July 26, 1865	360	556	

1863

Rainbow.....	Sch.	80	R. F. Kent	Atlantic	July —	Sept. — 1863	Clean.
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1864

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton- nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale- bone	
Rainbow.....	Sch.	80	Zenas M. Coleman	Atlantic	May 4	Sept. 12, 1864	80	20	....	Sold to Dartmouth.

1865

Eunice H. Adams..	Sch.	107	Z. M. Coleman	Atlantic	Apr. 18	Sept. 30, 1865	230	....	....
R. L. Barstow...	Bk.	182	Chas. W. Hussey	Atlantic	Nov. 19	Sept. 20, 1868	400	400	....

1866

Amy.....	Bk.	232	Joseph Winslow	Pacific O.	May 30	....	1450	50	....	Bought from Boston 1866; sold to Boston 1871.
B. Colcord.....	Bk.	234	Edw. McCleave	Pacific O.	Nov. 6	....	....	....	....	Sent home 723 lbs. bone; Mr. Munroe, first mate, killed by falling from aloft, Jan., 1871; sold at Talcahuano for whaling.
Eunice H. Adams..	Sch.	107	Z. M. Coleman	Atl. & Ind. O.	May 8	Sept. 26, 1866	203	....	....	Mate, James H. Bunker, killed by a whale; altered to a brig, 1867.
M. Wrightington	Bk.	132	Elihu F. Turner	Pacific O.	July 2	....	....	....	....	Bought from Fall River 1866; sold at Talcahuano.

1867

Amy Bradford....	Sch.	114	John Murray	Atlantic	Apr. 30	Sept. 1, 1868	404	5	....
Eunice H. Adams..	Bg.	107	Z. M. Coleman	Atlantic	May 1	Sept. 26, 1868	170	....	....
Oak.....	Bk.	167	Josiah Chadwick	Atl. & Ind. O.	June 11	Sept. 20, 1869	570	15	....

1868

NAME OF VESSEL	CLASS	Ton-nage	CAPTAIN	WHALING GROUND	DATE		RESULT OF VOYAGE			REMARKS
					Sailed	Returned	Sperm Oil	Whale Oil	Whale-bone	
Bohio.....	Bk.	197	Henry W. Davis	Pacific O.	July 12	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bought from New York 1868; sold at Callao, Jan., 1872.
R. L. Barstow....	Bk.	182	William Jernegan	Pacific O.	Dec. 19	.....	430	650	.....	Sold at Callao, Feb., 1873.

1869

Abby Bradford....	Sch.	114	John Murray	Atlantic	May 10	Oct. 24, 1869	500	10	.....	Sold to New Bedford.
Eunice H. Adams..	Bg.	107	Z. M. Coleman.	Atlantic	Mar. 31	June 14, 1870	550	10	.....	Sold to New Bedford.
Oak.....	Bk.	167	Wm. B. Thompson	Pacific O.	Nov. 16	.....	.....	.....	.....	Sold at Panama, 1872; sent home 60 bbls. sperm, 450 bbls. whale. Nantucket's last whaler.

CHAPTER XI

THE TRAGEDIES OF WHALE FISHING

Many business enterprises have their special risks. The majority of those hazards can be foreseen and guarded against, and become risks largely through carelessness or a disobedience of instructions. It is doubtful if any other pursuit can show the multitude of perils that the Whale Fishery developed or the number which could not reasonably have been foreseen and avoided. It would not easily be possible to record the vast number of fatalities or very serious injuries that befell individual whalers from a great variety of causes—such as falling from aloft; drowning by being lost overboard; carried down under water by being caught by a leg or an arm by a kink in a whale-line when fast to a whale; by being thrown into the water disabled from a stove boat; murdered by the treacherous natives of some of the myriad Pacific islands where ships' captains sought water and supplies. These were tragedies indeed in the families to which the victims belonged, but they were too numerous to chronicle, and, though overwhelming to the families to which the unfortunate men belonged lost their importance as historical events because of their frequency. It is therefore possible only to note those in which a ship's company participated, and which became especially noteworthy because of the circumstances surrounding or accompanying them.

The first of these casualties or tragedies among Nantucket whalers of which there seems to be any record is the loss of a sloop commanded by Elisha Coffin in 1722 with all on board. A similar casualty befel a sloop commanded by Thomas Hathaway in 1731: The first of which we have a detailed account is the wrecking of the schooner, *Lowden*, commanded by Peleg Swain, and the sloop *Rochester* commanded by David Squires, that left Nantucket June 10, 1774, bound on a whaling voyage to the Coast of Africa. Although none of either crew perished the escape of both companies was remarkable.

Shaping their course from Sankoty Head, the weather being pleasant and the larger number of the crews being below, they were suddenly startled by the cry of "breakers."* Mr. Macy, in describing the event says†—"A boat's crew from the sloop attempted to carry

*It is most surprising that skilled navigators as the officers must have been and familiar with the waters around Nantucket, that they should have been caught as they were.

†Hist. of Nantucket p 2360.

out an anchor, with a faint hope that they might get the vessel off the shoal, but the sea ran so high as to compel them to drop the anchor under the bows. The boat was carried over the shoal,* and, not being able to regain the sloop, the crew made the best of their way for the shore, but, as the weather was pleasant, they came around the Point† and landed in the harbor. A vessel was immediately sent to the relief of those in peril, which returned the next day, without making any discoveries. * * * * There was some hope that the remaining crews might be saved; and accordingly a large number of the inhabitants traversed the shore and kept a constant look out.

"The quarter-deck of the sloop departed from the body of the vessel nearly whole. The crew, 13 in number,‡ got upon it, and exerted themselves to gain the shore. Their only provisions consisted of a jug of rum and about three quarters of a barrel of flour. At dawn of day they reached the S. E. part of the Island, whence they travelled to Siasconset. The crew of the schooner did not fare so well. Their boats being dashed to pieces, they made a raft of spars, and without provisions of any kind, with paddles and pieces of board, attempted to gain the shore. With unremitted labor, they got within a short distance of Siasconset in the evening of the same day, on which the other crew landed. The tide was sweeping them by, undiscovered by the people of the village.** They then hallooed with their united voices many times; at length they were heard and responded to. A boat was immediately sent off, which took them from their perilous situation and brought them on shore, exhausted with fatigue and hunger. But for the fine weather they must have inevitably perished."

SHIP UNION

The ship Union, Edmund Gardner, master, sailed from Nantucket September 19, 1807, bound on a whaling voyage to the Coast of Brazil. At 10 o'clock on the evening of October 1st while sailing along at about seven miles an hour with a brisk breeze from the North-west and a high swell on, a whale was struck by her,†† the blow being on the ship's starboard bow, ten or twelve feet from the stern and seven below the wale. So heavy was the impact that two timbers were broken. The pumps were immediately manned, but the water rushed in through the break so rapidly that it became evident that the destruction of the ship was certain and was only briefly postponed. Preparations were at once made by Capt. Gardner, who was a young man and on his first voyage as commander, to abandon ship.‡‡ The boats were accordingly got ready for lowering and supplies with provisions, water, fireworks, books, and nautical instruments and such other needed articles as could safely be carried.

*Great Rip—about 15 miles from the east end of the island.

†Great Point.

‡It would seem as though Mr. Macy must be in error about the number. The sloop's complement of men was doubtless two boats' crews and a ship keeper. One boat's crew had been sent off with the anchor, so it is not likely that 13 were left.

**At the rate of about three miles an hour.

††A sperm whale.

‡‡Soon after it was apparent that the ship was badly damaged Capt. Gardner went into the hold with a lantern to ascertain the extent of the injury. It was clear that saving the ship was impossible as it was not improbable that the worst of the injury was not in sight.

By midnight the water had risen to between decks and it was evident that departure could not safely be delayed. Getting away was attended with great difficulty and hazard and within an hour from the time they got clear the ship upset. The crew left the ship in three boats, but the difficulty of keeping together, a proceeding which seemed advisable, made it seem best to let one boat go and divide the crew of 16 between the other two.

The weather was rough through the night and the boats were kept before the wind until morning, by which time the wind moderated. The prevailing winds being from the Northwest they deemed it advisable to steer an easterly course and endeavor to reach the Azores Islands. A sail was made for each boat, and by this means they were enabled to make greater progress and to save the men from the fatigue of rowing. At 10 o'clock that day the sight of a schooner at the north of them temporarily encouraged them, but they soon found that the direction of the wind would prevent their reaching her, and it was evident that no one on the vessel had sighted them. Their position at this time was latitude $38^{\circ} 40'$ North, longitude $40^{\circ} 52'$ West.

The next day the breeze was brisk and progress satisfactory. At 8 o'clock in the evening the wind increased and soon had developed into a gale with frequent and heavy thunder. There was nothing for them to do but to lay to and ride it out. A sea breaking over into the Captain's boat opened a new peril for it was with some difficulty the boat was freed and then it was found necessary in order to avoid a recurrence of the danger to throw overboard a large part of their fresh water and all their clothing excepting what they wore. A line thirty fathoms long attached to them kept the boats as closely as was prudent. In the morning the wind abated and the sea became smooth.

From the time of leaving the wreck they had been drenched with rain and were very cold and uncomfortable, but with the abating of the gale and the subsidence of the sea came a shift of the wind to North northwest, with pleasant weather and they were able to dry their clothing. At this time they were in latitude $39^{\circ} 4'$ North, longitude 40° West. The following night the wind increased again until it became a dangerous gale making it necessary to lash their boats together and drift. The water and provisions were getting short and they were put on an allowance of a gill and a half of water and a cake of ship bread per man a day.

The following twenty-four hours the breeze was strong from the North-north-west with squalls. The following morning they set their sails and steered east. Nothing noteworthy happened until 4 p. m. of the 8th day of October when to their exceeding joy they sighted the island of Flores.* At 8 p. m. they were under the protecting lee of the land. At 9 o'clock the next morning they landed at St. Cruz, the principal town of Flores. By this time their

*One of the Azores group.

supply of water was completely exhausted. They had been in their boats seven days and eight nights, and had journeyed nearly six-hundred miles.

The people of Flores received them with kindness and hospitality. Houses and everything needed for their comfort were provided for them by the Governor of the island and the United States Vice Consul. Capt. Gardner had several times visited Flores, and was acquainted with the Governor who greeted him with much cordiality. They remained on the island until January 27th 1808. Mr. Macy gives as the names of the crew* "Capt Edmund Gardner, Barnabas Russell, David Bunker, Roland Hussey, Charles Folger, Linzee Coffin, David Cleveland, William Morris, Samuel Peters and seven others, strangers to Nantucket."

SHIP COMMERCE

Nothing is known of the fate of the Ship Commerce, Jesse Bunker, master, which sailed from Nantucket in 1805, on a whaling voyage. She was spoken in June, 1806, near the equator, homeward bound with a cargo of oil. There was a heavy gale of wind soon afterward and it is supposed that the ship foundered with all on board. Casks of oil and wreckage supposed to be from her were found near where she was last seen.

SHIP HENRY

The Ship Henry, Isaac Gardner, master, returning from a whaling voyage to the South Seas, on July 29, 1813, in latitude 38° North Longitude 69° West encountered a terrific gale of wind which threw her on her beam ends and carried away her masts while lying to waiting for its abatement. The upper deck was torn up and the entire crew were swept overboard excepting the two mates who were in the run of the ship at the time and were drowned. All who were carried overboard regained the ship excepting one, a black man. The ship at once sunk to the water level, leaving the bowsprit only above water, on which the crew took refuge. Those who regained the ship were Captain Gardner, John Sprague, Samuel Jenkins, Charles Lewis, Owen Rowland, Paul Hussey, Thomas Fuller, Robert Jackson, William Amos, Francis Randal and Newport Green. Those who perished immediately were George Bruff, John Gardner and Richard Thompson. Capt. Gardner and Newport Green soon after were swept away and drowned. The next day but nine were left. The survivors succeeded in salvaging a cask of molasses and some beef which formed their principal subsistence. One by one they perished—John Sprague died August 10; Owen Rowland August 15; Robert Jackson August 21; Francis Randal, August 25. Subsequently the survivors caught some fish.

After forty-six days of these terrible experiences the survivors were taken from the wreck by an English cartel ship from Chatham,

*Hist. of Nantucket p. 242.

Capt. Arms, and arrived in New Bedford September 25. The only survivors of the crew were Samuel Jenkins, Charles Lewis, Thomas Fuller, Paul Hussey and William Amos.

THE GENERAL LINCOLN

The General Lincoln, a ship of 285 tons burthen, Shubael Chase, master, sailed from Nantucket, September 21, 1818, bound on a whaling voyage to the Coast of Brazil. Six days after sailing, while in latitude $39^{\circ} 30'$ North, longitude 45° West, a heavy gale was encountered, blowing from S. S. E. to E. S. E. and continuing through the night. At 8 o'clock the next morning the wind abated, and soon died away entirely, leaving a heavy and dangerous swell. The calm lasted but about fifteen minutes, when a breeze sprung up from the westward and rapidly increased until it reached hurricane velocity, with a mountainous sea running. The ship was soon thrown upon her beam ends and it seemed impossible to save her. The flying vapor and spray made the day almost like night while the roaring of the wind made it almost impossible to understand orders. The ship was finally cleared of some of her spars and righted. Soon afterwards she shipped a heavy sea and six men were washed overboard. Three regained the ship but the others were drowned. When the gale subsided the pumps were manned and the ship cleared of water. The officers and crew determined to stay by the ship and endeavor to work her into port but they could make but very limited sail and the unfavorable weather continuing gave them little encouragement. Falling in with the brig Telegraph, of Providence, Captain Hill, the situation appearing so hopeless, the men took a few of their belongings from the ship and putting them on the brig abandoned their own vessel.

THE ESSEX

One of the most remarkable and serious disasters that ever befel a whaling ship was that which sunk the Essex, and forced her men to journey for ninety-three days in open boats before the feeble remnant of a stalwart crew succeeded in finding safety. The first mate, Owen Chase, wrote the story of their hardships after their return home and it is from his book that the stories of that terrible period of privation and suffering are taken.

The Essex, a ship of 238 tons burthen, commanded by Captain George Pollard Jr., sailed from Nantucket August 12, 1819, bound for the Pacific Ocean on a whaling voyage. She had been thoroughly repaired and was in all respects a sound, substantial vessel. She had a crew of 21 men and was victualled and equipped for a thirty months voyage. On the second day out she was struck by a sudden squall, thrown upon her beam ends, one boat smashed and two destroyed and some other damage done. The ship righted herself. A call was made at the island of Flores, and supply of fresh vegetables and meat secured, and a whaleboat purchased at the Isle of May, one of the Cape de Verdes from the wrecked ship

Archimedes, of New York, which was stranded on the beach. Nothing of especial importance happened and the ship in due time arrived off the cruising ground along the Coast of Chili, where they obtained 250 barrels of oil. From there they went to the Coast of Peru where they got 550 barrels more. Off to the westward of Charles Island, while lowered for whales the mate's boat was badly smashed by a whale that rose directly under it. Thus far little had occurred that was not liable to happen to any whaling vessel.

"On the 20th of November," (quoting from Mr. Chase's account,*) 'cruising in latitude $0^{\circ} 40'$ S, longitude 119° W.) a shoal of whales was discovered off the lee-bow. The weather at this time was extremely fine and clear, and it was about 8 o'clock in the morning that the man at the masthead gave the usual cry of "there she blows." The ship was immediately put away, and we ran down in the direction of them. When we had got within half a mile of the place where they were observed, all our boats were lowered down, manned, and we started in pursuit of them. The ship, in the meantime, was brought to the wind, and the main-top-sail hove aback, to wait for us. I had the harpoon in the second boat; the Captain preceded me in the first. When I arrived at the spot where we calculated they were, nothing was at first to be seen. We lay on our oars in anxious expectation of discovering them come up somewhere near us. Presently one rose, and spouted a short distance ahead of my boat; I made all speed towards it, came up with, and struck it; feeling the harpoon in him, he threw himself, in an agony, over towards the boat, (which at that time was up alongside of him,) and giving a severe blow with his tail, struck the boat near the edge of the water, amidships, and stove a hole in her. I immediately took up the boat hatchet and cut the line, to disengage the boat from the whale, which by this time was running off with great velocity. I succeeded in getting clear of him, with the loss of the harpoon and line; and finding the water to pour fast in the boat, I hastily stuffed three or four of our jackets in the hole, ordered one man to keep constantly bailing, and the rest to pull immediately for the ship; we succeeded in keeping the boat free, and shortly gained the ship. The Captain and second mate, in the other two boats, kept up the pursuit, and soon struck another whale. They being at this time a considerable distance to leeward, I went forward, braced around the main-yard, and put the ship off in a direction for them; the boat which had been stove was immediately hoisted in, and after examining the hole, I found that I could, by nailing a piece of canvas over it, get her ready to join in a fresh pursuit, sooner than by lowering down the other remaining boat which belonged to the ship. I accordingly turned her over upon the quarter, and was in the act of nailing on the canvass, when I observed a very large spermaceti whale, as well as I could judge, about eighty-five feet in length; he broke water about twenty rods off our weather-bow, and was lying quietly, with his head in a direction for the ship. He spouted two or three times, and then disappeared. In less than two or three seconds he came up again, about the length of the ship off, and made directly for us, at the rate of about three knots. The ship was then going with about the same velocity. His appearance and attitude gave us at first no alarm; but while I stood watching his movements, and observing him but a ship's length off, coming down for us with great great celerity, I involuntarily ordered the boy at

*Page 24.

the helm to put it hard up; intending to sheer off and avoid him. The words were scarcely out of my mouth, before he came down upon us with full speed, and struck the ship with his head, just forward of the forechains; he gave us such an appalling and tremendous jar, as nearly threw us all on our faces. The ship brought up as suddenly and violently as if she had struck a rock, and trembled for a few seconds like a leaf. We looked at each other with perfect amazement, deprived almost of the power of speech. Many minutes elapsed before we were able to realize the dreadful accident; during which time he passed under the ship, grazing her keel as he went along, came up alongside of her to leeward, and lay on the top of the water, (apparently stunned with the violence of the blow,) for the space of a minute; he then suddenly started off, in a direction to leeward. After a few moment's reflection, and recovering, in some measure, from the sudden consternation that had seized us, I of course concluded that he had stove a hole in the ship, and that it would be necessary to set the pumps going. Accordingly they were rigged, but had not been in operation more than one minute, before I perceived the head of the ship to be gradually settling down in the water; I then ordered the signal to be set for the other boats, which scarcely had I despatched, before I again discovered the whale, apparently in convulsions, on the top of the water, about one hundred rods to leeward. He was enveloped in the foam of the sea, that his continual and violent thrashing about in the water had created around him; and I could distinctly see him smite his jaws together, as if distracted with rage and fury. He remained a short time in this situation, and then started off with great velocity, across the bows of the ship to windward. By this time the ship had settled down a considerable distance in the water, and I gave her up as lost. I however, ordered the pumps to be kept constantly going, and endeavored to collect my thoughts for the occasion. I turned to the boats; two of which we then had with the ship, with an intention of clearing them away, and getting all things ready to embark in them; if there should be no other resource left; and while my attention was thus engaged for a moment, I was aroused with the cry of a man at the hatchway, "here he is—he is making for us again." I turned around, and saw him about one hundred rods directly ahead of us, coming down apparently with twice his ordinary speed, and to me at that moment, it appeared with tenfold fury and vengeance in his aspect. The surf flew in all directions about him, and his course towards us was marked by a white foam of a rod in width, which he made with the continual violent thrashing of his tail; his head was about half out of water, and in that way he came upon, and again struck the ship. I was in hopes when I descried him making for us, that by a dexterous movement of putting the ship away immediately, I should be able to cross the line of his approach, before he could get up to us, and thus avoid, what I knew, if he should strike us again, would prove our inevitable destruction. I bawled out to the helmsman, "hard up!" but she had not fallen off more than a point, before we took the second shock. I should judge the speed of the ship to have been at this time about three knots, and that of the whale about six. He struck her to windward, directly under the cat-head, and completely stove in her bows. He passed under the ship again, went off to leeward, and we saw no more of him. Our situation at this juncture can be more readily imagined than described. The shock to our feelings was such, as I am sure none can have an adequate conception of, that were not there; the misfortune befel us at a moment when we least dreamt of any accident; and from the pleasing anticipations we had formed, of realizing the certain profits of

our labour, we were dejected by a sudden, most mysterious, and overwhelming calamity. Not a moment, however, was to be lost in endeavoring to provide for the extremity to which it was now certain we were reduced. We were more than a thousand miles from the nearest land, and with nothing but a light open boat, as the resource of safety for myself and companions. I ordered the men to cease pumping, and every one to provide for himself; seizing a hatchet at the same time, I cut away the lashings of the spare boat, which lay bottom up, across two spars directly over the quarter deck, and cried out to those near me, to take her as she came down. They did so accordingly, and bore her on their shoulders as far as the waist of the ship. The steward had in the mean time gone down into the cabin twice, and saved two quadrants, two practical navigators, and the captain's trunk and mine; all of which were hastily thrown into the boat, as she lay on the deck, with the two compasses which I snatched from the binnacle. He attempted to descend again; but the water by this time had rushed in, and he returned without being able to effect his purpose. By the time we had got the boat to the waist, the ship had filled with water, and was going down on her beam-ends; we shoved our boat as quickly as possible from the plank-shear into the water, all hands jumping in her at the same time, and launched off clear of the ship. We were scarcely two boat's lengths distant from her, when she fell over to windward, and settled down in the water."

Mr. Chase describes the horror they felt over their terrible situation and what a frightful change a short ten minutes had made* "We lay at this time in our boat, about two ship's lengths off from the wreck, in perfect silence, calmly contemplating her situation, and absorbed in our own melancholy reflections, when the other boats were discovered rowing up to us. They had but shortly before discovered that some accident had befallen us, but of the nature of which they were entirely ignorant. The sudden and mysterious disappearance of the ship was first discovered by the boat steerer in the captain's boat, and with a horror-struck countenance and voice, he suddenly exclaimed, "Oh, my God! where is the ship?" Their operations upon this were instantly suspended, and a general cry of horror and despair burst from the lips of every man, as their looks were directed for her, in vain, over every part of the ocean.† They immediately made all haste towards us. The captain's boat was the first that reached us. He stopped about a boat's length off, but had no power to utter a single syllable; he was so completely overpowered with the spectacle before him, that he sat down in his boat, pale and speechless. I could scarcely recognize his countenance, he appeared to be so much altered, awed, and overcome, with the oppression of his feelings, and the dreadful reality that lay before him. He was in a short time however enabled to address the inquiry to me, "My God, Mr. Chase, what is the matter?" I answered, "We have been stove by a whale." I then briefly told him the story. After a few moments's reflection he observed, that we must cut away her masts, and endeavour to get something out of her to eat. Our thoughts were now all accordingly bent on endeavours to save from the wreck

*"From the time we were first attacked by the whale, to the period of the fall of the ship, and of our leaving her in the boat, more than ten minutes could not certainly have elapsed." p. 32.

†One may easily pardon the narrator in view of the frightful situation if there are some inconsistencies in the story. The ship was still above water and the decks and rigging must have been plainly visible.

whatever we might possibly want, and for this purpose we rowed up and got on to her. Search was made for every means of gaining access to her hold; and for this purpose the lanyards were cut loose, and with our hatchets we commenced to cut away the masts, that she might right up again, and enable us to scuttle her decks. In doing which we were occupied about three quarters of an hour, owing to our having no axes, nor indeed any other instruments, but the small hatchets belonging to the boats. After her masts were gone she came up about two-thirds of the way upon an even keel. While we were employed about the masts the captain took his quadrant, shoved off from the ship and got an observation. We found ourselves in latitude $0^{\circ} 40'$ S, longitude 119° W. We now commenced to cut a hole through the planks, directly above two large casks of bread, which most fortunately were between decks, in the waist of the ship, and which being in the upper side, when she upset, we had strong hopes was not wet. It turned out according to our wishes, and from these casks we obtained six hundred pounds of hard bread. Other parts of the deck were then scuttled, and we got without difficulty as much fresh water as we dared to take in the boats, so that each was supplied with about sixty-five gallons; we got also from one of the lockers a musket, a small canister of powder, a couple of files, two rasps, about two pounds of boat nails and a few turtle. In the afternoon the wind came on to blow a strong breeze; and having obtained everything that occurred to us could then be got out, we began to make arrangements for safety during the night. A boat's line was made fast to the ship, and to the other end of it one of the boats was moored, at about fifty fathoms to leeward; another boat was then attached to the first one, about eight fathoms astern; and the third boat, like distance astern of her. Night came on just as we had finished our operations; and such a night as it was to us! so full of feverish and distracting inquietude, that we were deprived entirely of rest." Mr. Chase naturally moralizes quite at length on their deplorable situation.

The next day all set to work stripping off the light sails of the ship to make sails for the boats, using also the light spars. Each boat was rigged with two masts, to carry a flying jib and two sprit-sails, the sprit-sails being made so they could be double reefed. The boats were strengthened and additional sides built up about six inches above the gunwale, a precaution which Mr. Chase says they found of infinite service. Indeed he thinks they owed their preservation to that addition. An observation showed them in latitude $0^{\circ} 6'$ S, longitude $119^{\circ} 30'$ W. and that within the twenty-four hours they had drifted forty-nine miles.

By November 22d the ship began to show signs of breaking and as nothing more could be obtained it was essential to get away while their provisions were quite abundant. At noon an observation showed them to be in latitude $0^{\circ} 13'$ N. longitude 120° W. The nearest land was the Marquesas Islands and the next the Society group. They knew nothing of those islands,* but presumably they were inhabited by savages and the dangers were as great

*This was in the early days of the navigation of the Pacific and the passing of vessels much more infrequent.

as from the elements. They had no charts. Captain Pollard's opinion was that this was the season when hurricanes prevailed in the vicinity of the Sandwich Islands. The conclusion was to endeavour to work eastward to the coast of Chili or Peru. The men were divided; the mate's boat being in poorest condition, six were assigned to it, while the captain's and second mate's boats carried seven each.

Soon after noon they left the wreck and by 4 P. M. they had lost sight of her. The wind was blowing strongly and the mate's boat leaked continuously and required constant bailing. The crews of the boats were divided each, one watch doing the work of navigating while those of the other rested. They considered what their chances were for meeting some vessel, especially some whale-ship whose cruising ground was in the latitude where they were steering. They figured that their provisions and water would last sixty days, within which time they hoped to reach the coast of South America. With this in mind they put themselves on an allowance of a biscuit (1 lb. 3 oz.) and half a pint of water a day.

In his chest, which had been saved, Mr. Chase found some eight or ten sheets of paper, a lead pencil, a suit of clothes, three fish-hooks, a jack-knife, a whetstone and a can of soap. The boat contained as part of its regular equipment, a lantern, tinder-box, and two or three candles. The captain had saved a musket, two pistols and about two pounds of powder. The powder was divided equally among the boats and each mate was given a pistol.

On the 25th of November a bad leak was discovered in the mate's boat. It was found below the surface of the water and was repaired with much difficulty, the captain assisting. The boat nails they had fortunately secured proved their salvation.

On the night of November 28 the weather was tempestuous and extremely dark. Mr. Chase had laid down to sleep when he was awakened by one of his men who cried out that the captain was in distress. An investigation showed that a large fish, apparently a "killer-fish," so-called, had followed the boat and made an entirely unprovoked attack on her, staving her bow. The only defence they had was the sprit-pole and they managed to fight him but not until he had split the boat's stem with a second attack. Morning came after an anxious night and the boat was repaired.

It was at this time that their extreme sufferings began. Eating their bread that had been wet with salt water induced extreme thirst which their scanty allowance of water could not allay. Speaking from a terrible experience, Mr. Chase says: "The privation of water is justly ranked among the most dreadful of the miseries of our life; the violence of raving thirst has no parallel in the catalogue of human calamities."

November 29, they found themselves surrounded by a shoal of dolphins. They tried in vain a long time to take one, making a small fish-line from some rigging that was in the boat and fastening

one of the fish hooks to it, to which was attached a small white rag.*

November 30 they killed one of their turtle, made a fire in the shell and cooked and ate it entrails and all. Some drank of the blood from the reptile but others could not be forced, even by the exigences of thirst to taste it. The feast of the turtle however, recruited them all. By observation they were then in latitude 7° 53' S. and as nearly as they could determine about 480 miles from the wreck.

On the night of December 3 the second mate's boat was suddenly found to be missing. The mate lighted a lantern and hoisted it to the masthead, and soon they were gladdened by seeing the answering light about quarter of a mile to leeward, and the boats soon joined company again. These separations were not infrequent and tended still further to delay their progress. It was finally agreed if a boat was missing not to heave to, but to continue until morning.

December 8 brought a violent gale with rain. An endeavor was made to catch some of the rain in the hollow of a sail, but the little that was caught was so impregnated with salt from the sail that it was little better than that of the ocean. By common consent the food and water in Mr. Chase's boat was put in his charge and he locked it up in his chest, never going to sleep but he was so placed that no one could get at the chest without his knowledge. There never was, however, the slightest attempt at wrong-doing.

December 10 a small shoal of flying fish passed over them four of which struck the mainsail and fell into the boat where they were seized and eaten. On December 14 the mate proposed to his crew to reduce their pitifully scanty ration one half, which was tacitly agreed to. So overwhelming was their thirst that by December 16, they even sought relief by drinking their own urine. So hot did the rays of the sun beat upon them that they hung over the gunwale of the boat to cool their bodies. In doing this one of the crew observed the bottom of the boat to be covered with a species of small clam, which proved delicious to the taste and which they ate ravenously, gathering also large quantities and putting them in the boat. They were so weakened as to need each other's assistance in regaining their places in the boat. "Indeed," says Mr. Chase,† "had it not been for three of our crew, who could not swim, and who did not, therefore, get overboard, I know not by what means we should have been able to have resumed our situations in the boat." So imperative were the pangs of hunger that in less than half an hour their stock of clams had disappeared.

December 20 land was discovered and their hopes ran high. It proved to be Ducie's Island, about six miles long and three wide,

*A fragment of the line, a few inches long, is among the collection of the Historical Association.

†Page 78.

lying in latitude $24^{\circ} 40'$ S. longitude $124^{\circ} 4'$ W., with a high, rugged shore, surrounded by rocks. They did not know what shape of man or beast might be there to receive them, but they determined to land. They remained on the Island until December 26 finding plenty to eat in fish, shell-fish, birds and eggs and a supply of water.

December 26 they got ready to depart for Easter Island of which they knew nothing save that it was nearer South America by 850 miles. Their boats had been patched and made as seaworthy as possible. Three of the men, William Wright and Seth Weeks of Barnstable, Massachusetts, and Thomas Chapple of Plymouth, England, had determined to stay on the island rather than run any further risks in the boats, and they were accordingly left there. Letters were written by Captain Pollard telling their story and put into a tin case enclosed in a small wooden box and nailed to a tree so that it would be seen if anyone should land. The name of a ship, "The Elizabeth" cut out of the bark of the same tree proved that the island had been visited.

December 27 they sailed from the island, January 3 they were obliged to abandon the Easter Islands plan and steer for Juan Fernandez, distant 2500 miles. They had consumed the extra provisions they got on Ducie's Island and were now again on a short allowance of bread.

January 10 Matthew P. Joy, the second mate died. He had suffered from debility and privations more than either of the others for he was ill nearly all the voyage. One man was shifted from the captain's boat to take his place. On the 12th of January came the first infraction of the rigid law regarding food—one of the black men being detected stealing some bread. Mr. Chase taking his pistol in hand demanded of the man that he give up what he had taken under penalty of instant death. His penitent pleading and solemn swearing never to offend again saved his life.*

On the night of January 18th the spouting of a school of whales near by terrified them. They were too weak to use their oars to escape. Fortunately the whales passed them unharmed. January 20 Richard Peterson, a black man died. By the 24th of January boils began to break out on their bodies and Mr. Chase writes "our imaginations shortly became as diseased as our bodies." February 8 Isaac Cole, one of the crew became crazed by his sufferings and died that afternoon in horrible convulsions. For the first time cannibalism suggested itself and the suggestion that the body be taken for food was readily agreed to. On the morning of the 18th of February while Mr. Chase was asleep the man who was steering suddenly called out "There's a sail!" The vessel was standing on the same course as the boat and about seven miles off. To their

*On the night of January 12 in a heavy wind with severe rain Mr. Chase's boat was separated from the other two and saw no more of them.

great joy they found their boat was sailing the faster. On seeing the boat the crew of the vessel shortened sail and waited for her to come up. They were too weak to get upon the vessel which proved to be the brig Indian, of London, Captain William Crozier, and the crew removed them. Everything possible was done to restore them to health and strength, and February 25 they arrived in Valparaiso where every want was relieved.

The captain and the surviving members of his crew were taken up by the whale-ship Dauphin, of Nantucket, Captain Zimri Coffin off the island of St. Mary's, and they arrived in Valparaiso March 17. The third boat got separated from the captain's on January 28 and never was heard from afterwards. The sufferings in the captain's boat were a parallel to those in the mate's. January 14 all the provisions on the second mate's boat were exhausted and on the 25th the black man Lawson Thomas died and his body was eaten by the survivors. On the 21st the captain and his crew had exhausted their food, and on the 23d Charles Shorter, another colored man in the second mate's boat died and his body served as food for both boats. January 27, Isaac Shepherd of the Second mate's boat and the following day Samuel Ried, of the captain's boat, both blacks, died, and their bodies became food for the survivors.

On February 1, the last particle of food in the captain's boat was exhausted and the four survivors were reduced to the necessity of drawing lots to see who should die that the others might live awhile longer. The lot fell on Owen Coffin* who bravely and with the utmost fortitude prepared to meet the end. The lot of executioner fell upon Charles Ramsdale. February 11 Barzillai Ray died and these two bodies kept the two survivors alive until rescued by the Dauphin.

The following were the crews of the three boats and their fate:

Capt. George Pollard Jr.,	1st boat	Survived
Obed Hendricks,	" "	Put in 3d boat
Barzillai Ray,	" "	Died
Owen Coffin,	" "	Shot
Samuel Reed (black)	" "	Died'
Charles Ramsdale,	" "	Survived
Seth Weeks,	" "	Ducie's Island
Owen Chase,	2d "	Survived
Benjamin Lawrence,	" "	"

*It is said that Coffin was a nephew of Capt. Pollard who refused to partake of the sacrifice.

The men on Ducie's Island lived on berries and an occasional seagull. They were taken off April 8, 1821 by the English ship Surrey, Capt. Raine who was on a voyage from Valparaiso to New Holland. The Surrey was sent by the Commander of the United States Frigate Constellation who paid him liberally for the services although it was not six hours out of his way. Chapple remained in England where all three were taken on the English ship London Packet.

Thomas Nicholson,	2d boat	Survived
Isaac Cole,	" "	Died'
Richard Peterson (black)	" "	"
William Wright,	" "	Ducie's Island
Matthew P. Joy,	3d "	Died'
Thomas Chapple,	" "	Ducie's Island
Joseph West,	" "	Missing
Lawson Thomas, (black)	" "	Died'
Charles Shorter, (black)	" "	"
Isaiah Shepherd, (black)	" "	"
William Bond, (black)	" "	Missing

SHIP TWO BROTHERS

Captain Pollard was not discouraged by his frightful experience in the Essex and soon after his return to Nantucket was put in command of the whaleship Two Brothers, a vessel of 217 tons burthen. The ship sailed from Nantucket November 26, 1821 for the Pacific Ocean. Everything seemed prosperous up to the night of February 11, 1823, when cruising about latitude $24^{\circ} 9' N.$ and longitude $167^{\circ} 30' W.$, the ship struck a reef of rocks. An investigation found her badly damaged and breaking up. In spite of the pumps the water gained and it was found necessary to leave her immediately regardless of the darkness of the night. The crew pushed off in two boats, within fifteen minutes of the time she struck. Within half an hour from the time they left the ship not a trace of her was to be seen. The crew of twenty-one was embarked in two boats with scarcely any provisions or water. So they passed the night not knowing what their situation was. During the night by some accident the boats became separated.

When morning came they found the line of breakers stretched away as the eye could reach.* At sunrise a ship was seen at the southward and they shaped their course for her and at 11 o'clock they were taken on board. She proved to be the Martha, also of Nantucket, Capt. John H. Pease. About an hour later the second boat was in sight and soon arrived alongside. Her crew reported that they landed on an island in the vicinity of the reefs and found sea elephants and one green turtle. The wrecked seamen met a sailor's welcome among their fellow islanders and were treated with great kindness. The Martha made her way to the Sandwich Islands, anchoring at Woahee November 29. On December 21 the rescued ones sailed homeward bound.

*It must be remembered that the Pacific Ocean had not been charted at that time. The larger number of the islands that were known were discovered by whalers. Capt. Pollard abandoned whaling after his second disastrous voyage though not in any way to blame for either misfortune. He never cared to talk of his fearful experiences in the boat of the Essex. For several years he was one of the night watch for the Town of Nantucket. It is stated that he was a deck hand on Fulton's first steamboat in her early trips on the Hudson.

SHIP LADY ADAMS

What became of the ship *Lady Adams*, a vessel of 230 tons burthen, Charles B. Tobey, Master, will always be a matter of conjecture, no direct evidence ever has been brought to light. She left Nantucket March 11, 1822 on a whaling voyage in the Pacific Ocean. The last reports from her were dated in July, 1823, at which time she was on the coast of Japan with 800 barrels of oil. The captain of an English ship cruising in that vicinity soon after the date of that report stated that a great light was seen one night about where the *Lady Adams* was supposed to be but before he could reach the locality the light had disappeared and there was nothing to show what caused it. It is supposed that the *Lady Addams* caught fire and was totally consumed. If the crew escaped it is not improbable that they landed on the Japanese Coast and were massacred. The Nantucket persons of the crew were—Charles B. Tobey, master, Fordom Pease, first mate, Robert G. Coleman, second mate, Frederick A. Riddell, cooper, Peter Morse, boy.

THE GLOBE MUTINY

The most diabolical affair that ever occurred on board of any whaleship was the mutiny on the whaleship *Globe* of Nantucket. The *Globe*, a ship of 293 tons burthen, Thomas Worth, master, owned by Christopher Mitchell & Co., left Nantucket December 20, 1822, bound for the Pacific Ocean on a whaling voyage. Among her crew was one Samuel Comstock, a boatsteerer, a native of Nantucket but who moved away early in life.* Comstock was the leader of the mutineers, and, according to the account his brother William published of the brutal affair, plotted mutiny almost from the beginning of the voyage.

On Sunday January 26, 1823, the biographer states, the ship "*Lyra*," Captain Joy had been cruising in company† and Capt. Joy had visited the *Globe*, remaining until dusk. That day Capt. Worth had punished one of the crew for some offence, and one of six men who had shipped at the Sandwich Islands is reported to have said that it would be "the last time Worth would flog one of the crew."‡ That night in Comstock's watch on deck his brother George was at the helm and was forced by Samuel to keep the

*Nathan Comstock son of Samuel and Lucy was married on the 10th of the 12 mo. 1801 to Elizabeth Emmett daughter of Edward and Elizabeth as recorded on the records of the Nantucket Friends. The story of the mutiny as told by the brother of the mutineer seems like an effort to glorify his fiendish acts. William Comstock details quite at length the rascalities and immoralities of his black-hearted brother and frequently (perhaps ignorantly) refers to him as "our hero," and four horrible wood cuts, each of which illustrates some villainy of the mutineer, are fitting embellishments for a book replete with falsehoods.

†Both Comstock's and Lay and Hussey's version of the mutiny mention the ship "*Lyra*," but there seems to be no such ship listed at any time among American whaling craft.

‡Six men deserted at Oahu and five shipped to take their places proved fitting companions to Comstock.

ship away from the vicinity of her consort. Comstock went below and soon reappeared with a boarding knife. This was given to Silas Payne, one of the men recently shipped, while Comstock armed himself with a broad-axe. They two were to murder the Captain and first mate. Two others were detailed to kill the second and third mates. Comstock killed Captain Worth and completed the butchery of First Mate Beetle which Payne had begun. The light which the mutineers had having been extinguished in the struggle Comstock relighted it at the binnacle, descended again into the cabin and loaded two muskets with which to kill Lumbard and Fisher, the second and third mates. He fired one musket through the cabin door in the direction in which the two mates were presumed to be and then inquired if either was shot. Mr. Fisher replied that he was shot in the mouth. Mr. Lumbard (or Lumbert) asked Comstock, before the shooting if he intended to kill him, to which Comstock carelessly replied "Oh, no, I guess not." Opening the cabin door Comstock made a pass at Mr. Lumbard, missed him and fell into the stateroom. The Second Mate collared him but Comstock broke away from him. Mr. Fisher got the gun and presented the bayonet to Comstock's heart, but on the mutineer's assuring him that his life would be spared if he gave it up he at once did so, and Comstock immediately ran the bayonet several times through Lumbard's body. Turning then to Mr. Fisher, Comstock told him there was no hope for him and he had got to die. "Remember," he said, "the scrape you got me into, when in company with the Enterprise of Nantucket." Finding Comstock deaf to his entreaties Fisher said "If there is no hope, I will at least die like a man," and turning his back to the murderer he said firmly "I am ready." Comstock then put the muzzle of his pistol to Mr. Fisher's head and fired, killing him instantly.*

Smith, the other boat-steerer had been marked for one of the victims and on seeing Comstock brandishing the boarding-knife hurried forward to the forecastle and asked the crew what he should do. Some advised him to secrete himself in the hold and others to go aloft until Comstock's rage abated, but reflection convinced him that no place on board the ship would long be safe and determined to face the danger, and if he could not save his life by fair means to sell it dearly. Comstock soon after called for him and, on meeting, embraced him and said "You are going to

*The heartlessness of this thoroughly depraved villian is apparent when it is known that Capt. Worth had taken particular care to favor him on the voyage; Mr. Beetle, the mate had incurred his anger simply for reporting some of his heartless work; Mr. Lombard was an entirely inoffensive man with six children dependent on him as Comstock well knew, and his enmity for Mr. Fisher arose from a challenge which Comstock gave to Mr. Fisher at the time mentioned to wrestle with him. Mr. Fisher being heavier and stronger threw Comstock with such ease that the latter, beside himself with anger, struck the conqueror, whereupon Mr. Fisher seized him and laid him on the deck several times quite roughly. He swore to be revenged on Mr. Fisher.

be with us, are you not?" to which Smith, very naturally replied, "Oh, yes, I will do anything you require."*

Comstock appointed his brother George (who had no part whatever in the crime) steward after the mutiny. Three days later George detected the negro Humphries loading a pistol. On being summoned to give his reason he finally said that Gilbert Smith, the boat-steerer and Peter Kidder were going to retake the ship a statement they emphatically denied. The next morning they went through the farce of a trial and sentenced the wretch to be hanged from a studding-sail boom, rigged out eight feet upon the fore-yard. The sentence was carried out and after his death the rope was cut and the body dropped overboard. Comstock compelled every man on board to take hold of the rope and assist in the execution.

The mutineers on February 7 sighted one of the King's Mill group of islands and the next day passed between Marshall's and Gilbert Islands. On February 11 they came to an island where they determined to land.† They constructed a raft on which to convey what they desired to carry ashore.

On February 16 there was a wordy clash between Payne and Comstock which ended by Comstock going aboard the ship, destroying the code of laws, returning to the shore, entering the tent they had erected, arming himself with a sword and joining a group of natives. It was presumed that he would prevail on the natives to kill them all, so Payne posted a guard around the tent with orders to shoot anyone who attempted to approach without the countersign. The night passed quietly, however.‡

On the morning of February 17 Comstock was discovered some distance away coming towards the tent. Oliver, Payne and their fellow mutineers determined to kill him. As he drew near

*Comstock's brother biographer explains the mutineer's act thus (p. 87) "Smith was a religious young man; and with all his faults, our hero entertained a high respect for sacred things and a superstitious awe of pious persons. He told George that if he had killed Smith, God would have avenged his death, and that while Smith was with them, the Almighty would smile on their enterprise for his sake. It is surprising that nothing could shake his faith in Orthodoxy."

†Soon after the mutiny Comstock drew up a brief code of laws for the government. They specified "That if any one saw a sail and did not report it immediately he should be put to death. If any one refused to fight a ship he should be put to death; and the manner of his death; and manner of their death this: They shall be bound hand and foot and boiled in the try pots of boiling oil." Everyone was obliged to sign and seal these laws, the seals of the mutineers being black and of the others blue and white. The island on which they finally landed was one of the Mulgrave group.

‡Comstock's biographer commenting on his object in taking the ship to the Mulgrave Islands to be dismantled says "It had long been a favorite scheme of his, to establish himself on one of the Pacific Isles—to gain sufficient influence over the natives to induce them to elect him their King—and to live a daring and dreaded outlaw in his adopted clime. I have no doubt that he intended to get in the good will of the natives as fast as possible, to enlist them on his side, and render them obedient to his wishes—in which case, he could cut off his partners in guilt, and the ship's company generally, at pleasure."

they fired at him, killing him almost instantly. They dug a grave and buried him in the sand, and by one of those anomalies sometimes shown by humanity read a chapter from the Bible over his remains. After this affair Payne selected six men to go aboard the ship under the command of Smith and take charge of her. Smith had already revealed his intention to a select few of his companions to run away with the ship.

By cautious management they got away without trouble and after a long and boisterous passage arrived in Valparaiso, where the vessel was taken charge of by the American Consul, Michael Hogan. The men on board were put in irons and put on board a French frigate—there being no American war vessel in port. The names of those who escaped were—Gilbert Smith, George Comstock, Stephen Kidder, Joseph Thomas, Peter C. Kidder, and Anthony Hanson. The crew were all examined before the United States Consul. The ship was put in charge of Captain King and arrived in Nantucket on Sunday, November 21, 1824. At Nantucket the crew were again examined before Josiah Hussey Esq.

Payne was furious to find the morning after that the ship got away from the island. The natives wondered what had become of her and Payne as a matter of policy told them the wind had forced her to sea and she would be lost. He at once set to work to tear one boat to pieces to build the other higher and to build on a deck. They discovered on an adjacent island, accessible at low tide a village of twenty or thirty families and found them very friendly. Eventually one of the natives, a man between fifty and sixty years old, who seemed to take a fancy to William Lay, persuaded him to tarry all night in his tent. This, later, stood Lay in good stead and doubtless was the means of saving his life.

Payne and Oliver went on an exploring trip on one of the boats. They were gone over one night and when they returned they brought two young women as wives. The one who accompanied Payne went back to her tribe in the night unknown to him. In the morning he, Oliver and Liliston set out to find her. He finally caught her, brought her back, put her in irons and flogged her severely. This was the beginning of trouble that eventually ended in the massacreing of all save Lay and Hussey.

The next morning it was discovered that the tool chest had been broken open by the natives and a hatchet, chisel and other articles stolen. Payne was much enraged. During the day he informed several natives of what had been done. They expressed much regret at the acts. At night one of the natives came running to the tent with one half of the stolen chisel. Instead of showing any gratitude for this friendly act Payne put the native in irons and told him that in the morning he must produce the rest of the articles and point out the thieves.

The following morning Payne detailed Rowland Coffin, Rowland Jones, Cyrus M. Hussey, and Thomas Liliston, armed them each

with a musket, powder and fine shot. He declined to give them musket balls on the ground that the report of the guns would intimidate the natives sufficiently. The prisoner was put in charge of the squad whose orders were to go to the village, recover the hatchet and bring back the one pointed out by the prisoner as the thief. They recovered the hatchet but on the return were attacked by the greater body of the natives who assailed them with stones, thrown with great accuracy. Finding that the white men retreated, the natives pursued them and overtaking Rowland Jones, killed him on the spot. The others succeeded in regaining the tent, near which the natives gathered, armed for war. After holding some kind of a council, the natives began to tear one of the boats to pieces. Realizing the seriousness of the situation Payne ventured out to pacify them. He and one of the chiefs sat on the ground and conferred a few moments and then Payne accompanied the chief into the midst of the natives. The conference lasted nearly half an hour, at the end of which time Payne returned to the tent and reported that he had pacified the natives on these conditions: they were to have every article belonging to the whites and the white men were willing to live with and be governed by the native chiefs and adopt their mode of living. This was not difficult for Payne to promise for he was an outlaw among civilized men and his return to civilization meant his death by hanging.

Looting the tent and its contents began at once. When the demolition of the tent began, an old man and his wife took hold of William Lay and after leading him a few rods from the tent, sat down, still retaining hold of his hands. He had frequently befriended the old woman when others teased her and Lay though filled with apprehensions tried to solace himself with the thought that the act was prompted by gratitude.

Suddenly there rose the most terrifying whoops and yells among the natives. Then ensued a massacre quite as merciless and brutal as that on the Globe. Columbus Worth was run through with a spear by an old woman. Liliston and Joe Brown (the Sandwich Islander) fell within six feet of Lay. Lay's protectors tried to conceal him by laying down on top of him. He was discovered, however, and one of the natives tried to hit him with a handspike but his friends prevented it.

The massacre over Lay's protectors hurried him along towards the village and into their wigwam, which was soon surrounded by natives all talking at once. In the midst of the confusion, Lay was overjoyed to see several natives approaching the hut and in their midst was his bosom friend Cyrus M. Hussey. They two alone had survived the butchery.

The next morning the natives accompanied them to the scene of the massacre and gave them leave to bury their late comrades in the sand. The natives permitted each of them to take a blanket, some flour, bread, pork, shoes and several books, including a Bible.

Early in April, Hussey and Lay were separated, the natives not wanting to see them together. In July they met again but only for an hour.

A little later Lay, at the urgent request of the natives, adopted their mode of dress. It was only a question of a brief time before he would have been reduced to it, but by making the change as he did he saved a pair of trousers and a shirt for special occasions.

It was not until November 23, 1825, that there was encouragement that they would be able to return to Nantucket. On the morning of that day Lay was awakened by the shouting of the natives who said that a vessel had anchored at the head of the island. They planned to board her, a few at a time and when about two hundred had assembled, at a given signal they were to seize the crew and throw them overboard. They refused to allow Lay to accompany them at first, fearing that he would inform the crew of the killing of the mutineers, but he told them as it was a two-masted vessel it could not belong to his nation, so they allowed him to accompany them. A boat from the schooner landed about a hundred yards away, but night came on and she returned to the schooner. The natives observing that the whites were unafraid became alarmed themselves and carried Lay to a remote part of the island.

Early on the morning of the 29th a boat was discovered under sail, standing directly for where they were. The natives were alarmed and tried to plan some way to overcome the crew. Fearing the natives would again hide him, Lay offered to help them and induce the crew to come ashore and put themselves in such a position they could be overcome. This they finally assented to. He advanced to the beach with about a hundred natives. Hailing the boat in English he told what the plan of the natives was and warned them not to land unless they were well armed. The officer of the boat said he would be among them directly, and they speedily landed, thirteen men and two officers. When within a rod of the natives Lay ran to the commanding officer, who proved to be Lieut. Hiram Pauling, and took him by the hand, and inquired if he was one of the *Globe's* crew, his name, etc.

They all returned to the boat. The natives kept their seats except the one Lay called father, who took hold of him to carry him back, but desisted on being confronted with a pistol. Lieut. Pauling informed Lay that the vessel was the United States Schooner *Dolphin*, Lieut. Com. John Percival sent purposely to rescue the survivors. Lay informed the Lieutenant that the only ones living were Cyrus M. Hussey and himself, and that Hussey was held on a neighboring island. The boat and crew proceeded to the place where Hussey lived and found the natives had concealed him but after being threatened with punishment unless they produced him they gave him up and the two survivors were happily reunited

on board the Dolphin and under the protection of the flag of their country.*

Captain Percival, taking Lay as an interpreter went ashore to see the chiefs on December 1 but evidently they were afraid for it was only after the Captain threatened to destroy every native he could find if they did not present themselves, that they appeared. Captain Percival explained to them how their acts were viewed by civilized nations and that a repetition would bring severe punishment. The natives who had protected the two Americans received gifts and the chiefs received three tomohawks, an axe, a bag of beads and some handkerchiefs. The Captain also left two hogs and two cats with instructions to allow them to multiply, and caused potatoes, corn, pumpkins and other valuable seeds to be planted, telling the natives how to care for them.

The schooner cruised among the islands until December 9 and then left for the Sandwich Islands, arriving at Woahoo on the 16th. They arrived in New York on the 21st of April, 1827, after a passage of some five months. Their life among the natives covered a period of twenty-two months.†

THE OENO

One of the perils to which the early whalers in the Pacific Ocean were subjected was that of being attacked and cut off by the savages inhabiting many of the groups of islands which the vessels sometimes visited in order to lay in a stock of fresh provisions, as well to prevent the inroads of scurvy as for reasons of economy. It sometimes happened that, in the absence of information regarding the localities much of which was uncharted, a vessel would be wrecked on some of the islands or reefs. This was the case of the whaleship Oeno, a vessel of 328 tons, owned by Aaron Mitchell and commanded by Captain Samuel Riddell, which left Nantucket November 4, 1824 bound for the Pacific Ocean on a whaling voy-

*The original members of the crew were—Thomas Worth, Captain; William Beetle, Mate; John Lombard, 2d, Mate; Nathaniel Fisher, 3d, Mate; Gilbert Smith and Samuel Comstock, Boatsteerers; Cyrus M. Hussey and Rowland Coffin, Coopers; Stephen Kidder, Peter C. Kidder, Columbus Worth, Rowland Jones, John Cleveland, Constant Lewis, Holden Henman, Jeremiah Ingham, Joseph Ignatius Prass, George Comstock and William Lay, seamen. Those who were shipped at Oahu were—Silas Payne, John Oliver, Anthony Hanson (a Sandwich Islander), William Humphries (a negro), and Thomas Lilister.

†The Nantucket Inquirer of October 28, 1826, published the following: "The subjoined letter is from Mr. Hogan, American Consul at Valparaiso:

Valparaiso, July 30, 1826.

Sir—It affords me great satisfaction to inform you that the U. S. Sch. Dolphin anchored here on the 23d inst. having on board two of the youths belonging to the Globe, left on Mulgrave Island, William Lay and Cyrus M. Hussey, both grown up fine young men, very much liked by their officers. All the rest were killed by the natives, of which no doubt Lt. Commandant Percival has advised; but as this vessel goes direct to Stonington, I conceive it my duty to trouble you with this communication for the information of all concerned.

Yours &c Michael Hogan,

Wm. Coffin Esq. Pres. U. M. Ins. Co. Nantucket.

age. She sailed for the Bay of Islands via the Cape of Good Hope. The report of her there was the last that was heard of her for nearly six years, and she was added to the list of the vanished fleet. In 1830 Mr. Mitchell received a letter from William S. Cary, who was one of the crew, informing him that the vessel had been wrecked on Turtle Island and all the crew saving himself had been murdered by the savages, and he was then living among the natives.* The story of the massacre was written by Cary after his return.

The ship arrived at the Bay of Islands March 20, 1825. Two of the crew, Henry Gordon and James Furse, deserted there and two English sailors and a native boy were shipped in their stead. On April 13, they passed Pylstaat's Island, one of the Friendly group. At sundown the Captain gave the order to shorten sail and before going below he gave particular orders to the officers of the watches to keep a good lookout and if anything unusual was seen to call him at once.

Between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning the man at the helm saw white water and spoke to the Second Mate, whose watch it was and who was sitting in the quarter boat, but that officer made no response. On seeing it again the helmsman became satisfied that it was breakers and shouted lustily to the officer, who sprang to the deck, but before an alarm could be sounded, the ship struck on a coral reef. All hands were immediately called and the top-sail at once clewed down, but before that was completed the waves were making a clean breach over the ship and it was very difficult to get about on the decks. It was obvious that the ship was doomed.

Mr. Drew, the Second Mate, the officer whose watch it was, started at once to clear away his boat preparatory to leaving the ship. Captain Riddle advised him to wait until morning, but to no purpose and he at once got clear with his boat's crew, without accident, and got inside the reef in still water. In the morning the other two boats got away, not without some peril, for the Mate's boat was capsized and Barzillai Swain, a lad, had his arm broken by a cask just before leaving.

Land was in sight about nine miles off and they found it to be an island inclosed by a reef. They skirted the barrier until they came to an opening through which they passed. As they neared the shore a man came down to the beach who beckoned in a friendly manner to them. He motioned to them to row along the beach and they did so until they came to a landing place. On the shore they

*The names of the crew as given in the Nantucket Inquirer of Sept. 27, 1828, were: Samuel S. Riddle, Captain; William H. Shaw, 1st Mate; John T. Drew, 2d Mate; William S. Cary, Joseph Worth, and John Williams, Boatsteerers; all of Nantucket; Barzillai Swain, Charles G. Cash, William Friend all of Nantucket, Joel Knox, Henry Gordon, James Furse, Jacob Taylor all of unknown residence, Archelaus Newton, Abraham Freeman, William Potter, Jesse Elliot, Charles Richardson, Laban Cadude, Abraham Smith, all blacks, and Henry Attvoi, a Sandwich Islander all ordinary seamen.

saw several natives sitting in the grass and apparently making hostile demonstrations. The Captain was opposed to landing and proposed that the boats make the best of their way to Wallis' Island, where they stood a chance of meeting a whaler. Mr. Shaw argued that the natives showed no signs of hostility, that articles they carried which, were thought to be clubs and spears were only sugar cane which the natives had brought down for them. He thought the boats could land and they could refit and when the weather moderated they could get what they needed from the ship and then go where they pleased.

To reassure them, apparently, the natives sent out one of the oldest of their number in a small canoe, but there was no one to talk with him, not even the New Zealand lad. The castaways, however, presuming he came to invite them to go ashore, did so. As the boat touched the shore, Captain Riddell jumped out, advanced to the natives and extended his hand. They paid no attention to his friendly overtures, but all rose and made for the boats. Captain Riddell told his men to let them take anything they wanted. He had previously thrown overboard everything which might excite their cupidity for fear they might quarrel for the plunder and imperil the lives of the crew. The natives helped to haul the boats up on the beach and gave them such food as they had. Captain Riddell took out his watch and held it up to the ear of a native who was astonished and frightened by it. He then opened the watch and explained about it as well as he could by signs, and concluded by giving it to one of the chiefs who was highly pleased to receive it.

The chief then said something to one of the natives who started for the town making signs for the Americans to follow him. This they did and after a walk of about a mile arrived at the native town, a settlement of about twenty houses. Two of them were nicely prepared with mats, one for the use of the officers, the other for the crew. The population comprised only about twenty-five, some fifteen men and boys, the rest females. Their houses were built by setting posts in the ground, about six feet exposed, and connected with rafters. The roofs were heavily thatched with long grass and the sides and ends were covered with reeds bound on with fibres from cocoa-nut husks. Their hosts soon prepared a meal for them after their own customs. The island produced coconuts, bananas and breadfruit and the waters fish, in abundance but no water save what fell as rain.*

The natives spent the evening with them, as Mr. Cary says—"evidently employing all their arts and powers of pleasing to reconcile us to our condition." When the natives had gone they laid

*The scene of their landing and friendly reception was Turtle Island, one of the Feejee group. It was about two miles long, one and a half wide and surrounded by coral reefs. The ground was broken and rocky but fertile and well-wooded.

down on the mats and slept intermittently until daylight, when all were summoned to go to the wreck for clothing, provisions etc. As early as they were the natives had arrived there ahead of them. Captain Riddell hoped to secure the firearms but the natives already had got them and had filled their canoes with whatever they wanted. The plunder the natives obtained they carried ashore and buried. The Oeno's boats brought some clothes, bread, salt provisions and liquors, but of all their chests but one was left. Other visits were made and a few more articles secured.

Nothing occurred to disturb their comfort for ten or eleven days. Captain Riddell thought that after the moon had fullled they would have better weather and he purposed then to start for the Friendly Islands. An extra streak was to be added to the boats to make them more seaworthy. On the morning when they expected to begin their work, they were greatly alarmed to see a fleet of about twenty canoes approaching the island, the occupants making hostile demonstrations.

Captain Riddell went down to the beach to meet the new comers. The chief and Captain Riddell walked up together and the others, numbering about eighty, followed in single file. They were a fierce looking company, being hideously painted and all armed with clubs and spears. They were large men, "many of them," says Mr. Cary, "fully six feet tall."* They seemed, however, so friendly that day and the next that the alarm of the castaways was allayed. The second day, they were very particular to ascertain how many of the wrecked men there were. The next day there was a marked change for the worse. The new comers became more offensive, evidently intending to provoke hostilities. They stole whatever they could lay hands on. "Captain Riddell," says Cary, "took every opportunity to advise us not to use force and let them take everything they wanted, and gave his advice for our good as well as his own, as we were without arms and wholly at the mercy of the savages. Well would it have been for the crew had they heeded the advice of our worthy Captain.†

The following day saw still more hostile demonstrations. Cary expressed his belief that the savages would attack them at night. Others of the crew were of the same opinion; others laughed at the suggestion; the officers were confident the time for an attack was near at hand. The night passed, however, without the expected outbreak. Cary did not sleep in the house but went into the woods and slept in a cave. One of the original islanders brought six or seven spears to the house and threw them into the house evidently desiring the crew to have some means of defence.

Soon after there was great shouting in the valley below. The Captain hurried out of the house in alarm, the others following. All but Cary took the path leading to the town. He took a by-path

*Page 12.

†Page 13. The Inquirer & Mirror office has recently reprinted Cary's story and this story is condensed from that.

that led across the island. He hurried along seeking some place for concealment. He finally found a cave and stowed himself in a crevice scarcely daring to breathe. In the morning he crawled out and tried to ascertain the fate of his companions. He finally ventured along the beach until he came to the landing. The boat was there and evidently there had been a severe struggle. Scooping away some of the sand he found two bodies of his associates. He found a few raisins in the boat and those and a cocoanut were all he had eaten for two days. On the third day he ventured down to the shore again. He saw some women fishing near the reef, who on seeing him immediately started for the town. Cary returned to his cave, but hearing voices he ventured to look out and found two men searching for him. So intense had his suffering become that he thought it as well to be butchered at once as to starve to death. They proved to be of the party they first encountered after the wreck and treated him kindly. Cary followed them home where they supplied him with food and at dark the older man, who was a chief and with whom Cary had previously been on very good terms, led him to a small hut in the woods where they spent the night. The next morning they went back to the town to get breakfast. While there about twenty of the marauding party came in. They made signs inquiring if there were any axes or tools on the ship. Cary signified he thought there were. Leaving him in care of the old chief's wife they started for the ship. Presently another gang came to the house. The woman signified to Cary to conceal himself behind her which he did and the party went away.

Late in the afternoon the natives who went to the ship returned from an unsuccessful search. They assembled all their party in the lower town and sent one of their men for Cary who was compelled to accompany him. On arriving where the party was Cary was horrified to see them all painted and armed as when he first saw them. They seated him on the ground and stood in a circle around him. The friendly old chief sat apart from the crowd. After about an hour of consultation the crowd all left and went to their canoes. The old chief then made Cary to understand that he was his son.

About a week later two large canoes were seen approaching the island. The natives were much alarmed and collecting what they got from the ship they buried it in the woods. Seeing that Cary also was frightened they told him the canoes were from Lah-cameber and were friendly to white men and not like the previous visitors. When they came up to the town one of them seized Cary by an arm and directly after another came and took him by the other arm. The latter was from the Friendly Islands. Both were chiefs and after some disputing as to who had the best right to Cary the Friendly Islander relinquished his claim and to Cary's surprise addressed him in English, bidding him good morning to which he replied. His new master, whose brother was the head

chief of Lahcameber, then took Cary under his protection. The Friendly Islander inquired about the wreck and Cary informed him what ship it was and that all the crew excepting himself had been massacred by men from Ono. He asked if any of the islanders had any plunder from the wreck, especially muskets, to which Cary replied that they had secreted their plunder on seeing the canoes.

The next day the new comers forced the islanders to give up all they had taken from the wreck after which they departed, taking Cary with them. On the return they stopped several days at Ono collecting tribute. They then proceeded to Lahcameber, where they were received with much ceremony. At the grand festivities which occurred at this time games were participated in by the visitors from the Friendly and Navigators islands.

Later they went to Ambow* to attend the great feast to which they had been invited. On the way they stopped at an island called Motosick. Soon after their arriving there they saw a canoe coming from Ambow, in which was a white man. In his story Cary says†—"As they came alongside our canoe the white man reached out his hand and addressed me by name. I was dumb with astonishment. At last he said, "Don't you know David Whippey?" "Yes," I answered, "I formerly knew him. He was a townsman of mine and an old playmate." 'Well,' said he, 'I am that David Whippey.' "‡

Cary decided to remain at Ambow if possible so to be nearer in touch with the passing vessels. His master was loth to have him stay but did not attempt to force him to remain with him. At Ambow his stay of six or seven months was quite replete with adventure. From there he went to Raver. While at Raver word came to him that the white man's vessel had come. It proved to be a ship about three miles off the reef, but before they could get near her she was gone. This was the first ship he had seen for over two years.

In October, 1827, Cary succeeded in getting in touch with the second officer of the ship Clay, of Salem, Captain Benjamin Vandaford. They were on a trading voyage for sandal-wood and beche de mer. Whippey offered to assist him in trading and after a little hesitation the mate accepted the offer. Whippey and Cary went on board the ship. The latter told his story and engaged passage, to act as interpreter and assist in procuring a cargo. This was in October 1827. They cruised around among the islands until Feb-

*The islands are all of the Feejee group.

†Inquirer & Mirror reprint. Whippey left Nantucket Nov. 10, 1818 in the ship Francis, Capt. Timothy Fitzgerald; left the Francis at Guayaquil in July 1821; went to England in ship Sydney Packet; sailed from England in ship Prudent; left the Prudent at Valparaiso; went two voyages from Valparaiso in an English brig; got his discharge at Amboro.

‡Whippey had been left by the Captain of the brig Calder thirteen months before to collect turtle shell the Captain promising to return in a few months, but he had not come, and Whippey, who had become a particular favorite of the King did not care to leave.

ruary 17, 1828, when Cary concluded to leave the ship. He wrote a few lines to the owner of the Oeno, informing him of the loss of the ship and the fate of the Captain and crew and gave the letter to Captain Vandaford, telling him he should remain at the islands until the Captain returned from Manilla, to which port he was bound. Several times Cary had joined with friendly natives in the battles with other tribes, the muskets usually proving an overwhelming advantage.

In July the Clay returned and got another cargo of beche de mer and then returned to Manilla, Cary taking passage on her. He continued in the employ of the vessel's owners until the following July and then shipped on the ship Glide, Captain Archer, also of Salem. Before she left the islands Cary received several letters, brought from Manilla by the Clay, letters from his sisters, the first communication he had received from home for neary six years.

Returning to Manilla, Captain Archer procured passage for Cary on an American ship bound to Canton, but Cary found afterwards that she would stop in Canton two or three months, which he could not afford to do, so he returned to the Glide and made another voyage to the islands. They spoke the ship Zenas Coffin, of Nantucket, Captain George Joy and two New Bedford ships. At the Sandwich Islands they saw several Nantucket ships.

In March, 1831, the vessel he was in was wrecked on the islands but the crew were unharmed. After various changes Cary shipped on board the ship Tybee, of Salem, Captain Mellet and reached Nantucket the last of October, 1833, after an absence of nine years.

SHIP FRANKLIN

"This ship, George Prince, master, sailed from Nantucket on a whaling voyage in the Pacific Ocean, 6th month 27th, 1831.* Her cruise, up to the time of her final loss, was an almost unbroken series of misfortunes. Soon after leaving, one of the crew, William L. Bunker, fell from aloft and was laid up two months. Eleventh month, 15th, 1831, another hand, Frederick C. Whippy, fell from the mizzen-top-gallant-head and broke both legs. He was left on board the sloop of war Falmouth at Callao. At the same time a black man was landed, sick with consumption; he died soon afterwards. About the middle of the 2d month succeeding, a boat, fast to a whale, was carried down, and two men, probably entangled with the line, were drowned. In 2d month, 1833, a native of the Sandwich Islands fell from aloft and was killed. In the 5th month of the same year, the ship went into Callao, where a man, John Robson, a native of Massachusetts, was shipped; he had the fever-and-ague at the time. He died of the scurvy about four months afterwards. While the Franklin was at Callao, a man was shipped as boatsteerer; on the 12th of 8th month he was carried out of the boat by a line and lost. At Hood's Island the mate strained himself while getting terrapins. He never was well af-

*Macy's History, page 251.

terwards, and finally died 3d of 6th month, 1834, off Cape Horn, on the homeward bound passage. About five days afterwards, the captain and steward died both on the same day. The steward's name was Eben Kelton. About four days after this William L. Bunker died, and in a few days from that time, Michael Norman, an Irishman; on the 30th of the 6th month, Charles Thompson, a colored man, also died, all of the scurvy. On the 3d of 7th month the ship came to anchor in Maldonado harbor, mouth of the river La Plata. On the same day another of the crew, Christian Wing, died of the scurvy. On coming to anchor the crew that remained were so worn with sickness and fatigue, that they were not able to furl their sails, which was done with the assistance of the crew of a French ship, who also generously assisted to get the ship up to Monte Video. A new mate and some hands were shipped there, and the Franklin sailed thence on the 12th of 8th month. After much bad weather, on the night of the 5th of 10th month, she ran ashore on the reef Diego Roderiquez, on the coast of Brazil, about 45 miles from the harbor of Macceio. All hands and about one third of her cargo were saved. The ship immediately bilged and went to pieces in about ten days."

There were tragedies like that of the *Lady Adams* that never were told and one is left to speculate as to whether the crews met speedy and merciful deaths, whether they reached some Pacific island and were butchered by merciless savages or whether they wandered over trackless seas and eventually all perished by starvation. It never will be known. There was the ship *Reaper*, Captain Timothy R. Coffin, owned by Philip H. Folger which sailed from Nantucket October 12, 1835. She was supposed to have foundered in a gale off New Zealand and all her crew were lost.* A tragedy was narrowly averted when the ship *Joseph Starbuck*, Captain Charles A. Veeder, was wrecked on Nantucket Bar. The *Thule*, Captain Charles W. Coffin was lost on Booby Shoal and the mate and boat's crew were drowned. The *Young Eagle*, Captain Lathrop, and the *Nippon*, Capt. John Gardner 2d, were sunk at sea, but the crews were saved. The ship *Lydia*, Captain Edward C. Joy, was burned at sea in 1835, supposed to have been the act of the crew, and the ship *Memnon*, Captain Haughton, was burned at Payta in 1854. In the early days when Nantucket men sailed from almost every whaling port there were few such casualties in which Nantucketers were not represented.

Mr. Macy in his *History* makes the following statement—"The whole number of vessels lost, exclusive of captures, since the settlement of the island, is 168. Of these 78 were sloops, 31 schooners, 18 brigs, and 41 ships. Loss of lives four hundred and fourteen."†

From the time when that computation was made until the last whaler sailed bearing the name of Nantucket the number of whaling

*Marine worms in the Pacific Ocean attack a ship's planking where it is below the water line and exposed to them and there are instances where an exposed plank has been completely honeycombed by them.

†Page 253. The statement was made in 1835.

vessels lost or condemned belonging to the Island, exclusive of those sold, comprised 43 ships, 3 brigs and 2 schooners with a total of 14,676 tons burthen.

The decade from 1840 to 1850 was a particularly disastrous one to Nantucket. The fire of 1838 was a bad one for a small community and particularly hit prominent Islanders engaged in the whaling industry. The increasing shyness and scarcity of whales occasioned longer and more expensive voyages. New Bedford already had wrested the whaling supremacy from Nantucket, so far as the number of ships and men employed were concerned, although Nantucket owners were still at the front in the capture of the sperm whales. At New Bedford the ship could outfit* and sail from port all equipped for her work and return with her cargo unbroken and discharge at the wharf, while at Nantucket the bar still proved to be an insurmountable barrier to the free passage of ships that were about to sail on a voyage, or that should return laden with the results of their voyages. In view of the fact that other ports were participating in the business, the competition was keen, and the handicaps that Nantucket experienced were still harder to overcome.

Then came the Great Fire of 1846, wiping out in 24 hours the entire business section of the Town, damaging shipping and destroying the many warehouses and manufactories of various kinds connected with the business, with their contents.

Following closely on the heels of that disaster came a blow from an entirely different quarter.

Gold deposits were discovered in California to such an extent that there was a stampede to the Golden State. It affected whalers. Ships were deserted and young men were diverted from

*Macy in his History of Nantucket, pp. 221-2, gives the detail of the outfit of a whaling ship in his day. In later years the ships were larger, the voyages longer, and the outfitting expense greater. Macy says: "The class of ships built immediately after the last war were about 300 tons burthen; there has, however, been a steady advance, our ships are now larger, better constructed, and built of the best materials. The live oak and yellow pine, being found most durable for marine architecture, is brought from the southern states, and no expense is spared to make the ships what they ought to be, fit for the arduous and protracted voyages they are destined to perform. A fair average price of a ship, ready for the reception of her appropriate stores for a three years' voyage, is about \$22,000 and the outfits about \$18,000 more. Some have sailed at a much higher price, near \$60,000. Many are got to sea, fitted in the same efficient manner for the same period of time, for about \$34,000, but they are of a smaller size. The necessary articles put on board a ship for a sperm whale voyage are too numerous to mention; it will suffice to mention a few of the principal ones. Beef and pork, 100 bbls. each; 11 tons of bread, baked from superfine flour; 80 bbls. of flour packed, for puddings, &c; 1400 gallons of molasses; peas, beans, corn, dried apples, coffee, tea, chocolate, butter in ample quantities, and of good quality. About 4,000 barrels of new casks are made for each ship, from the best white oak stuff, each cask containing from three to six barrels at the cost of about \$1.50 per barrel."

whaling to mining. Voyages were broken up. Attempts had been made, too, to find some substitute for sperm oil as an illuminant. Right whale oil was much inferior for that purpose, nor was it to be compared with sperm oil as a lubricant. Indeed, for the last named purpose sperm oil is well in the forefront today. To find a substitute as an illuminant was the stimulus to several experiments. An oil made from lard and refined was tried, but it had a tendency to thicken up in cold weather. A burning fluid was invented composed of spirits of turpentine and alcohol. That was a very fair substitute so far as its illuminating properties were concerned but it was a very dangerous compound to handle.

Next came the discovery, in a little sheet iron building on the banks of the Charles River, in Waltham, of a method of refining kerosene, so to make it an acceptable and cheap illuminating oil.

These things combined proved too great a barrier for Nantucket to overcome, and the whaling fleet gradually became reduced in numbers, the vessels as they returned from their voyages being sold to New Bedford and other whaling ports. In 1868, "Ichabod" was written on her walls, so far as the whaling industry was concerned, when the bark R. L. Barstow, the last whaling ship to sail from the Island, port passed over the Bar, outward bound.

Occasional whaling voyages by small vessels on the Atlantic, called in the Nantucket vernacular "plum-pudding" voyages, were made for several years thereafter, but the pursuit has long ceased to be a recognized business, and whales can disport themselves around the Island with impunity, right under the very noses of the descendants of those who once were their implacable foes, and there is none to molest them nor make them afraid.* Of the 34 whale ships beleaguered and abandoned in the Arctic Ocean in the fall of 1871, not one hailed from Nantucket.

Following the loss of the whaling industry, many efforts were made to introduce some line of manufactures which could be followed successfully on the Island. There existed the handicaps of distance from a market and the necessity of importing all supplies; added to which was the lack of cooperation from the Islanders. It was difficult to lead them into new and strange channels. A people cannot change in a day the habits that have become inbred by two centuries of activity in one direction.

As early as in 1852, an effort was made to establish on the Island the manufacture of straw goods. The Friends' Meeting-house, on Main Street, was purchased and the "Atlantic Straw Works" found a home there, its principal business being the manufacture of straw hats. The employment was light, cleanly, and,

*In the late "fifties" one or more of the small whalers captured whales and brought them into port where they were "cut in" while the vessel was lying at the wharf and the younger generation of the day had a living example of processes that made their ancestors famous.

as matters then were, fairly remunerative, but the business was abandoned after a brief struggle.*

In 1859, a shoe factory was started, and in 1864 the manufacture of linen coats, or "dusters" as they were called, was introduced to the Island.† The former was short-lived. The latter seemed at one time to have secured a good footing, but it, in turn, followed the other enterprises into the list of things that were.‡

In 1872, Mitchell & Hayden purchased from the Town the West Grammar School building and started a second shoe factory. Everything looked rosy for a brief time and success seemed assured, and then it followed the previous experiments adown the valley of the once was.

Psychologically considered, the failures may perhaps, as previously pointed out, be explained on the ground that the energies of the Islanders had for so many years been concentrated on looking to the products of the sea for a livelihood that they did not take kindly to a business so entirely foreign to what they had been accustomed to. If the theory is correct, with the passing of the last of the generations of whalemén, new enterprises may successfully be carried on, if the handicaps of distance from the source of supplies and from a market, are not insurmountable.

Attention next began to be directed into turning summer travel Nantucket-ward. The attractions of the Island as a health resort had been for many years the subject of newspaper comment.** To capitalize these attractions needed increased facilities to get to and from the Island. The one man to whom the situation seemed to appeal strongest and who seemed to realize more forcibly than anyone else the necessities of the situation was Mr. Joseph S. Barney; at that time a stockholder in the Steamboat Company and Superintendent of the boats.

One of the improvements which he realized as essential to make it a desirable summer resort was a better steamboat service. Taking as his slogan "Two Boats a Day," he enlisted in his campaign three friends †† and began, largely through the newspaper press, to make clear the necessity, and to bring such pressure to

*The building, which is still in existence has had a varied experience. For several years it was used as an Assembly and dance hall. In 1883 it was moved to Brant Point and became a part of Hotel Nantucket, about being built. In 1905, the Hotel no longer doing business the building was again sold, the central portion being purchased by the "Red Men" and moved up onto South Water street where it still exists—the upper part used as a Lodge room and the lower part as an amusement hall.

†By Charles Lawrence.

‡John W. Hallett succeeded to the business and in 1880 manufactured 50,000 coats for the 12 months.

**It was no new thing to allude to Nantucket as a health resort. Its advantages in that direction were pointed out as early as 1835, and every succeeding year has brought new testimony to its value. The entire Atlantic coast does not offer a summer resort so replete with health and pleasure.

††Rev. Dr. Ferdinand C. Ewer, William Breed Drake and A. Starbuck. Mr. Barney's foresight and good work in this and other ways never received the recognition they merited.

bear on the Directors of the Steamboat Company as would compel them to consider the demand. The effort was successful and Nantucket has become of late years as well-known throughout the country as a health resort as in the long ago it was recognized as the most important whaling port in the country.*

With the World's War came another opportunity for Nantucket to prove that her loyalty to the Union was equal to every test made upon it. Every call for money was promptly answered. The response on the first Liberty Loan was \$411,000; on the second \$589,000; on the third \$130,000; on the fourth \$306,000; on the fifth \$229,500; a total of \$1,665,500, a per capita of about \$555, making the little municipality the banner town in the country. The demands of the Red Cross were met equally promptly and decisively. A total of 192 from the Island were in the service—74 in the Army; 61 in the Navy; 39 in the Coast Guard; 7 in Aviation service; 4 in radio; 6 in the merchant marine; and one was a Nurse at the front.† During the War a battalion of the Naval Reserve Corps stationed on the Island with headquarters at the former Springfield House on North Water Street and the use of a ship yard on the South Beach for the repair of submarine chasers, with occasional visits from aeroplanes gave the Town quite a warlike appearance while the nearest Nantucket came to actual conflict was the torpedoing of allied vessels by German submarines near the South Shoal Lightship 80 or 90 miles away.

*A permanent and pure water supply was a necessary adjunct to a successful summer resort. Mr. Moses Joy was quick to see the necessity and to provide for it. It was through his exertions mainly that the Wannacomet Water Co. was formed and the water works constructed. Little encouragement was given to Mr. Joy and the few who saw the need but the end has justified their faith. The water was let on to the town pipes in 1879.

†The Town for several years has kept the roster of those who served on the opening pages of the Town report.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCHES OF NANTUCKET

THE FRIENDS' MEETINGS

The early religious history of the people of Nantucket presents an interesting study. The popular idea regarding some of the First Purchasers, especially in the case of Thomas Macy and family, is that they were Friends or Quakers and fled to Nantucket to escape impending punishment from the Massachusetts Bay authorities, but, as already shown, that is entirely contrary to facts. Indeed if we may except the reputed visit of Jane Stokes to the Island in 1664,* it is doubtful whether Macy, who died April 19, 1682, ever saw a Quaker as such in Nantucket. It seems a little singular that despite the fact that Mr. Macy became involved in trouble in the Massachusetts Bay for preaching without a permit from the authorities in 1658 and that Edward Starbuck was supposed to have been suitably punished in 1648 for being an Anabaptist, it was years after they died before an English church of any kind that we have any knowledge of was established on the Island.

Quakerism existed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and was harshly dealt with. The reason for the harshness does not appear to be difficult to understand. That the Puritans came to America to enjoy religious freedom is true only to a limited extent; that they came to be free to worship God in their own way is a more accurate way to state their purpose.† It was not a part of their design to have rivals in theology and they viewed the Quakers as unwarranted interlopers. It would have been the same with any

*A memorandum of Mr. Peleg Mitchell gives the tradition that Jane Stokes visited Nantucket at that time.

Mr. Worth in his "Lands and Landowners" p. 64 states that John Gardner was accused in 1780 of preventing some Quakers speaking in public. He says—"Until 1716 the matter of religion appears only twice in the records. In 1680, Capt. John Gardner was accused of forbidding some Quakers holding a meeting on the island. In 1678 some men were fined for going out in company on the Lord's Day."

†John Fiske in "The Beginnings of New England," page 159, says: "This is a point concerning which there has been a great deal of popular misapprehension, and there has been no end of nonsense talked about it. It has been customary first to assume that the Puritan migrating was undertaken in the interests of religious liberty, and then to upbraid the Puritans for forgetting all about religious liberty as soon as people came among them who disagreed with their opinions. But this view of the case is not supported by history. It is quite true that the Puritans were chargeable with gross intolerance; but it is not true that in this they were guilty of inconsistency. The notion that they came to New England for the purpose of establishing religious liberty, in any sense in which we should understand such a phrase, is entirely incorrect. It is neither more nor less than a bit of popular legend."

other active and aggressive sect or act. It manifested its spirit when Edward Starbuck was fined for Anabaptism and when Thomas Macy assumed to preach without having been duly qualified.

Our conception of the Quaker is as we have found him in our time and not as he appeared to our Island ancestors. So far as Nantucket has known the sect, from the days of Mary Starbuck to the



HEADQUARTERS NANTUCKET HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The rear building is of fireproof construction and houses one of the finest historical collections in the country. The front building is of wood built in 1838 for a Friends' School and subsequently used as a Meeting House. The Historical Association bought it in 1904 for its headquarters.

present day, its members, with rare exceptions, have been the embodiment of the Christian virtues. In the early days of their presence in New England, however, there were among them men and women whose aggressiveness and peculiar manifestations might naturally arouse counter aggressions from those who were unwilling to brook the presence of any form of religion other than their own.*

*"When we remember how the Quakers, in their scorn of earthly magistrates and princes, would hoot at the Governor as he walked up the street; how they used to rush into church on Sundays and interrupt the sermon with untimely remarks; how Thomas Newhouse once came into the old First Meeting-House with a glass bottle in each hand, and, holding them up before the astonished congregation, knocked them together and smashed them, with the remark, 'Thus will the Lord break you all in pieces'; how Lydia Wardwell and Deborah Wilson ran about the streets in the primitive costume of Eve before the fall, and called their conduct 'testifying before the Lord'; we can hardly wonder that people should have been reminded of the wretched scenes enacted at Munster by the Anabaptists of the preceding century."

Time softened many of these asperities. The Quakers, without sacrificing any of the principles for which they stood, abandoned the unseemly methods of propagating them while the Puritans were compelled on their part to abandon their unreasonable persecutions.

The earliest visit of Friends (or Quakers) to Nantucket of which we have any detailed record, was that of Thomas Chalkley, whose first visit was made to the Island in the Spring of 1698. He went from Providence to Boston and Salem, then to Hampton and "Cushnet," thence to Nantucket. "We sailed over to the said Island," he says, "in about ten hours, where we tarried several days and had five meetings."*

"The people did generally acknowledge to the truth, and many of them were tender-hearted. Some of the people said 'That it was never known that so many people were together on the Island at once.' After the first meeting was over, one asked the minister, (so called) Whether we might have a meeting at his house? He said, with a good will, 'We might.' This minister had some discourse with me, and asked, 'What induced me to come hither, being such a young man?' I told him that I had no other view in coming there, than the good of souls, and **wo would be to me, if I did not preach the gospel.** 'Then,' said he, 'I wish you would preach at my house in GOD'S name,' So next day we had a meeting at his house; and, on the first-day, we had the largest meeting that we ever had on the Island. It was tho't there were above two hundred people. The Lord in his power did make his truth known to the praise of his name. Oh! how was my soul concerned for that people! The Lord Jesus did open my heart to them and theirs to him: they were also loving and kind to us. The chief magistrate of the island,† desir'd that I would have a meeting at his house there being no settled meeting of Friends before I came; and after meeting he disputed about religion with me. I tho't we were both but poor disputants; and I cannot remember all that pass'd between us, but that in the close of our dispute, he said, 'I disputed with your friends in Barbadoes, and they told me, That we must eat the spiritual flesh, and drink the spiritual blood of Christ; And," said the governor, 'Did ever any one hear of such flesh and blood; for is it not a contradiction in nature, that flesh and blood should be spiritual?' 'O surely, said I, the governor has forgot himself; for what flesh and blood was that which Christ said, **Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye have no life in You?** 'Why, said he, 'I don't think they were to gnaw it from his arms and shoulders.' Then I told him, he answer'd himself. Thus our dispute ended. (And from that time forward they have continued a meeting, and there is now a meetinghouse, and a yearly meeting for worship;‡ it is a growing meeting to this day, and several public friends raised up amongst them, who preach the gospel of Christ freely.)

At this time a friend was convinc'd whose name was Starbuck,** who became very serviceable, and lived and died an emi-

*Chalkley's Journal, pp. 19-20. Acushnet is meant.

†It is a bit uncertain who is meant, as the Town was governed by a board of seven Trustees. From his statement regarding disputing with your friends in Barbadoes" it is likely that Stephen Hussey was the man as he had been at the Barbadoes.

‡This part of his Journal must have been written some years later

**Doubtless Mary Starbuck, wife of Nathaniel.

ment minister of Christ, on that Island. Sev'ral scores of them came and accompanied us to the water-side; and when we embark'd on board our sloop, they desir'd that I would come and visit them again. So I recommended them to the grace of our Lord Jesus, and we parted in great love and tenderness."

Chalkley again visited Nantucket in the Spring or Summer of 1704. Of this visit he says in his Journal: "There are large meetings, people there being mostly Friends, and a sober growing people in the best things; tho' not of our society, when they first received the truth, yet they receiv'd it with gladness; and altho' divers of the people, call'd presbyterians were very cruel in their expressions, and bitter in their spirits against us, yet there were some who went under that name, who were more open and charitable towards us and received us gladly with tenderness; and in some places we had meetings at their houses to our mutual satisfaction."

The next Friend of whose visit to Nantucket we have any account, was John Richardson, an Englishman, who visited the Island in 1701. Concerning his experiences his Journal says:* "Now I leave the Account of my Travels in those Parts,† and enter upon my second, with my honest Companion **James Bates**, who was born in **Virginia** and travelled much with me through many Provinces, and some Islands; we had good Service together, and it was much with me, when on **Rhode Island**, to visit **Nantucket**, where there were but very few Friends: **Peleg Slocum**, an honest public Friend near **Rhode Island**, intended to carry us in his Sloop to the said Island that Night; and **Peleg** thought we had been close in with our desired landing Place, but we fell short, and Night coming on, and having but one small Canoe to help us ashore, which would carry but three People at once, we went ashore at twice, and left the Sloop at an Anchor;‡ and it being grown dark, we thought we were going up into the Island among the Inhabitants, but soon found that we were upon a Beach of Sand and Rubbish, where was neither Grass nor Tree neither could we find the Sloop that Night, though we sought it carefully, and hollowed one to another till we were weary, so that we were forced to settle upon our little Island, from the Center of which, one might cast a Stone into the Sea on every Side; here we staid that Night, not knowing but the Sea, when at the Height, would have swept us all away, but it did not; there I walked and sometimes sat, until Morning, but slept none; at last the Morning came, and the Mist went away, and we got on Board again, and reached the Island about the ninth or tenth Hour.

The Master was willing at our request to land three of us, (i. e.) me, my Companion, and **Susanna Freborn**, a public Friend, who had a Concern upon her Mind for some Time, (as she signified to Friends in **Rhode Island** where she lived) to visit the few Friends in **Nantucket**, and Friends thought this a proper Season to pay that Visit. She was a Woman well beloved, and in good Unity with Friends.

We landed safe, and as we went up an Ascent, we saw a great many People looking towards the Sea, for great Fear had possessed them that our Sloop was a **French** Sloop loaded with Men and Arms, who were coming to invade the Island;** I held out my Arms and

*Page 84.

†**Rhode Island**.

‡It looks very much as though the island was **Muskeget**.

**France and England were at war and French privateers were off the coast.

told them, I knew not of any worse arms than these on board. They said, they were glad it was no worse, for they had intended to have alarmed the Island, it being a time of War; I told the good like People, for so they appeared to me that **Peleg Slocum**, near **Rhode Island**, was Master of the Sloop, and that we came to visit them in the Love of God, if they would be willing to let us have some Meetings amongst them. They behaved themselves very courteously towards us and said they thought we might.

We then enquired for **Nathaniel Starbuck** who we understood was in some degree convinced of the Truth, and having Directions to his House, we went thither, and I told him, We made bold to come to his House, and if he was free to receive us, we would stay a little with him, but if not, we would go elsewhere: for we heard he was a seeking religious Man, and such chiefly we were come to visit: He said, we were very welcome. And by this time came in his Mother, **Mary Starbuck**, who the Islanders esteemed as a Judge among them, for little of Moment was done without her, as I understood.

At the first Sight of her it sprang in my Heart, To this Woman is the everlasting Love of God. I looked upon her as a Woman that bore some Sway in the Island, and so I said, and that truly, we are come in the Love of God to visit you, if you are willing to let us have some Meetings among you: She said she thought we might; and withal said, there was a Non-conformist Minister who was to have a Meeting, and they were going to it, and she thought it would be the best way for us to go with them to the Meeting. I showed my Dislike to that for these Reasons: first, we did not want to hear what that Minister had to say, because some of us had tried them before we came there, (meaning the Non-conformists of several sorts) and if we should go, and could not be clear without speaking something in the Meeting he might take it ill; but as we understand there is another Meeting appointed at the second Hour for the same Man, therefore, as the present Constitution of Things are, we look upon ourselves to stand upon an equal Ground in a religious Capacity with other Dissenters; and if we should appoint our Meeting at the same Hour, then the People will be left to their Choice to which Meeting they will go.* The great Woman approved of the Proposal, and said, indeed that was the best Way. The next Consideration was, where shall the Meeting be? She paused awhile, and then said, I think at our House. I from thence gathered she had a Husband, for I thought the Word **our** carried in it some Power besides her own, and I presently found he was with us; and he appeared not a Man of mean Parts, but she so far exceeded him in soundness of Judgment, clearness of Understanding, and an elegant way of expressing herself, and that not in an affected Strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to lessen the Qualifications of her Husband.

The Meeting being agreed on, and Care taken as to the Appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any Sleep, for I have shewed before what sort of a Night the last was with us; but Sleep vanished away from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the Woods until the Meeting was mostly gathered. I was under a very great Load in my Spirit, but the Occasion of it was hid from me; but I saw it my place to go to Meeting, the Order of which was such, in all the Parts thereof, I had not seen the like before; the large and bright rubbed Room was set with suitable Seats or Chairs, the Glass Windows taken out of the Frames, and many Chairs placed without very conveniently, so that I did not see anything wanting, according to the Place, but something to stand on,

*Evidently Mr. Richardson did not desire to appear as a disturber.

for I was not free to set my Feet upon the fine Cane Chair, lest I should break it.

I am, the more particular in this exact and exemplary Order than in some other Things, for the Seats both within and without Doors were so placed, that the Faces of the People were towards the Seats where the public Friends sat, and when so set, they did not look or gaze in our Faces, as some I think are too apt to do, which in my Thoughts bespeaks an unconcerned Mind; The Meeting being thus gathered and set down in the orderly and ample manner, (although there were but very few bearing our Name in it) it was not long before the mighty Power of the Lord began to work, and in it my Companion especially did appear in Testimony in the fore Part thereof; and while he was speaking, a Priest (not him before touch'd on, but another,) flung out some Reflections upon him, and the People for his sake, which I did not see the least Occasion for;* after which he went away, (but more of this in the Sequel.)

I sat a considerable Time in the Meeting before I could see my Way clear to say anything, until the Lord's heavenly Power raised me, and set me upon my Feet as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in Commission to speak, was in the Words of Christ to Nicodemus, viz. Except a Man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God; with these Words, Nay, the natural and unregenerate Man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual Kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in Power, but also in Righteousness, Joy and Peace in the Holy Spirit; and to be born again, was not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural Birth could be brought forth without Trouble; and to pretend to be in Christ and not to be new Creatures, is preposterous; and to pretend to be new Creatures, and yet not able to render any Account how it was performed, was unreasonable; for it could not be, as I urged before, without our knowledge; for to be born again signified to be quickened and raised into a spiritual and new Life, by which the Body of the Sins of the Flesh is mortified, and we come to live a self-denying Life: Those who are crucified with Christ, they are crucified to their Sins, that as he died for Sin, we might die to Sin; In this State we live not after the Flesh, although we live (as the Apostle said) in the Flesh; but the Life which these live, is through Faith in the Son of God; And to all this, and much more wrought in us, and we know nothing of it is unreasonable.

As I was thus opened, and delivering these Things, with much more than I can remember, the great Woman I felt, for most of an Hour together, fought and strove against the Testimony, sometimes looking up in my Face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy Complexion; but the Strength of the Truth increased, and the Lord's mighty Power began to shake the People within and without Doors; but she who was looked upon as a Deborah† by these People, was loth to lose her outside Religion, or the Appearance thereof; When she could no longer contain, she submitted to the Power of Truth and the Doctrines thereof, and lifted up her Voice and wept: Oh! then the universal Cry and Brokenness of Heart and Tears was wonderful! From this Time I do not remember one Word that I spoke in Testimony, it was enough that I could keep upon the true Bottom, and not be carried away with the Stream above my Measure.

*The charge of interference with religious service certainly cannot be maintained against the Friends on this occasion. Richardson declined to attend the other meeting lest he should feel it his duty to speak but the minister who attended Richardson's service was offensive in that way.

†Mary Starbuck.

I might add much more concerning this Day's Work, but I intend not to say anything to the Praise of the creature, but to the Renown of the mighty Name of the Lord of Hosts, and let all Flesh lie as in the Dust forever; for while I continued speaking in this State as before-mentioned, and thus swallowed up in the internal Presence of Christ, where there was not want of Power, Wisdom nor Utterance, I spoke but a Sentence and Stopt, and so on for some Time: I have since thought of **John's** being in the **Spirit on the Lord's Day**. If it had been a State to have been continued in, I am of the mind, I should not have been sensible of Weariness, neither of Hunger or Pain. This is a Mystery to many, yet these are faithful and true Sayings, thou mayest read that canst; but there are none that can know the white Stone and new Name, but they who have it; there are none who stand upon Mount Sion with Harps of God in their Hands, but only such as have come through great Tribulations and have washed their Garments and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb; to these are the Seals of the Book of the Mysteries of the glorious Kingdom opened; these are called out of Nations; Kindred, Tongues and People; these are redeemed out of the fallen and earthly State of old Adam, into the living, heavenly and spiritual State in Christ the second Adam; these cry holy; the other part of the Children of Men cry unholy, because they are not willing to cast down their Crowns at the Feet or Appearance of Christ in their own Souls; altho' such, with the four Beasts may cry come and see yet are they not properly qualified to worship the Lord God and the Lamb before his Throne, as the four and twenty Elders did, and as all do, and will do who worship God in his holy Temple in Spirit and in Truth, according to his own Appointment; who are not tied up to the Canons, Creeds, Systems and Dictates of Men, much of which is beaten out of the Wisdom, Parts, and natural Comprehension of earthly fallen Man.

I return from this, which may seem a mysterious Digression, to the other Part of what did happen concerning the Meeting, and come now to the breaking up thereof; and as extreme Heats oft end in extreme Cold, and as great Heights frequently center (as to Man in this Capacity) in great Depths, and great Plenty in great Poverty, which I have often seen to be good in order to keep the Creature low, in Fear, and in a Dependence upon the Lord, I soon fell into such a Condition that I was like to die away; and when it was so, I with my Companion made a Motion to break up the Meeting, but could not do so for some time, for they sat weeping universally: then I told the Meeting, especially such as were near me, that if I should faint away. I would not have them to be surprized at it; for I was much concerned lest that I should hurt these tender People; my Life was not dear to me in comparison of the Worth of the Souls of the Children of Men; but all this did not break up the Meeting; But after some time Mary Starbuck stood up, and held out her Hand, and spoke tremblingly and said, All that ever we have been building, and all that ever we have done is all pulled down this Day, and this is the overwhelming Truth; or very near these Words. Then she arose, and I observed that she, and as many as could well be seen, were wet with Tears from their Faces to the fore-skirts of their Garments, and the Floor was as though there has been a Shower of Rain upon it; but Mary, that worthy Woman said to me, when a little come to consider the poor State that I was in, Dear Child, what shall I do for you? I said, a little would do for me; if thou canst get me something to drink that is not strong but rather warm, it may do well: So she did, and I went unto her Son's, where my Cloaths were, that I might shift me, for I felt Sweat in my Shoes as I walked.

I mention this partly for the sakes of such of my Brethren, who may at any time be in the like Case, to take care to keep out of the Cold, and beware of drinking that which is cold, neither is Brandy good, for it feeds too much upon the weakened Vitals; but in all Things endeavour to possess your Vessels in Sanctification and Honour; And as it is not in Man's Power to make the Vessel clean nor prepare it, therefore if the Lord doth (with thy Obedience through the Work of his Grace and Holy Spirit) fit thy Vessel for his Work and Service, take this Caution; see that **thou neither destroy, defile, nor hurt the same.** But it may be, some or other have done all these, some one way and some another.

I remember Peleg Slocum (before mentioned) said after this Meeting, that the like he was never at; for he thought the Inhabitants of the Island were shaken, and most of the People convinced of the Truth; However, a great Convincement there was that Day, **Mary Starbuck** was one of the Number, and in a short time after received a public Testimony, as did also her Son **Nathaniel**.

After I was somewhat revived, my Companion having a Mind to speak to the Priest to know why he did so reflect on him, desired me to go with him, which I did with several more, and coming to his Door where he was set upon a Bench, **James Bates** asked him **why he did so reflect?** He replied, **he was in a Passion, and had nothing against him;** then **James** forgave him, and they fell into some Debate concerning Faith; my Friend urged the Apostle **James's** Words, which are these, **As the Body is dead without the Spirit, so is Faith without Works.** The Priest said, **Dead Faith was nothing, and that it had no Being in the World.** I thought he appeared to be in the Craft; and after they had tugged at it awhile, I said, I found something in my mind to mind to interpose, if they would hear me; they both showed a Willingness to hear what I had to say, and then I asked, **what Belief or Faith that was the Devils had?** for I did not understand, but that **although they believed there was a God, they remained Devils still; therefore the Word dead is a proper Word, and properly adapted to that which any may call Faith and is not operative, but a Notion that may be received by Education, by bearing or reading, and not that Faith which works by Love, and overcomes the World; and because of its not working, being inactive and useless, is fitly called dead: What dost thou say to that?** He said, I was too great a Scholar for him. I replied, there was no great Scholarship in that. He then invited me to stay all Night, and said I should be as welcome as his own Children, and he and I would dispute about that between ourselves. I declined it and shewed these Reasons for so doing: **If he declined the Debate publicly, I would not debate it privately, for then these Neighbours of his would want the Benefit of it; and so we parted, with my saying, as it immediately sprang up in my Heart, Thou hast been a Man in thy young years that the Lord has been near, and favoured with many Openings, and if thou hadst been faithful to the Gift of God thou mightest have been serviceable, but thou has been unfaithful, and a Cloud has come over thee, and thou art laid aside as useless.**

I was altogether a Stranger to the State of the Priest, nor had I heard anything of him, nor indeed of the State of the Inhabitants of the Island, but what I heard after mostly from **Mary Starbuck;** for as we walked from the Priest's House towards our Quarters, she said, **Everything she now met with, did confirm her in the Truth;** for she knew this was the State of the Priest, as I had said, she being acquainted with him in his best State, and then he had fine Openings, and a living Ministry among them, but of late a Cloud was come over him, and, as I said, he was laid by and

useless. She also put me in mind of something I had said in the Meeting about **Election**, which as near as I can remember was thus; I had endeavoured to make **one in the Election**, and **one born again** much the same; for I had laid waste all claim to **Election** without **being born again**; for as Christ was the **Chosen** or **Elect** of **God**, who never fell, could such as were in the Fall be the Branches of Christ, the pure heavenly Vine? Or such as were found in the impure State, and in the Degeneracy, by reason of Sin and wicked Works? Or would Christ be married to a People, and become as their Husband, who were in an unconverted State? Could this be the true Church of Christ? Could this be the Lamb's Bride, who had departed from this Spirit, and was in the Pollutions of the World through Lust, and running after the Pleasures and Fineries of the World, depending on Ceremonies, and outside Things and Elements, which appear not to be essential to our Salvation, neither do we find Life in them? I was of the Apostle's Mind that **neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision avail-eth anything, but a new Creature**: And what Man in the World can say, that Water (although he may have been baptized or dipped into the same) had **converted** him or changed his State from a natural to a spiritual, or from a dead to a living State in Christ? Or, who that have gone through the most celebrated Ceremonies (as some may account them) had thereby got **Dominion** over Sin and Satan?

Having thus treated of Things, or to this purpose, among them I said to Mary, that she **warred and strove against the Testimony for a Time**: And as near as I remember, she said their Principle was. **That such as believed in Christ, were always in him; and whom he had once loved he loved to the End**; And it was a Distinction they had given to their Church, to be called **Electionarians**; and as I said, or near it, she **had no mind to be pulled out of her strong Hold**. But when she saw the Glory of Christ, and the true Church, as the Queen of the South saw **Solomon's** and the Glory of his House; and as she had her Questions and Doubts answered, she **had no more Spirit in her, or Doubts or Questions**, but openly owned, **This is the Truth, this is the Glory I have heard so much of**: That Spirit of doubting and questioning was swallowed up now by her hearing and beholding for herself this greater than **Solomon**, his Wisdom and Glory, and the great House that she had built (the Servants, the Attendance, and excellent Order, with the Ascent unto the House of God, which were all wonderful in **Solomon's** House, carried in them a lively Resemblance of Christ, his Power, Glory, and Wisdom) as also that Order and Mean which is seen among his faithful Servants, his Church and People, even such as our spiritual **Solomon** rules in and over by his Spirit and Power. Here is **Solomon**, or **Man of Peace**, elsewhere called the **Prince of Peace**; and as **Solomon** ruled in **Jerusalem**, formerly called **Salem**, or **City of Peace**, and indeed over all **Judah**, and over all his Tribes, so doth **Christ** in his Kingdom everywhere upon the Face of the whole Earth. Learn this, see and know in and for thyself, that thou art truly transplanted out of the Kingdom of Death and Darkness into the Kingdom of Christ, which is a Kingdom of Power, Life, Light, Peace and Joy in the holy Ghost. I was much bowed down in my Spirit, and in Weakness. Fasting, and in much Fear; for the more that Truth appears, the more it brings the Creature into Self-abasement."

Richardson immediately after departed for Lynn.

The next public Friend to visit Nantucket, of whom there is any detailed account, was Thomas Story, in 1704.* His story as he tells it in his autobiography is as follows:† “Before I proceed, I think proper, first to give a general Relation of the State of the People in the Island of Nantucket, (where I went next after this) with Respect to Religion at this Time. This small Island lies about 20 Leagues from the main Land of New England,‡ inhabited by a mixed People of various Notions, and some among them called Christian Indians, but no settled Teachers of any kind: And as poor Hirelings search all Corners for settled Maintenance, several such, from time to time had made their Attempts upon this People on that Account, but were disappointed; for there was in this Island one Nathaniel Starbuck, whose Wife was a wise discreet Woman, well read in the Scriptures, and not attached unto any Sect, but in great Reputation throughout the Island for her Knowledge in Matters of Religion, and an Oracle among them on that Account, insomuch that they would not to anyThing without her Advice and Consent therein: So that when at any Time such Hirelings came to preach among them, and attempted to have a settled Maintenance, she always opposed it with solid Arguments, as being contrary to the Practice of the Apostles and Primitives, and the Nature of the Maintenance of a Gospel Ministry;** but would consent so far, as when any Preachers came among them that they liked, and staid some Time and took Pains among them, every Family might give unto such what they pleased, for the Help of themselves and their Families, if they had any, as Indian Corn (Maze) or other Grain, Meat, Flesh, Fish, or such other Provisions as they happened to have at the Time to spare; and Wool &c for Cloathing, but nothing certain or settled: For Ministers of CHRIST ought to travel abroad in the World in that Calling, and not to sit down in one Place, unless they have Families to take Care of, and cannot leave them.

And some Time before this, John Kinsey, one of our Ministers from Philadelphia, had been to visit them with good Acceptance,†† and had good service for Truth among them; and had been instrumental in the Hand of the Lord, to beget a good liking in them to the Way of Truth, but received nothing from any of them (for that is not our Way) on account of his Ministry: And I finding a like Concern at this Time, and accompanied by several Friends of both Sexes, we on the 13th Day of the Fifth Month, about the tenth Hour in the Morning, set sail for the said Island in a Shallop belonging to our Friend Peleg Slocumb,‡‡ before mentioned; which, under divine Providence, he himself chiefly conducted, and landed there the next Morning about Six.

At our landing, we went up to the House of the Widow Mary Gardner;§where, after some Refreshment had, came to us

*Mr. Story was an Englishman who came to America in 1699. He left a Journal of his experiences which was published in 1757.

†P. 350 of his Journal.

‡Mr. Story must have reckoned from the vicinity of Dartmouth.

**It would appear that up to that time there was no settled minister on the Island.

††1703 according to Mrs. Hinchman's list.

‡‡Richardson says that “Peleg Slocum, near Rhode Island, was Master of the Sloop.”

§This would seem to be an error and that Sarah (Shattuck) Gardner, widow of Richard senior was the woman meant. She had made herself obnoxious to the Massachusetts government by sympathizing with the Quakers, had been brought before the Salem Court for absenting herself “from the publik ordinances on the Lord's Day,” for neglecting to attend services at the First Church in Salem and for

(See next page)

Nathaniel Starbuck, (Husband of Mary Starbuck, before mentioned) and his Son of the same Name; and we proposed to them to have a Meeting that Day; but there being a Court to sit then by special Commission upon an **Indian**, accused for murdering his Wife, we found it improper at that Time;* and some of our Company went home with **Nathaniel Starbuck**, the elder, and others with his Son; where we were kindly entertained, tho' Strangers, and they, at that Time, not in the Profession of Truth with us.

On the 15th we had a Meeting at the House of **Nathaniel Starbuck**, the elder; which was pretty large and open, several of the People being tendered, and generally satisfied with what they heard and felt of the Goodness and Mercy of GOD.

On the 16th, being the First day of the Week, we had another Meeting there; which was not so large as was expected, by reason of two Priests, an elderly Man, and a young one; the first from the Isle of **Showles**, and the other from **Martha's Vineyard**, who had a meeting near us; the former being come to try if he could obtain a settled Maintenance among that People: And several being curious to hear this new Preacher in the Presbyterian way, it made our Meeting something less than otherwise it might have been; yet it was considerably large, very open and encouraging; for the good Presence of the LORD was with us.

Many of the Inhabitants of this Island^l are convinced of the Truth of some Points of the Doctrine of Truth, and some of them have been reached by the divine Virtue and Power of it; but some other Things they do not yet see; and, if there were no Cross, would, in all Appearance, come generally under our Profession; Some few are for a Priest, and to allow him some certain Maintenance, (for they walk not by Faith but Sight); but the Majority is against it: So that one of these, not being able to effect his Purpose, went home in a few Days, but the other staid a little longer.

On the Second Morning came Captain **William Basset**, of **Sandwich**, before mentioned, being a discreet Man, affable, of a good natural Temper and Understanding;† who, with Justice Scift and some others of that Town, (where I had the Dispute with **Rollon-Cotton** as aforesaid) were commissioned to try the **Indian** aforesaid, to advice with me what to do in his Case, it being difficult to them; for they inclined to save the Man's Life for some Reasons, though the Evidence was full against him; but they had not yet given Judgment in form. I told them, "That seeing the Evidence was so full as they related, and the Crime heinous and mortal, if they gave Sentence, they were obliged,

attending assemblies of the Friends, and had been excommunicated from the First Church in Salem for so doing. Thomas Gardner, p. 47. There was no "Widow Mary Gardner" to whom Mr. Story's words could apply. The widow Sarah was a woman of decided opinions and not inclined to mask them, Sarah, daughter of Richard and Sarah, married Eleazur Folger, son of Peter and when Peter was imprisoned during the "Insurrection" the Gardner family showed indignation and were arrested. They failed to appear at the Court held April 22, 1677 to which they were summoned but did appear at the Court next following with this result: "Sarah, wife of Mr. Richard Gardner, being legally convicted of speaking very opprobriously and uttering many slanderous words concerning the imprisonment of Peter Folger who was imprisoned by order of the Court, upon her good demeaning herself, and civilly being to the good satisfaction and likeness of the Court, the Court think fit to remit all other fines provided by law in such case, but she shall be reproved and admonished to have care for the future of evil words tending to defaming His Majesty's Court."

*Finch, who was the first on record on the Island to be tried, convicted and executed for murder.

†This was doubtless the Indian Finch who was convicted of murder in 1704.

by the Law, to do it according to Evidence and Verdict of the Jury, and could not dispense with it as Judges; but if, for any good Cause, they inclined to Mercy, they might suspend their Sentence, if the Nature of their Commission would admit of Delay, till they could procure a Pardon for him; or, they might give Sentence according to Evidence, and suspend the Execution by a Reprieve, until a Pardon could be had from the Governor; who, I presumed, had power to grant one, according to the Charter and Constitution of that Government." They thanked me for my Advice, and took the former Method.

That Afternoon we went about visiting several People at their Houses, and they were generally very well pleased, kind and respectful; but one Justice **Gardner*** an ancient Man, who had much Sway in the Affairs of the Government of the Island, soon after we went into his House, (as his Manner was) uttered some Invectives and Reproaches against **Solomon Eccles**, **George Fox**, and others of our Friends, (departed this Life many Years before) urging several false Accusations against them; as, they denied the human Nature of CHRIST, and the hypostatical Union, setting up a Light within instead of CHRIST.

I, suspecting that the Justice spoke parrotically and did not understand the Word **hypostatical**; and, seeing him one of the old envious sort, I inclined to confound him before the Company, and asked him what he meant by **hypostatical Union**? of which he could give no Account: By which all might see he had asserted he knew not what. Then I asked him, "Seeing thou hast charged **George Fox** and **Solomon Eccles** with denying CHRIST, and intended an injurious Reproach upon us too on their Account, what dost thou mean by the Word CHRIST? How is CHRIST constituted?" He replied, "The divine and human natures in one Person is CHRIST." Then I asked him, "What dost thou mean by **Human Nature**? How constituted? What is it that constitutes a proper perfect Man in a State of Nature, as Man simply?" This was too hard, and put him upon his Demur; at length he repeated some Expressions of King **David** out of the Psalms; where it is said, **I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made**: but could not give any further Account about it.

"'Tis true, said I, Man is wonderfully made, but this does not answer the Question; and since thou does not understand what human Nature properly is, or what constitutes a Man, how shouldst thou know what the divine Nature is, and how CHRIST is constituted, or what Manner of Union makes the true CHRIST? Thy charging any Man with denying the true CHRIST is therefore invalid and unreasonable, thou thyself not having any true Knowledge of CHRIST, or what thou affirmest."

This fretted the old Justice considerably, and made him sweat, but to recover himself, and, as well as he could, to hide his Imperfections, he laid them further open; telling us, "That thirty or forty Years since a Quaker at **Salem** denied, that the Body of JESUS CHRIST ever rose from the dead." I replied, "That is nothing to us, seeing we hold no such Error, nor ever did, as a People, but deny all such Holders, and their Tenets." Then **Susannah Freeborn**, one of our Company, informed us what gave occasion to this Report, and that it was one who had been denied by Friends before that Time; so that we were not accountable for his Error. Then I said to the Justice, "I perceive thou hast long been convinced of Truth; but, not liking the Cross, thou hast laid hold on such trifling Occasions and Pretences as these,

*Captain John Gardner.

as Excuses for thy Disobedience; which will not cover thee in that Day which is hastening upon thee, when no such Fig-leaves will hide thee from the Face of an all-seeing, all-knowing Judge;" and, advising him to repent and return to the Truth, if not already too late, I left him; But **Peleg Slocumb**, a grave elderly Friend, went also to him, and said, "If thou has wronged **George Fox** and **Solomon Eccles**, it will be well to own it and repent, that thou may find Mercy;" and so we left him: But his Wife (an ancient Person) was much grieved at the Ill-nature and Behaviour of her Husband toward us, who were Strangers, and come to visit them in Christian Charity; and she wept much whilst we talked together.

This Evening we ascended towards the upper Part of the Island, to **John Swain's**, (one who came to our Meetings, and there was only one more, that is **Stephen Hussie**, in all that Island under our Name)* and there we met with a great Company of **Indians** and other People together, having been raising a Timber House for him; and the two Priests were among them, one of whom had been wrestling with a young **Indian**, and came into the House with his Coat rent; and some there looking upon the Action as too mean and vain for a Man of his Pretences to excuse it, he said, **We must all wrestle with Flesh and Blood**; and so made only a Jest of it: But I replied, "If ever thou overcomest Flesh and Blood in the best Sense, and according to that Scripture which thou seems to hint at, and the Powers there mentioned, thou must wrestle in another Power than thy own, or else thy Wrestling will be in vain; thou will never overcome; and then, in a few Minutes Time, they left the Room, and the Company departed; for they did not like our Gravity, nor we their Lightness.

On the 18th we had a large good Meeting there among the People; and, that Evening returned to **Nathaniel Starbuck's** the younger, and there lodged.

On the 19th, we had another large good Meeting at **Nathaniel Starbuck's**, the elder, his Wife, **Mary**, as before hinted, being the first in that Island who had any Regard to the Way of Truth as among us; but now her three Sons and Daughters, and Sons Wives, are all in a hopeful Way to the Knowledge of Truth, and Liberty of the Sons of **God**, with several other tender People at this time on that small Island.

To this Meeting came **Thomas West**, the elder of the Priests aforesaid, and staid till I had done, though many Things had been opened concerning the Hireling Priests, the Merchants of **Babylon**, their Doctrine and Maintenance; yet I heard after the Meeting, that he said, "There was a good Life and Power in that Meeting;" But I having spoken of the universal Grace of **God**, through **Christ**, unto Mankind, he could not receive that Part, being prepossessed by false Principles against it.

The next Day we went from House to House, visiting the friendly People all about the Neighbourhood; and they were well pleased with it, being very open, tender and kind.

On the 21st we had a Meeting at **Stephen Hussie's**; which, in the Beginning of it, was a little hard; but, the **Lord** favoring us with his good Presence, several were melted and tendered under the Influence of the Power of Truth, before it was over; and it was a good Meeting. After which I was presented with a Paper from **Thomas West** aforesaid, but not directed to me. That Night I lodged there, with some other Friends, and observed the Woman of the House full of Questions and fault-finding. Her Husband under the Name of a Friend, and then out of the Island; but she

*Mr. Hussey was one of the petitioners for a monthly meeting.

was a very rigid and ignorant Presbyterian. The first Thing she began with, was an Expression of mine she said I uttered in some former Meeting, viz. "To say that Man may be saved in his Sins, by a bare Belief of **Christ's** outward Coming in the Flesh is a Doctrine of Devils." I did not remember the Expression, but own'd the Thing to be true; and prov'd to her before the Company, That without the inward Work of the Spirit of **Christ**, nothing else can compleat our Salvation: But the next Morning she had folded down many Leaves and Places of Scripture about Predestination; which I confuted, as to the Sense that Sect commonly put upon them, shewing her how she misunderstood and misapplied them, and that she was seeking a false Rest in her Sins, and **Christ** without his Cross, and Knowledge without Life; and answered all her Questions, contrary to her Desires or Expectations; removing those Perversions she had received upon divers Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and the New: At length, finding herself hedged round, and her Way blocked up on every Hand, she burst into a very great Degree of weeping; and endeavouring to hide it, went away a while, but came again, and we had some more Discourse; but she could not say much then, being immersed in a Flood of Tears again; and still unwilling to be seen in that, and loth to submit to the Cross of **Christ**, she went and came several Times, still striving against the Truth in herself and me, and at last was silent, and sighed deeply, till being quite still, as one dead for a Time, and new Life springing in her Soul, she became very gentle, loving, and sweet spirited, and would have had us stay longer: But, being otherwise engaged, we returned that Forenoon to **Nathaniel Starbuck's** the elder; and that Evening, I heard that the two Priests, before mentioned, had reported, that I was no Quaker; for I did not preach the Light, and other Doctrines, as other Quakers. I answered the Person informing, "That they did that only to abuse me, and so far as they could, to hinder my Service, seeing I had some Place among the People; who if they followed my Doctrine, would not pay Priests, nor hear them, but would turn to the **Lord Christ**, and he would teach them freely, and to better Purpose;" and so I slighted their Reports as idle and senseless; for the People themselves knew their Falsehood. This Evening I began an Answer to the Priest's Paper, and compleated it the next Day. (Mr. Storey's reply appears in full in his Journal, occupying about four pages. It being purely doctrinal and not historical it is not quoted here.)

On this 23d. of the Fifth Month, being the First of the Week, we had another large open Meeting at **Nathaniel Starbuck's**, senior; where several were tendered and comforted; but it was a little bodily exercising and painful to me, for, having a sore Throat, and not willing to spare myself, I spit pretty much Blood in the Time of my Ministry; also **Esther Palmer** and **Susannah Freeborn** being there, and with us all the Time, had good Service: For as they were living Ministers, and their Testimonies reaching and affecting to the People, all Objections were removed at once against Women's Preaching, without the Labour of Dispute or Hurt of Contention or Jar about it. The Meeting being ended, we lodged there, and in the Neighbourhood, that Night; and, before we went off the Island, I left the abovesaid answer to the Priest with **Nathaniel Starbuck**, the younger; but have not heard of any Reply: But, one Night before we returned from this Island, my Sleep was taken from me, under a Concern of Mind for the Settlement of a Meeting there: And though there were two Men under the Profession of Truth among them they had not been faithful, nor of good Report. but a Stumbling-block in the Way of the Weak; for they could not agree between themselves; and one of them

was at odds with many of his Neighbours;* so that they were set aside, and the chief Instrument pointed to in my Thoughts, by the Truth, for this Service, when we should be gone, was **Mary Starbuck**, before mentioned, to whom I made it known; and in the Opening and Mind of Truth, laid a Charge upon her to endeavour to have a Meeting established in their Family, once a week at least, to wait upon the **Lord**, with all who were convinced of Truth in the Neighbourhood, and in the Island, as they had Conveniency.

This she received with Christian Gravity; and it affected her much, and became her Concern. Having first mentioned it to the Friends who were with me, I proposed it likewise to her Children, (her Husband being freely passive only in such Things, and naturally good temper'd) who were all discreet young Men and Women, most of them married, and hopeful; being all convinced of Truth, they were ready to embrace the Proposal. Then I advised them to wait sincerely upon the Lord in such Meetings; (for they had no instrumental Teachers) and assured them, that I had a firm Confidence in the **Lord**, that he would visit them by his Holy Spirit in them, in his own Time, if they were faithful, held on, and did not faint, or look back.

And accordingly, some time after we departed the Island, they did meet, and the **Lord** did visit them, and gathered many there unto himself; and they became a large and living Meeting in him, and several living and able Ministers were raised by the **Lord** in that Family, and of others; to the Honour of his own Arm, who is worthy for ever.

On the 24th of the Fifth Month we went on board our Vessel, in order to our Return, accompanied thither by several of our new and tender Friends; who provided plentifully for our Voyage, and parted with us, and we with them, with great Reluctance and Tenderness: And, being under Sail, there came on a great Fog, and the Wind abating, it was almost dark before we arrived in the Channel near Old Town,† in Martha's Vineyard, an Island between Nantucket and the Main; and, the Wind ceasing, and Fog remaining, we anchored there that Night."

Between the years 1704 and 1708, the records are very meager. It would seem as though Chalkley's second visit must have succeeded rather than preceded that of Thomas Story, for he seems to have noted a progress beyond that indicated by Story. In the interim between 1704 and 1708, however, there was no lack of exponents of the faith of the Friends. In 1704, besides those already named, Nantucket was visited by Richard Harper of Sandwich, Mary Slocum and John Butler.‡ In 1705, Samuel Bownas, of England, preached there; in 1706, Mary Banister and Ann Chapman from England, Hugh Copperthwait of Long Island, Peleg Slocum, of Dartmouth and William Anthony, of Rhode Island; in 1706, John Fothergill, William Armistead and Mary Lawson, of England, Susanna Freeborn,** Joseph Wanton and Ephraim Hicks

*John Swain and Stephen Hussey.

†Edgartown.

‡Mrs. Lydia S. Hinchman in her "Early Settlers of Nantucket" gives a very full and doubtless, in the main, a very complete list of Ministers of the Society of Friends, and their Associates visiting Nantucket between 1664 and 1846. She had exceptionable opportunity to compile an accurate list.

**Mrs. Hinchman makes this the third visit of Susamah Freeborn, but she had previously visited the Island in 1701, 1702 and 1704.

(2d time)* of Rhode Island, Esther Palmer of Long Island, John Smith of Philadelphia, and Hope Borden, who was not a public Friend; in 1707 Jacob Mott and wife. With the zeal which seemed to be manifested under the ministrations of Story and Chalkly it would seem that the admonition of the former to Mary Starbuck "to endeavour to have a Meeting established in their Family, once a week at least, to wait upon the Lord, with all who were convinced of Truth in the Neighbourhood, and in the Island, as they had Conveniency," must have borne fruit for in 1708, the following letter was addressed to the Yearly Meeting:†

"To Friends at ye yearly Meeting To be held in Rhoad Island Pursuant to ye good order of Truth, as we have been informed by our friends Ebenezer Slocumb & Patrick Henderson; & by whose advice also, We do think it Would be for ye Good of friends here to have a Monthly Meeting of busines among ourselves uppon this island of Nantucket; hoping it will tend to our Comforte & Preservation. We do Propose to friends at ye yearly Meeting, to be held on Rhoad Island ye 11, 12 & 13 days of 4 month next yt if they see good it should be so, they May Make an Entrey thereof, but if they see cause otherwise then Leave without making any Entry: & if friends alow us to haue one, then to advise us what Quarterly Meeting may be thought most Convenient for us to be Joyned unto, yt there we may apply ourselves—in any necessary Matter as we may have occasion,—

And farther we do think it would be of Good service & acceptable to us if friends think Good, yt we should have a General Meeting for worship once in ye year: & if suiting with friends convenience to be in ye same Month which ye yearly meeting on Rhoad Island is held on, as Soon as may be after ye said yearly Meeting is Ended. So with ye salutation of our Loue to you We conclude your friends. Signed With advice of friends hereby Nantucket ye 26 day of ye 3 mo 1708.

NATH'LL STARBUCK JR

STEPHEN HUSSEY

JETHRO STARBUCK

BARNABAS STARBUCK

JOHN COLEMAN JR

MARY STARBUCK

ANN TROTT

DORCAS STARBUCK

PRISSILA COLEMAN‡

The first entry in the records of the Friends meeting, following the request to be allowed to hold a Monthly Meeting is as follows:

At our Monthly Meeting Begun & held on Nantucket ye 28 day of ye 4 mo, 1708 at ye house of Nath'll Starbuck, friends here having Proposed & Desired of ye yearly meeting at Rhoad Island yt we Might have a yearly Meeting for Worship & a Monthly Men & Womens Meeting for businis Establish'd here; & ye yearly meet-

*Previously in 1703.

†Friends' Records.

‡It is interesting to note in connection with the advice of Story that nearly all the signatories are Starbucks or intimately connected. Prissilla Coleman was the wife of John Jr. and daughter of Nathaniel Starbuck. John Swain seems to have dropped out but Stephen Hussey is there.

ing on Rhoad Island held ye 21, 22, 23 & 24th days of ye 4 month 1708 haveing alowed it & made an entry thereof have appointed yt our yearly Meeting for Worship should begin on ye 4th Sixth day in this month & to hold sixth seventh & first days & so to be kept yearly & yt our Monthly meeting should be kept on ye next second day following & yt all our Monthly Meetings for time to come shall be kept on ye Last second day in every Month, & yt We be joyned to Rhoad Island Quarterly Meeting—Pursuant to ye Good order as above, they have been kept & Establish'd by ye friends apointed by said yearly Meeting (viz) Jacob Mott & Thomas Cornel, being accompanied by William Barker, Peleg Slocomb, Eleazer Slocomb & for ye better Management of ye busines of our Meeting, do appoint Nath Starbuck Jr to be ye Writer for this Meeting—ye Meeting doth agree yt on ye next Monthly Meeting there shall be a Colection for to purchase a book for ye Meeting therein to enter ye proseedings & busines of our Meeting also it's Proposed yt friends take care for a piece of Ground for to Set a Meeting house on & for a burring ground."

At the next monthly meeting (26th 5th mo. 1708), the collections amounted to 4 shillings 11 pence and it is recorded that "Barnabas Starbuck is apointed to take Care of al ye Colections of ye Meeting & Dispose of it as ye Meeting shall order." The collections, in the very nature of the simple habits of the Islanders were always small, limited usually to a few shillings, but at the Monthly Meeting on the 27th of the 4th month, 1709, the building of a meeting-house was suggested.* The matter was referred to the Monthly Meeting of 25th 5mo and was again postponed to the 29th 6mo at which time it was decided to "build one as fast as we can." In the nature of things there could not have been an overburdened treasury. Probably the total amount collected up to the time that vote was passed did not exceed £4 but it is quite likely that assistance was rendered by Friends' Meetings in other localities. The Nantucket Meeting was not infrequently called upon to assist other struggling local societies and may have requested aid from others more fortunately situated.†

Just when or where the Meetinghouse was built does not appear by the record, but it doubtless was prior to 1713, for on the 27th. 5 mo. of that year the Meeting voted to give 30 shillings to help build a Friends' Meetinghouse at Dover, a degree of liberality they would not have felt equal to if they still were struggling to build for themselves.‡

*On the 27th of the 7th month 1708, Nathaniel Gardner and Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. were appointed to attend the Quarterly Meeting which was to convene on Rhode Island on the 8th of the 8th month.

†On the 28th, 9 mo. 1709, appears the following entry showing what was probably the first marriage solemnized by the Nantucket Meeting—"Ebenezer Gardner & Eunice Coffin appeared before this Meeting & signified their intentions of Takeing Each other in Marriage." * * * Stephen Coffin Jr & Jethro Starbuck are appointed to inquire into ye Man's Clearness from al others, & Regular proseeding in al Respects, as Consent of parents &c." The committee reported on the 26th 10mo 1709, that everything was all right and the marriage was then formally solemnized.

‡The records say under date of 27th 5 mo 1713 "a percel of stich'd books were sent to this meeting from ye last Quarterly Meeting held at Rhoad Island (ye 10, 5 mo last) were very Kindly accepted."

The new Society must have prospered and outgrown its original building for on the 30th of the 2d mo 1716 the Monthly Meeting voted to enlarge the meeting house by adding 20 feet more "in length ye same breadth & height and Nathaniel Starbuck Jr and Jethro Starbuck were appointed to oversee the work." It would seem to have been the intention to change only the length of the building, leaving the height and width as before.

Just where this Meeting-house stood is a matter of conjecture. Henry B Worth Esq, who has examined into the real estate conveyances very extensively, has found nothing bearing on this particular subject, but he states as his opinion that the land on which it was erected was owned in the Starbuck family and verbally transferred for the purpose. If his conjecture is correct, and it certainly is plausible, it probably was located in the vicinity of Hummock Pond.*

The Nantucket Meeting appears to have prospered and by 1730 had outgrown the extension decided upon in 1716 for at the Meeting held 22d 12 mo 1730-1 Jethro Starbuck, Batchelor Hussey, Jabez Bunker, John Macy, Richard Macy, Jethro Folger and Silvanus Hussey were appointed a committee to choose a site for a new Meeting-house.† At just what time the Meeting-house was finished or when it was first occupied, the records are silent. On the 26th 12mo 1732-3 the record shows that Jethro Starbuck was authorized to collect money and "pay it to Silvanus Hussey towards building ye Meeting House and make returns to the next Monthly Meeting. Jethro and Paul Starbuck are appointed to make up and settle accot with Silvanus Hussey Concerning building the Meeting House and make returns there of to the next monthly meeting." On the 26th 1 mo. 1733, Silvanus Hussey reported that £11, 14s. 8d had been collected from the Men's meeting and £34 from the Women's meeting towards the new Meeting-house.

It was in these early days that the Society of Friends in Nantucket placed themselves on record as opposed to human slavery. At the Meeting of 26th 9mo. 1716 it was recorded as "not agreeable to Truth for friends to purchase slaves & keep them Term of life." Under date of 29th 2 mo. 1717, the record says: "our aged friend John Farmer presented this meeting with an epistle concerning negroes which was read as also his Certificate (from England) was read to this meeting to satisfaction also he desiring one from this meeting which was wrote and signed by ye meeting giving an account of his service & labour of love among us."

*If this opinion is correct the natural query then would be, where was the burying ground located? The vote of 28th 4 mo. 1708 indicates they were on the same lot. By vote of the Town 28th 1 mo. 1709-10. Nath'l Starbuck was given "Liberty to take up one acre of Land on exchange for to Sett a meeting house on to the eastward of his son Nathl Starbuck whereon ye timber now Lieth."

†At a meeting held 28th 7 mo 1730 a request to contribute to the building of a meeting-house abroad was declined "for ye reason we are about to build one ourselves."

A few years later, on the 23d 12mo 1729-30, it is recorded that "our frd Elihu Coleman offered a smal peice of Manuscript to this Meeting which was read & approv'd in & by this meeting & order'd to be carried to ye Quarterly Meeting at Rhode island which was a testimony against making slaves of men etc."*

The records of the Society at this period contain several quite interesting entries showing the spirit of friendliness among the members of the sect. It would appear to be quite a common circumstance for a local Meeting, endeavoring to build a meeting-house of its own, to solicit assistance either directly or through the Quarterly Meeting. The record shows that on the 27th 5 mo. 1713, in accordance with a vote by the previous Quarterly Meeting 30 shillings were contributed to build a Friends' Meetinghouse at Dover; on the 30th 3 mo. 1720 the record says—"pursuant to ye Conclusion of ye last Quarterly meeting this meeting doth desire Nathaniel Starbuck to take five pounds money out of ye Collection money belonging to this meeting & Carry or send it to ye Yearly Meeting at Rhoad Island next ensuing this meeting to help defray ye Charge or toward finishing friends Meeting house at Salem,"† on the 25th 5 mo., 1726, contributed £5 towards building a Meeting house in Providence Town; similarly on the 29th 5 mo. 1728, the Meeting contributed £10, towards building a Meeting-house in Mendon.

There were other activities calling for financial aid to which the attention of this little Society was called in its early days and to which the response seemed prompt and, considering the conditions, generous. On the 25th 5 mo. 1726, the sum of £12 was appropriated to the Rhode Island Meeting for Thomas Richardson (a preacher) "towards defraying Charge friends are at in England Concerning a law in New England by which friends suffer perseeution & are greatly oprest by ye prisbiterians or ye government."‡ On the 25th 7 mo. 1727, the Meeting voted to purchase 30 copies of Robert Barclay's Apologies and at the same session appropriated £15 "in helping our friend Tho Hathaway (towards repairing his late loss of his house by fire.)"

The building of the new Meeting-house must have proved quite an undertaking, for so late as the 23d 12 mo. 1735-6, in response to a request to assist the Friends in Free Town towards building it was decided that "this Meeting having Considered the matter think we may be Excused by reason we have lately built a large Meeting house & have not finish't it."

With this new building it becomes possible to fix definitely localities. It appears to have been located at the corner of Main

*See section on Anti-Slavery.

†Occasionally some seemingly irrelevant matter finds its way into the record as the following under date of 30th 8 mo. 1727—"there was last nigt between tenn & eleven a Clock an earth Quake yt shook ye earth pretty much which was awfull. it was al over ye Country."

‡They seemed to be more austere than the Quakers and less liberal than the Pilgrims.

and Saratoga streets and doubtless on the easterly side of the lot now known as the Friends Burial Ground. Here they worshipped until 1793. It would seem as though the needed interments of the dead must have continued in the ground laid out for the purpose about 1710, for according to the record the first adult interment in the new ground was that of Nathaniel Barnard, which occurred in 1760.*

From the Journal of John Fothergill, who appears to have visited Nantucket in 1737, after an attendance of four days at the Yearly Meeting at Newport, we learn that "On the 24th, (4th mo.) the Yearly Meeting began at Nantucket. It was large and continued four days to true satisfaction, and the name of the Lord was glorified."

A few years later, under date of 6th mo. 28th, 1765, Samuel Fothergill, writing from Nantucket, says—"Here is a very large meeting of professors upon this island, which is, with respect to its soil, a sand-bank in the sea. about fifteen miles long and three broad. The Yearly Meeting finished here this day was very large, the place considered; being more than fourteen hundred, principally professors of truth, at meeting, and about four hundred out at sea fishing for whales. A convincement there was formerly amongst them, and a body of good Friends remains; but as the richest part of the inhabitants embraced the principles of truth from convincement, the others thought the expense of maintaining a priest would be too heavy for them, and have turned Quakers to save money; though I hope, even amongst them, the power of the begetting word is in a degree at work, to give a surer title to the family of Christ."

There seems to have been continued progress for many years. Several recognized members of the Society during the War of the Revolution allowed their patriotic fervor to overcome their religious scruples and under the discipline of the Society were disowned but the general increase in member appeared to be steady.

At a meeting held 11th mo. 28th, 1791, it was decided that the location of the Meeting-house was inconveniently remote from the center of population, which was concentrating nearer the main harbor, and two questions for greater convenience were presented—to move the building then occupied to a more satisfactory location and to divide the membership if a second house for worship seemed advisable.

At the meeting in January, 1792 the committee to whom the matter had been referred reported recommending both projects and their report was referred to the February meeting for further consideration, the members in the meantime being "desired to invest their minds with due attention to the subject." At the

*There was still needed work to be done on the Meeting-house so late as 1739, for the Meeting decided on the 28th 3 mo of that year that "Richard Macy is Desired to get a Platform made & Steps at the fore door at the Meeting House & to set up some posts &c. & to pave round the house."

February meeting a committee of 14 was appointed* "to investigate the expense of moving their Meeting-house and to enquire for a suitable place to build." In March the committee reported the expense of removing the original building and constructing a new one would be £900. The records show that the committee's report was favorably received and a committee of "12 was chosen to receive conveyances of the lots and procure materials for a new house." According to the deeds those lots were conveyed to Benjamin Barney, cooper, Jethro Mitchell, cooper, and Shubael Coffin, merchant, as Overseers, on April 12, 1792.

One lot was at the northwest corner of Pleasant street, and the other next east where the Ocean House now stands. The records show that "The Congregational society having heard that the Friends were contemplating a change and that they might be put to some inconvenience for a place to meet in, passed a vote to offer the use of their meeting-house to the Friends for the purpose of solemn worship whilst said removal might be accomplishing." To this kindly and brotherly offer the Friends replied: "This meeting imprest with a due sense of their friendly intention & desirous to render them the acknowledgement due to so liberal & benevolent an offer, inform them that the necessity which they apprehend is not likely to take place, this meeting having concluded to build a new house previous to the removal of the old."

It is only by inference that one can approximate at the time when the building and removal was completed. In her diary under date of Thursday, September 13, Mrs. Kezia (Coffin) Fanning wrote, "Went to see new Quaker meeting-house. A large number of people are lathing it. It is a little below Jethro Starbuck Junr's." In some reminiscences in his diary in 1833, Obed Macy wrote that in his early years the Friends' Meeting-house stood near the Burial ground. In 1793 it was removed into Town and the North Meeting-house was built. The Friends' records show under date of 9 mo. 29, 1794. "The building committee reported that they had completed building the new house and had removed the old one and had paid all the cost." We may reasonably infer then that late in 1792 or early in 1793 the new Meeting-house was ready for occupancy and the removal was consummated immediately after.

With the building of the new Meeting-house came a separation into two congregations. Neither of the meetinghouses was large enough to accommodate the entire membership of the Society† and as the intent was the better to care for the wants of

*William Macy, Peleg Mitchell, Samuel Rodman, Walter Folger, Shubael Coffin, Jonathan Jenkins, Paul Gardner Jr., Shubael Barnard, Oliver Spencer, Jonathan Swain, Francis Joy, Tristram Coffin Jr., Richard Mitchell, Jethro Mitchell.

†Martha Routh, who visited the Friends on Nantucket in 1794, wrote "In the South Meeting were about two hundred and twenty families. We then went to the North, accompanied by Jethro Mitchell (See next page)

all, the division was effected. The record gives the following as the dividing line: "12mo. 31, 1792. The Society is divided as follows: A line from the old wharf* as far west as Sylvanus Starbuck's dwelling house (including said house with all who dwell on the South side of said street) beyond, taking its course in that direction to the Shearing Pen, with all who dwell to the south of said limits, to attend at the old Meeting-house, others to attend at the new Meetinghouse."

For a short time the two organizations transacted business as one, forming one Monthly Meeting, but this condition had its inconveniences. Possibly the opportunities for friction impressed themselves on the minds of those connected with the North Meeting. for the records state, under date of 1mo 27. 1794, that "The subject of a Distinct Monthly Meeting being allowed to the Friends who constitute the North Meeting referred to a Committee." At the meeting on the following month the committee, "after solid and weighty attention therein," recommended the division, and, having had the approval of the Quarterly Meeting the change was effected.

The North Meeting held its first meeting on the 27th, 10th mo. 1794, and organized with William Rotch as Clerk and Jethro Mitchell as Treasurer.†

and Sarah Barnard, two valuable Friends in the station of Elders. In that meeting were about one hundred and thirteen families. Mr. Worth says the new Meeting-house was 56 feet long and 38 feet wide (Quakerism on Nantucket, p. 5).

*The Straight Wharf.

†It is quite interesting to note in connection with the removal of the old and the building of the new Meeting-houses the opinion of a one time very prominent resident who had been in France for several years. William Rotch in a letter to his son-in-law, Samuel Rodman, under date of Dunkirk 3 mo 2d 1792, wrote—"The two preparative meetings I must leave those to see the utility of that can see, as also the building another Meeting House. All that I can say on the subject is that I wish every addition or alteration made, that can conduce to the revival of truth among us. One thing I have been long convinced of and that is if the Meeting House could be moved to the lot of D. C. as once proposed it would be of real advantage in encouraging many to get out to Meeting who are unable to reach it where it now stands, and would be a means of many others attending who might only make the distance and the disagreeableness of passing the break hill in winter a pretext for their omission. As to my subscription thy ideas as just as to my attachment being much weaned from the Island though a part of the Inhabitants I sincerely love, and the mass I feel a regard for as a Christian duty and I desire I may ever contribute to their welfare, when in my power. These considerations do not appear sufficient to me to do so much as I once might have been willing to do. Nevertheless when I am favored to feel a little of the covering of that Universal love which reaches over seas and land to the whole human race, I feel a willingness to contribute my mite in some manner, to nations kindred and people the world over for the promotion of the cause of righteousness in the earth. Under this consideration I am willing to subscribe one hundred pounds towards the moving the old Meeting House, and building the new if concluded on provided a sum sufficient for both is subscribed for before either is undertaken. If not enough for both is subscribed I desire my money may be wholly confined to the removal of the Old house but under the express condition that the money for fully effecting it shall be provided before it is undertaken so as not to saddle the Meeting with any debt, nor yet to apply to the quarterly meeting for any pecuniary assistance." On 12mo 15th 1792 Mr. Rotch writes—"Am pleased to hear the new meeting house is completed and a good model & that the old one is so far forward. Thou has never informed me whether my subscription was needed as once apprehended."

During the two decades next ensuing the Nantucket Friends reached the summit of their strength. It may, not unfairly, be said that whatever violently disturbs a community is very apt to show its effects upon the component parts of the community. The Friends' Society emerged from the period of the Revolution still vigorous. Then followed the robbery of the Nantucket Bank. The War of 1812 and the disturbances and law suits among the Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands. It may be that such causes as those had, in their working out, the elements which made disintegration a possibility. They, at least brought antagonisms. That the Friends were rigid in the enforcement of their discipline is true, but so were other sects and the records of the Society tell many a tale of brotherly solicitude to bring the erring one back into the fold. They do not seem to have changed readily or easily their announced principles nor do they appear to have considered expediency in order to attract new converts or to hold the younger members to the faith of their fathers. A popular religion did not seem to appeal to them, nor the acquisition of numbers to induce them to make innovations on what they deemed the foundations of their religious belief. Whether this was wise or not may not be discussed here, but it certainly had the merit of consistency.

At just what period the decline began does not appear, but by 1829 it had increased to such an extent that two meetinghouses were no longer needed and the record says under date of 5 mo. 13. 1829 "The Nantucket Meeting for the Northern District was dissolved and its property and members transferred to the old meeting." There was quite an exodus of Nantucket people to different localities on the continent, between 1820 and 1830 and that doubtless had a material effect on the membership of the two Meetings.*

It was about this time that an important disintegrating influence showed itself. Elias Hicks, a long approved preacher of the Society of Friends, and an able and eloquent speaker, believed that there were errors in the tenets of the Friends and that it was his duty to combat them.† This he did with quite marked success. He strongly opposed any set creed such as governed to a marked extent the English Friends to which the American organization seemed strongly inclined. So strongly did he urge his views that a rupture ensued in 1827-1828, the followers of what was known as the "Liberal Branch," being called "Hicksites," after their leader, while those who clung to the old organization were known as "Orthodox" Friends.

Elias Hicks had been dead several months when the doctrines he enunciated gained a firm foothold in Nantucket. In the summer

*It is estimated that at least 600 people removed in that time carrying with them much wealth.

†Mr. Hicks was born in Hempstead, N. Y. March 19, 1748, and died at Jericho, N. H. Feb. 27, 1830. One of his tenets was the denial that the necessity of the atonement could be reconciled with the teachings of the Son of God.

of 1830 a follower of Hicks visited the Island and appointed a time for a meeting to be held in a building not a church. Some of the members of the Nantucket Society assisted him and "publicly gave countenance to this affair by assisting the minister to procure a meetinghouse other than that of Friends for a meeting called by that person not in unity with Friends, and they attended that meeting, for which breaches of order no satisfaction was obtained from them.* The result of the movement was the disownment of those more particularly interested in it. Included in the list were Obed Barney, William B. Coffin, Gilbert Coffin, Roland Hussey, Silvanus Macy, Thomas Macy, Peter Macy, Obed Macy, Daniel Mitchell, Matthew Myrick, Charles Pitman, Gideon Swain and William Watson.

That the disownment was felt to be unjust is evident from an expression used by Obed Macy in his Diary in which under date of 1 mo 1833. he briefly describes the houses of worship. He writes "In 1831 the Friends wrongfully discarded by Orthodox Friends built a meeting-house on Main street 45x65 feet.†"

In the latter part of 1832, the Main street meetinghouse used by the so-called Orthodox Friends was found inconvenient and in January 1833‡ the Society through its Overseers, Samuel Macy, Hezekiah Swain, Zenas Gardner, Cromwell Barnard, Kimball Starbuck, Prince Gardner, Laban Paddock, Peleg Mitchell and Charles G. Stubbs, purchased for \$5.000 the Edward Cary house and land on Fair street, between Ray's Court and Moore's Lane for the site for a new building. James Weeks was employed to build the new house which was to be 50x70 feet in dimensions, his price to be \$5.000 and the dwelling-house then on the lot. Weeks sold the dwelling-house to Matthew Crosby for \$700 conditional on his removing it to the south side of the Commercial Wharf.** The new building was first occupied on the 1st 9 mo. 1833. The old

*Friends Records.

†This building had a varied experience. A reduction in the number of worshippers compelled its sale and for a few years it was used as a factory for straw hats. After that it was let for dancing, entertainments etc. under the name of Atlantic Hall. In 1883 it was removed to Brant Point and became a part of Hotel Nantucket. When the hotel ceased business it was again sold and once more removed (in 1917) to its present location where it is known as Red Men's Hall.

‡Obed Macy's Diary.

**Ibid. Mr. Macy wrote the following list of names of those removing permanently from the Island: In 1823—Josiah Macy, Obed Hussey and family, Jonathan D. Pope and family, Richard G. Howland, Josiah H. Riddell, all to New York, and Porter P. Neder to Tennessee; in 1824—Jethro Mitchell and family, Samuel H. Macy and family, Obed B. Hussey, William W. Macy and family, Frederick Cartwright and family, all to New York; in 1825—Isaiah Brayton to South Kingston, John Titus to Kennebeck, John F. Coffin to New York, Edward Clark to Plainfield, Conn., Obediah Coffin and Benjamin Folger locality not named, Reuben Swain to Milton, Obed Folger 2d to Auburn, N. Y., Elisha Folger Jr., Laban ———, Eunice Macy (widow of Uriah) Daniel Coffin (son of John), and Scotts Wing to Kennebeck, Calvin Bunker, Francis Macy and John P. Macy to New York, Henry Bunker (son of Nathaniel) to Connecticut, David Giles to Perth Amboy, Obed Wood to Providence, Alexander Coleman to Halifax, John Clasby Jr. to Portsmouth and Benjamin Barnard (son of Cromwell) to Portland.

building, which had been removed, was used as a warehouse. The rupture between the two bodies seemed now to be complete, the Hicksites transferring their allegiance to the Quarterly Meeting at Westbury, Long Island.

But a short time elapsed before another cleavage took place from the Orthodox body. John Joseph Gurney the son of an English Quaker of wealth and himself highly educated by a private tutor in the university of Oxford, as early as 1818 introduced an innovation into the Friends School at Ackworth.* A leading principle in the faith of the Friends had been that the Inner Light would determine whether the man or woman should or should not speak in meeting, and if the Spirit moved one to speak it would also guide the form and substance of what should be said. To formally prepare to speak was a device of the priests and those who were paid for their service. Gurney was a man of eloquence and a forceful speaker. From his standpoint the position of the Friends was not logical. They believed that preparation for speaking in the meeting was almost sacrilegious; he carried his Bible into the meetings and read from it, and even prepared himself in advance as to what he would say. Hicks and Gurney attacked two fundamental principles of the Friends—the teachings of the Bible as interpreted by the Friends and the belief that the moving of the Spirit alone should be the guide as to when to speak and what to say.†

Less than a decade elapsed before there was another secession from the ranks, this time especially affecting the Gurney faction. An earnest effort was made to have Gurney suppressed by the English Friends with whom he was allied. As a leader of this movement John Wilbur, of Hopkinton, Rhode Island, was selected. The main point of controversy was whether the Bible or the Holy Spirit should be the religious guide, and Wilbur's position appears to have been a reversion to the principles held by the Orthodox Friends before the Hicksite defection. This reversion struggle began in America in 1838.

In several of the Monthly and Quarterly meetings in New England divisions took place, each claiming to be the true organization.‡ Each naturally claimed the property and records belonging to the Society and eventually the courts, the bete noir of the followers of George Fox, were invoked to determine who were the true custodians of the property and who were usurpers. The decision

*Worth, Quakerism on Nantucket, p. 20.

†"The basis of his (George Fox's) teaching was the belief that each soul is in religious matter answerable not to its fellows, but to God alone, without priestly mediation, because the Holy Spirit is immediately present in every soul, and is thus a direct source of illumination. From this central belief flowed two important practical consequences * * * one was complete toleration, the other was complete equality of human beings before the law." Dutch and Quaker Colonists in America—Fiske, Vol. II, p. 109.

‡"Quakerism on Nantucket," Worth p. 22. Mr. Worth has treated this portion of his subject quite at length and exhaustively.

of the Supreme Court sustained the Gurneyites and declared that the Wilberites had seceded from the parent body.*

Mr Worth records that the Nantucket Friends who continued their allegiance to the New England Yearly Meeting under the advice of the Sandwich Quarterly Meeting (Gurneyites) met at the house of Cromwell Barnard, calling themselves the Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends. Peleg Mitchell having been identified with the Wilburites was adjudged by the dissenters as not



TYPICAL WALKS ON TOPS OF HOUSES

suitable as Clerk, and in his stead was chosen his brother William Mitchell. A formal demand was made on the Fair Street Meeting for the records, building and other property. Naturally no attention was paid to the demand. The new organization appointed Crom-

*Mr. Worth states that the division between the followers of Gurney and of Wilbur in Nantucket occurred at the Sandwich Quarterly Meeting in July 1845. The Meeting itself was pro-Gurney while the delegates from Nantucket were pro-Wilbur. "When the Meeting was opened," says Mr. Worth, "reports from every Monthly Meeting were presented except Nantucket, * * *. When the report of the Nantucket Meeting was requested Hezekiah Barnard stated that he had the report but they had concluded to withhold it, adding that "a separation must and would take place." An attempt was then made to appoint Peleg Mitchell as clerk. This was opposed by the Gurney party, as he had been identified with the separatists at the Yearly Meeting at Newport. John Wilbur and his friends when requested would not leave the hall, so the Quarterly Meeting adjourned until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. In the meantime the Wilbur party had remained and organized what they called the Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. At 4 o'clock, when the adjourned Meeting reassembled, the Wilburists had gone."

well Barnard, Obed Fitch and Kimball Starbuck as Overseers. Abram R. Wing, Recorder, Seth Mitchell, Treasurer.*

They secured for their first place of meeting "the house recently occupied by Elizabeth Chase on Winter Street, which is in readiness for our meeting tomorrow" (this is recorded under date of 8 mo. 2. 1845). This house, Mr Worth states, stood where the Coffin School now stands. It would seem that they must have outgrown these quarters in a short time, for the record says under date of 1st, mo 1st 1846—"The committee has seen the agent of the Main street house built by the Hicksites, and he had agreed to let this Meeting have it for \$150 per year." Accordingly it was leased.

There the Wilburites held their meetings for nearly five years. Later they procured a lot on Center street just north of middle Pearl street and built a new house of worship which was occupied in November. 1850.†

It was essential to discipline that the parent body, the Gurneyites, should take note of this withdrawal from their ranks, and the exigencies of the case seemed to call for the disownment of those who had followed after the teachings of Wilbur, and that accordingly was done.‡

The Fair Street Meeting (Wilburites) retained possession of the Meeting House, poor house, burial ground and original records,

*It must be remembered that there were in effect two New England Yearly Meetings, the original formed before 1800 and the one adjudged by the Supreme Court as irregular, organized in Newport in 1845 when the Wilburites withdrew from the Gurneyite body and formed an organization to which they attached the same name.

†Now (1919) used as a dining room for the "Roberts" House.

‡Those disowned were:

Frederick Arthur,
John Boadle,
Susan Barnard,
Joseph G. Coleman,
Susan Coffin,
John Franklin Coleman,
James B. Coleman,
Sally Easton,
Lydia Folger,
Mary Gardner,
Elizabeth Gorham,
Elizabeth Hussey,
Lydia M. Hussey,
Lydia G. Hussey,
Moses Mitchell,
Mary S. Mitchell,
Deborah Paddack
Mary Paddack,
Micajah Swain,
Obed B. Swain,
Joseph B. Swain,
Mary Arthur,
Hezekiah Barnard,
Alexander G. Coffin,
Phebe Coffin,
John G. Coffin,
Eliza Coleman,
Lydia Coleman,
Eliza Ann Easton,
Hannah Maria Gardner,
Benjamin Gardner,

Rachel Hussey,
Benjamin Hussey,
Hepsibeth C. Hussey,
Lydia Monroe,
David Mitchell,
Susan Mitchell,
Eunice Paddack,
John Paddack,
Hezekiah Swain,
Eunice Swain,
Richard G. Swain,
James Austin,
Mary Barnard,
John L. Coffin,
Rebecca Coffin,
Elizabeth Coffin,
Anna Clark,
Elizabeth Clark,
John Folger,
Prince Gardner,
Rachel Gardner,
David G. Hussey,
Gorham Hussey,
Nancy Hussey,
Alice Mitchell,
Peleg Mitchell,
Mary Macy,
Laban Paddack,
Sarah Paddack,
Lydia Swain,
Margaret Swain,

with about \$7.000. The only way by which the Gurneyites could acquire complete or partial possession was through a law suit, a method opposed to the principles of the Friends but in this case the more objectionable inasmuch as it became almost a family affair.* In 1864 the Meeting House and land on Fair street were sold and the proceeds as well as the cash funds were divided by agreement between the two Meetings. The Wilburites were allowed to continue to use the burial ground but were restricted to the south part of the ground while the Gurneyites used the north section.

In May, 1850, a lot on Center street was selected and a building erected at a total expense, including site, of \$2.000. Among those who joined their meeting was Christopher C. Hussey, who was the most eloquent preacher among them. Many out of the Meeting gathered there on Sundays to hear him speak. His tendency, however, was to greater liberalization and in 1860, after being three years with them, he withdrew and became a prominent preacher of the Unitarian faith.

Here the members of the Meeting continued to worship until 1866 with a steadily diminishing membership becoming so reduced at that time that it was considered advisable to discontinue regular services. The last regular meeting was held there January 10, 1867, at which it was decided to be dissolved and transferred with its property to the New Bedford Monthly Meeting.†

The Wilburites, who after the separation held their meetings in the Fair Street Meeting House, could not consistently consider the Gurneyites as entitled to seats among them and they quite promptly disowned those from whom they had separated.‡

The cleavages, however were not yet complete. One Joseph Hoag, a noted minister of the Society of Friends, wrote a journal of his experiences. The first draft alluded to one Job Otis, a one-time resident of New Bedford, in a manner not particularly complimentary to his judgment. Otis subsequently removed to Scipio, New York, and the subject matter was brought to the attention of the Central New York Meeting at Scipio. Mr Otis was a

*Worth "Quakerism on Nantucket."

†Worth. Mr. Worth says its property at the time of dissolution consisted of the Meeting House, an interest in the Friends' Asylum, one share of the Old North Wharf, an interest in the Friends' Burial Ground and \$450 cash.

‡Mr. Worth enumerates the following as among the disowned:

Elizabeth Austin,	Abigail Allen,
Cromwell Barnard,	Matthew Barney,
Lydia Bunker,	Susanna Coleman,
Deborah Coffin,	Lydia Coffin,
Robert Coffin,	Heman Crocker,
George Easton,	Lydia Fish,
Obed Fitch,	Hannah Gardner,
Robert B. Hussey,	Lydia Hosier,
Hannah Hussey,	William Hosier,
Judith Hussey,	Cyrus Hussey,
Lydia Hussey,	Benjamin Mitchell,
William Mitchell,	Miriam Starbuck,
Kimball Starbuck,	Rachel Swain,
Abram R. Wing,	Lydia Worth,

very strict constructionist of the Friends theories of religious discipline. Mr Hoag, while maintaining similar views, was not so vehement in asserting them.

The Yearly Meeting, held at Scipio in 1858, decided to publish the Hoag journal and referred the publication to a committee. The friends of Otis desired that the criticism of him be omitted, while the other members of the committee thought the journal should be published as written or not at all. The Meeting was divided—and in 1859 each constituted a Yearly Meeting. James Otis being clerk of one and John King of the other.* Each Meeting sought recognition of the Wilbur (New England) Meeting of which Peleg Mitchell was clerk but for a long time the Meeting declined to ally either faction as against the other. The publication of Otis's journal as originally written the only real dividing line was a vexing issue and it eventually proved insurmountable and in 1863 the New England Meeting was again divided against itself "About forty of them," says Worth,† "a small part of the Meeting withdrew and under the leadership of Peleg Mitchell, of Nantucket, and Nathan Page, of Danvers, formed a separate Meeting that at once approved and recognized the Otis Meeting of New York." Those who remained allied themselves with the King party. The Nantucket Meeting, with great unanimity supported the position taken by Mitchell and Page.

The Nantucket Meeting was the only one in New England to favor the Otis side of the controversy, but there were in New England individual families who believed the position taken by the Nantucket meeting was right, such as Nathan Page, of Danvers, the Oliver family, of Lynn, and the Foster family of Rhode Island. As no other Meeting in New England save that at Nantucket upheld the Otis party they allied themselves with the Island Meeting.

From the establishment of a Friends' Society in Nantucket in 1708 the men and the women had held separate meetings, each having its own records and within prescribed limits transacting its own business, but the time had nearly arrived for an innovation in that method. The Wilburite branch was far from strong and not even the addition of the members residing away from the Island was sufficient to enable it to continue without much economy. The most feasible way in which to economize was to maintain a smaller house of worship. The Fair Street property was owned or claimed by the Center Street Meeting, but the two Meetings came to an amicable understanding and joined in a deed selling the property to a third party in 1864. The Fair Street Meeting purchased the northerly part of the property and made over the school house into a Meeting house,‡ and as their numbers were

*Worth.

†Worth "Quakerism on Nantucket," p. 35.

‡The John Boadle Schoolhouse, now a part of the property of the Nantucket Historical Association.

becoming pitifully few it was voted, November 26. 1868, for the men and women to hold their meetings together.

The vanishing point in numbers continued to grow nearer, and nearer until in 1894 but one member of the Meeting was living on the Island and in June of that year the Meeting House was sold to the Nantucket Historical Association and is maintained by the society as it was in the days when services were regularly held there.

"At this time," (1894) says Mr Worth, "the membership of the Nantucket Monthly Meeting of Friends comprised twenty-three persons, only two of whom were born at Nantucket. One lived at Nantucket, one in Boston, one in Danvers, ten in Lynn, and the same number in Providence."

The books of records, containing information of much value genealogically to Nantucket people, were removed to Lynn and remain in the custody of James W. Oliver.* The Burial Ground is in the direct charge of the Dartmouth Meeting. A sufficient sum of money to provide for its perpetual care was raised by subscription and a contract was entered into with the Town guaranteeing the carrying out of the requirements of such care.

Friends services are held but very rarely now on the Island. In September, 1906 Hepsibeth Hussey, a native of Nantucket, preached to a large audience in the old Friends Meeting House on Fair Street and on June 3, 1919. Job Gidley of Dartmouth, Cyrus Cooper, of Ohio, and Horace Foster of Rhode Island held another Friends Meeting in the old building at which 27 women and seven men were present Gidley and Foster both were moved to speak.

The causes that brought about the decline of the Friends in Nantucket are not difficult to ascertain. No sect could withstand the succession of rifts within its own ranks without being in some measure disintegrated. During the Revolution and following it and during and following the War of 1812 there was a large migration from the Island. The whale fishery as an industry became largely transferred to New Bedford and with the transfer Nantucket Friends with their wealth and influence were involved.

They have been charged with intolerance. Within certain limits the charge may have considerable truth, but isn't a certain degree of intolerance the natural accompaniment of strong belief? When one has arrived in sight of the promised land is he apt to take kindly to those persons or acts that would prevent his attaining his goal? Were they not consistent? As a rule were they not more law abiding than the average citizen? If they preached a certain course did they not follow it? Did they not practice the Christian virtues of charity, truth and humanity fully as completely as any other sect? Did you ever know one of their number, where they had an organization, to be taken to the poor-house?

*Mr. Oliver now lives in Sharon and is still custodian of the records.

As a sect they have completely removed from Nantucket. Their broad brim hats and quiet colored costumes are no longer to be seen in the streets. The last male member of the sect died a quarter of a century ago.* Services have been held at long intervals. Hepzabeth Hussey, of Nantucket birth and an approved preacher of their faith, addressed an interested congregation in the old meeting house in September, 1906, and on June 3, 1919, Job Gidley, Horace Foster and Cyrus Cooper, all non-residents held a service in the same building, but those attempts only seemed to emphasize the passing on of the Society of Friends in Nantucket. Who can say, however, that although they have ceased to exist as a distinct body, that the impress of their lives is not even now a traceable factor in the every day life of our people?

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

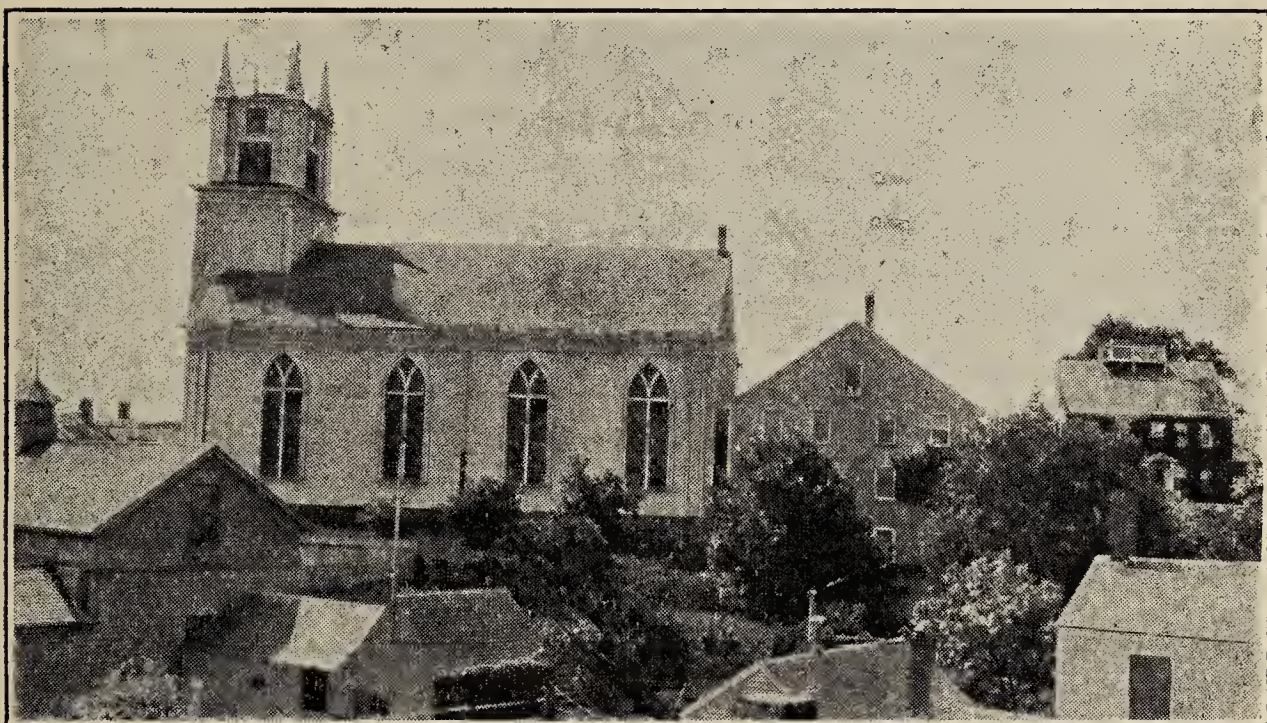
It is a singular fact—for it appears to be a fact—that it was nearly fifty years after the first English settlement in Nantucket before there seems to be any evidence of a church among the English residents. It is all the more singular because of the further fact that the earliest settlers were men of strong convictions, and two of them, at least, had drawn down upon their heads the displeasure of the General Court for breaches of ecclesiastical discipline.† Under the laws of the Massachusetts Bay some form of religious organization, based on the established form, would have been required, but their removal made them subject to the laws of the Province of New York, which evidently required nothing of the kind. The Indians had their churches with their ministers, of whom the Mayhews were particularly and zealously prominent. Peter Folger seems also to have been a worker among them, but absolutely no record appears to exist showing any religious activity among the English. This seems to do violence to the theory that they fled the Massachusetts Bay Colony in order to worship according to their own convictions. One may speculate that differences in doctrinal belief made them determine to let each go his ecclesiastical way and so prevented any united action for Edward Starbuck's punishment had come through his failure to submit to the entire code, while Thomas Macy's was occasioned, not because of an ecclesiastical difference, but because of a breach of the civil law. There were too few of them and too many Indians to admit of dissensions.

In his "Journal," Thomas Chalkley, an English Friend, who visited the Island as stated, mentions finding there a "minister, so-called," resident, and by his request Chalkley preached at his house.

*William Hosier, who died Jan. 4, 1899.

†Edward Starbuck and Thomas Macy.

Rev. Myron S. Dudley in "Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, Mass." thinks the ministers or "priests" mentioned by Chalkley and Story were probably sent from the Congregational churches of Eastern Massachusetts.* Evidently the movement was not self-supporting and there seems to be no record of any organized movement among the people. In the meantime the founders of the settlement, Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Peter Folger had died. The other particularly assertive spirit, John Gardner, still survived, but his religious convictions apparently had little effect on the community at large.



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
Showing the old vestry in the rear.

At what time the activities of what is known as the First Congregational Church began is a matter of conjecture, for there seems to be no documentary evidence. Mr. Dudley inclines to the opinion that the Society had a meeting house there contemporaneously with the building of the Friend's meetinghouse the erection of which about 1711 is clearly established.† According to the Town's Records Nathaniel Starbuck was granted leave on the 25th of the 5th month 1709 to exchange an acre of land "for to sett a meeting house on to ye eastward of his son Nath'll Starbuck whereon ye timber now Lieth." The Friends' Records, which are continuous from 1708 show that the building was erected and occupied soon after. As additional negative evidence it may be noted that on the 29th of the 11th mo. 1716-17 it was "Voted by

*P. 5.

†Churches and Pastors p. 5. Timothy White Papers, p. 14. A careful study does not justify that opinion.

ye Town yt for time to come all ye proprietors meetings shall be warned by setting up a Notification on ye Town House & on ye meeting-house." It would appear from that vote that on that date there was but one meetinghouse—the one erected by the Friends. Furthermore, Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Taunton, in a letter written August 8. 1720, says—"The honoured ministers of Boston have abundantly testified their sincere desires of gospelizing these towns of Freetown, Tiverton, Dartmouth, and Nantucket. * * * Being in our Province, if this Province do not take care of their enjoyment of the gospel light and privilege, who will or can?"* This would seem clearly to indicate a complete lack of church organization with neither occupants of nor support for a meetinghouse.

A few years later, however, there is indisputable evidence of a second meetinghouse, for the Town Records state that at a Town Meeting held on the 18th of the 11 mo. 1725-6 it was "Voted yt ye method for ye future to warne ye Town Meetings shall be to set up notification at ye two meetinghouses & ye town house."† It is not then unfair to assume that the Congregational Meetinghouse was erected about 1725. This building is said to have been located about a mile northwest from the Town until 1765, when it was taken down and reerected on what is known as "Beacon Hill" about on the site of the present Church building.‡ It is said to have been built of native timber.

The first Pastor in charge of the Church at Nantucket of whom there appears to be any record, was Timothy White. Mr White was not an ordained minister but served under the direction of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as superintendent of the religious work among the Nantucket Indians, * * * and as preacher to the congregation of the First Congregational Church."**

In the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, it would appear to be a logical and approximately accurate sequence of events that the ministers of Boston and vicinity put forth renewed effort to gospelize Nantucket, as suggested by Rev Samuel Danforth in 1720, and that an organization was effected sufficiently strong, under the ministrations of visiting preachers, to build a meetinghouse, and that Mr White was permanently detailed to the field which seemed ready for the laborer.

*Mass. Histor. Coll. Series IV, Vol. 1, p. 255. Ample confirmation of the contention is found in the diaries of Chief Justice Benjamin Lynde who had occasion in May 1732 to hold Court at Nantucket for the trial of an Indian for murder. Under date of May 11, he records "**Lord's Day**" Mr. White preached very well at the new-built Presbyterian Meeting-House." (p. 28). That term would apply very well to a structure but six or seven years old but not to one over twenty.

†Rev. Mr. Dudley in his "Timothy White Papers" quotes in a foot note on page 14 a tradition that some one had seen a bill dated 1711 for lumber, against the Congregational Society used in building a meetinghouse. In the face of the above facts of record the tradition can not be considered as established.

‡Hist. Sketch 1st Cong. Church of Nantucket, p. 9.

**Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, p. 7.

Timothy White was born at Haverhill November 13. 1700, the son of John Jr and Lydia (Gilman) White. He married Susannah Gardner, daughter of John Gardner, of Nantucket, born at Mendon, Mass., January 12, 1712*, the marriage service being performed at Nantucket, September 27, 1728, by Rev Joseph Baxter, of Mendon, and G. Gardner Esq of Nantucket. His pastoral service at Nantucket began May 9, 1725.† He was not a regularly ordained minister, evidently so from choice, since the committee at Boston wrote to him in 1727 that if it were "needful you receive Ordination, that you may baptise &c the ministers incline to encourage it."‡

The Church seems to have fallen far short of being self-supporting. In a letter from the committee on missionary work under date of Boston Oct. 19, 1727. Benjamin Coleman states that the following votes or resolves were adopted in reply to a letter from Mr White, dated September 21: "That one hundred pounds be forthwith advanced to Mr Timothy White, now ministering to ye People of Nantucket, to encourage & bring on his Settlement in ye work of ye Ministry there: & Fifty pounds more at the end of two years; Upon ye following Conditions.

"First that the Said Mr White do willingly devote himself to ye Service of Christ and Souls on that Island; Seriously endeavouring by ye help of God, for ye space of five years to come, to introduce & establish the Settlement of a Church state there.

"And secondly, That ye People of Nantuckett, to whom he is & has been ministering, do signify to us their desire of Mr Whites continuing & labouring among them to this end."**

Those conditions seem to have been met for Mr. White continued his pastorate there for many years, until May, 1750. In the meantime his family was rapidly increasing,†† and the stipend which the committee sent to him was insufficient for his needs for his records tell of his keeping school‡‡ and even of his seeking through small investments to increase his income. The committee, in its letter of October 19, very considerably told him "If you receive this hundred & fifty pounds, you apprehend (I suppose) that it is all that you must expect from ye Committee; besides ye making up from March last thirty Shillings & Sabbath." Mr Coleman continues "Dr Mather tells me, That he hopes if you continue at Nantuckett that ye Commissioners for ye Indian Service will have some considerations in your favour. I hope you might receive twenty pounds p annum this way."

Six years later—November 17, 1733—Adam Winthrop, in pursuance of a vote of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, sent

*Timothy White Papers p. 7. On page 15 it is stated that she was born January 30, 1712.

†Ib. p. 26.

‡Ib. 86. Marriage in those days was largely a civil function.

**Timothy White Papers, p. 85.

††Thirteen children were born to him while on Nantucket of whom six were immaturesly born or died shortly after birth.

‡‡According to the record (Timothy White Papers, pp. 29-63) he had many pupils but the tuition fee was small.

a notification "to the Ministers of the several Indian Congregations on the Island of Nantucket," informing them that the "Honourable Commissioners of whom His Excellency the Governour is one from whom you receive your Yearly Salaries, have appointed the Rev'd Mr. Timothy White to preach Lectures to you, to oversee counsell & advise you from time to time as occasion shall require, and to inspect the Schools & Churches & to Catechize the Children & such as are proper for it, & you & all concerned are to pay a proper regard to him accordingly."*

The first baptisms recorded by Mr. White were those of Samuel and Mary Calef, children of Ebenezer Calef, and Ephraim, Henry, Jonathan, Ann and Mary Coffin, children of Hephzibah Coffin, all of whom were baptized September 29, 1728, by Rev. Joseph Baxter, of Medfield.† The unbaptized parents were baptized with the children, and assented to the Covenant. In the twenty-two years following, Mr. White records the baptism of over one hundred and fifty persons, the ordnance being administered under the direction of visiting clergymen. His cash account shows that in the twenty-five years of his pastorate he received from his people at Nantucket nearly £1800. This was doubtless in the depreciated currency of the day. Those of Nantucket from whom he received money and who may be assumed to have been members of the Society, were Joseph Coffin, George Gardner, Esq., John Coffin, Capt. ——— Gardner, the mother of John Coffin, Robert Coffin, ——— Hatch, Ebenezer Calef, J. Johnson, Joseph Chase, Thomas Brock, Jonathan Coffin, Z. Bunker, E. Bennit, John White, Dr. Hay, Joseph Skiff, R. Wyer, ——— Phillips.

There is no data from which to note year by year the unfortunate conditions Mr. White confronted. A letter to him from Thomas Hubbard shows that in 1748 he had about reached the breaking point. Mr. Hubbard wrote as follows:

Boston, 21st June, 1748.

Rev'd & Dear Sir:

Sometime ago Dr. Sewall put into my hands a Letter from yourself, representing the low Circumstances of Life your Situation in the World had exposed you to, upon which I communicated the Same to severall Members of the General Court, but found it was beyond their power to help you in a publick Station, w'ch I am persuaded they would gladly have done, if they could, whereupon I returned ye Letter to the Doctor, with four pounds Cash from my Self, to be sent you at the first Opportunity, (which I now crave your acceptance of). Doct'r Sewall after this communicated your Letter to the Convention of Ministers, who readily voted you Twenty pounds (Old Tenor) out of the Collection, which the Doctor has been seeking an opportunity to send you for a considerable Time, at last he put it into my Care, & now by Mr. Abijah Folger I have sent you Twenty four pounds, which I wish safe to hand, and pray your advice of as soon as you can.

I heartily wish your health & prosperity, more especially

*Timothy White Papers, p. 86.

†Ib. p. 21.

in your Lords work & hope that some Door or other may in Time be opened for your Comfort & Relief: My hearty Service concludes me

Sir

Dr. Sewall gives his
Service to You.

Y'r Very humb. Servt
THO'S HUBBARD.*

Two months later (August 31) John Webb wrote to Mr. White—"I was last Monday Evening in Company with a Number of Worthy Gentlemen in Town, when our good Friend John Phillips Esq'r communicated to us a Letter he had lately received from you, Giving an Account of your bad State of Health and of the great Discouragements you were under with respect to your Ministry at Nantucket.

We heartily Sympathize with you under your bodily Indisposition, and hope, by ye Blessing of God, in ye Use of proper Means Shortly to hear of your Recovery to Health again.

But our greatest concern was to hear that your other Discouragements were So many and great, That you Seem resolved in a little Time, to take your Leave of ye poor People in whose Service you have Spent a great part of your Life already.

We are Sensible, indeed, your Services among them have been attended with many peculiar Difficulties; and that you have been but poorly requited by Man for your Laborious Endeavours to Serve ye Kingdom and Interest of our Lord Jesus Cht in ye place where you are. But remember, Dear Brother, we serve a good Master, who will one Day richly Reward the little he enables us to do in his Service.

And as you have been long acquainted with that People, and, we hope, have a great Interest in ye affections of many of them; we cant but fear your Leaving them in their present State will greatly disserve ye Cause of Cht and his holy Religion, which, we trust, are exceedingly dear to you."†

Mr. Webb urges him to continue "if your State of Health will, by any Means, admit of it," and assures him "That they purpose Speedily, as God Shall enable, to Send you Somewhat for ye present Supply of your and your Families Necessities: and will endeavour hereafter to use their Interest, That you may have a more comfortable Support than you have yet had, while you continue in ye Service of Cht and Souls, in the place where you have for So many years been bearing ye Heat and Burden of ye Day."

The combined persuasion of Messrs Hubbard and Webb were insufficient to change his purpose of relinquishing his pastorate at Nantucket. Mr. Dudley fixes the date of the end of his term of service as May 1750,‡ possibly because that would complete the church year. A letter to him from Joseph Rotch, dated Nantucket, July 3d, 1750, is evidence that he had left the Island before that time.**

Mr. Dudley states that the site of Mr. White's residence "is the vacant lot opposite the residence of the late Josiah Gardner, Esq., now (1898) occupied by Capt. and Mrs. John Brooks. Mrs.

*Timothy White Papers, p. 87

†Timothy White Papers, p. 88.

‡Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, p. 8.

**Timothy White Papers, p. 89.

Brooks is a daughter of Josiah Gardner, and a descendant of Capt. John Gardner, in direct line, and inherits and occupies a portion of the original Gardner landed estate."*

After Mr. White's departure there followed an interregnum, so far as the records go, of eleven years. From 1750 to 1761, there appears to be neither known record nor tradition.

In 1765 the meetinghouse was removed to near its present site. There it remained until the present meetinghouse was built in 1834. It was moved back to very near where it now stands and used as a vestry and a Sunday school room. Its dimensions, aside from the lean-tos, which are of comparatively recent construction, are 40 by 60 feet. About 1790 a tower was built on the south end. This would seem from the Town Records to have been something in the nature of a bell tower, although Mr. Dudley says there was an entrance to the meetinghouse through it.†

The second pastor of whom there is a record was Joseph Mayhew who was an "acting Pastor" apparently and whose term of service extended from 1761 to 1766. It was during his term of service that the meetinghouse was removed from its original location near No Bottom Pond to Beacon Hill. Of Mr. Mayhew's pastorate Mr. Dudley says‡—"The absence of all records of Church and Society, between 1750 and 1800, and the silence of tradition in regard to Mr. Mayhew, leaves his relationship in doubt. The relation of Acting Pastor was rare in the eighteenth century. It is reasonable to infer that the position of these two men (Messrs White and Mayhew) was similar to that of a Pastor at a later date, an engagement for an indefinite period, by joint action of the Church and Society. This is a relation that can be dissolved by either party in the engagement upon due notice, and requires no calling of a council of neighboring churches."

The third Pastor of whom there is a record was Rev. Bezaleel Shaw whose service was from November 25, 1767 to February 28, 1796, the longest of any minister ever connected with the Society. It was during his pastorate that the "Half-way Covenant" was introduced, which is referred to in the article on the Unitarian Church. His pastorate ended with his death which occurred February 28, 1796. From the time of his becoming Pastor, to which he was regularly ordained and installed, date the earliest existing records. By them we learn who were members of the Church

*Timothy White Papers, p. 95. John Gardner and his wife Priscilla conveyed to their son-in-law Timothy White and his wife Susanna a lot of land on the corner of West Liberty Street and Cliff Road, also a garden plot further from the street with a right of way over the Gardner land. The deed is dated August 1730, at which time Mr. White was building a house on the lot. (Deeds Book IV, p. 134). This property was subsequently conveyed by Timothy White Jr. under power of attorney from his father to Edward Coffin. (Deeds V, p. 352).

†November 3, 1806, the Town voted to appropriate not over \$250 "for the Express purpose of Repairing the old part and finishing the New part of the **bell tower which is adjoining the Congregational Meeting House.**" The Town voted as early as Nov. 3, 1800 to have the bell that is erected on the Congregational Meeting-house rung at Sun rise in the morning, 12 at noon and 9 at night.

‡Page 8.

in those days more definitely than at any previous period.* The list as published is as follows:

Margaret Barnard (Robert),	Deacon Samuel Barrett†
Dr. John Bartlett, &‡	Lucretia Bartlett
David Bashard, &	Elizabeth Bashard,
Peggy Bunker, (Elisha),	Anna L. Burrell, (James),
Hannah Calder, (George),	Margaret Calef,
Joseph Cook,	Paul Coggeshall,
Abel Chase,	Dinah Clark,
Benjamin Coffin,	Betsey Coffin, (Joseph),
Caleb Coffin,	Elizabeth Coffin,
Elias Coffin, &	Abigail Coffin,
Jennet Coffin, (James),	Mary Coffin, (John),
Jonathan Coffin, &	Priscilla Coffin,
Deacon Josiah Coffin, &	Priscilla Coffin,
Ruth Coffin, (Cromwell),	Sally Coffin, (James),
Eunice Coleman, (Joseph),	Edward Dixon,
Abigail Gardner, (Grafton),	Amy Gardner,
Essex Boston (colored),	Elizabeth Gardner, (Joshua),
Grindall Gardner, &	Judith Gardner,
Mary Gardner, (Shubael),	Priscilla Gardner,
Peleg Gardner, &	Hepzibah Gardner,
Thomas Gardner (colored),	Hagar (colored),
Lydia Hooton,	..... Chapman,
Hannah Hutchinson,	Mary Hussey (Obed),
John Jillings,	Mercy Kidder,
Stephen Kidder, &	Eunice Kidder,
Hannah Lombard, wid of. Thos.	Priscilla Long, (Barnabas),
Thankful Long, (Daniel)	Jane Manning, (Isaac),
Hannah Moores, (Jonathan),	Nabby Morselander,
	widow Cornelius,
Abraham Pease,	Dr. Elijah Pease,**
Lydia Proctor, (James),	Phebe Rawson, widow of Paul
John Ramsdell, &	Rachel Ramsdell,
Jonathan Ramsdell, &	Jane Ramsdell,
Ebenezer Rand &	Hannah Rand,**
Deacon Wilson Rawson,	Dr. Benjamin Tupper,
Susanna Whiteus, (James),	Deacon John Woodbury,
	Elizabeth Woodbury, (Nath'l).
	John Brock.

*A pamphlet giving a "Historical Sketch of the Church and Catalogue of its Members from 1767" published in 1850, says of the catalogue—"It is as nearly accurate as can be made from information derived from the existing records, the knowledge of living members, and other sources too numerous to be named."

†Deacon Barrett subsequently withdrew and assisted in organizing the Methodist Society.

‡The character & shows the man and woman on the same line to be husband and wife. The bracketed name following a woman's name is that of her husband.

**Joined the Methodists.

Mr. Shaw was followed by Rev. James Gurney, who was Pastor from October 2, 1799 to June 16, 1819. It was during Mr. Gurney's pastorate that the division occurred and the Second Congregational Church was organized. Despite that fact, Mr. Gurney had the largest number of accessions to the Church by profession of any clergyman in the first one hundred years of the Church's history, 161 joining in that manner. There was always a friendly feeling between Mr. Gurney and Rev. Mr. Swift of the Second Society, and an occasional exchange of pulpits, which did not have the cordial approbation of all of Mr. Gurney's parishioners. Under Mr. Gurney's pastorate occurred the first religious revival the Church at Nantucket ever experienced.

Following Mr. Gurney came Rev. Abner Morse whose pastorate commenced December 16, 1819, and continued until December 16, 1822. It would appear that Mr. Morse did not find things quite to his liking for there seems to be evidence of a dissension which was the real cause of his termination of his ministry.* At the date given as the close of his service he had left Nantucket, probably only transiently.

Then followed:

Rev. Stephen Bailey from May 8, 1823, to May 25, 1827.

Rev. Nathaniel Cobb from August 5, 1827, to August 31, 1829.

Rev. Stephen Mason from April 29, 1830, to March 30, 1835.

It was during Mr. Mason's pastorate that the old Meeting-house was moved to the rear and the present edifice was built.† It was completed and ceremoniously dedicated November 6, 1834. The Inquirer, in reporting the ceremony, in its issue of November 12, says:

"The new House of Worship erected by the First Congregational Church and Society in this town was consecrated Thursday the 6th inst.‡ The order of exercises was as follows:

*The reports of the day show that Mr. Morse and others filed a petition in the General Court for 1823 for an act of incorporation as a Congregational Church, presumably as a separate organization. The Legislature, however, did not approve the petition and in January gave the petitioners leave to withdraw.

†The old Meeting house was advertised to be sold by Auction May 10 but evidently no satisfactory offer was received. In 1830 a steeple appears to have been added to the bell-tower. The editor of the Inquirer seems to have failed to give it the notice its friends demanded and on November 6 he writes that having mentioned the South tower and inadvertently omitted the North he hastens to say that a spire has been erected on the North tower 59 feet high from the ground, is a good outlook, is painted and the "materials are almost as durable as the doctrines preached therein."

‡A brief description of the building was published in the Inquirer of November 5, 1834, which says it is of light Gothic order of architecture, designed by — Waldron, architect. There are 118 pews and a choir gallery across the second story of the tower. The ground floor plan is 80x62 feet; height of steeple 123 feet. The tower has an observatory for the convenience of the public, and there is a fine-toned bell from the foundry of the H. N. Cooper Co. of Boston.

Invocation, and Reading of the Sacred Scriptures,
 Rev. Stephen Mason.
 Anthem, by the Choir.
 Introductory Prayer
 Rev. Oliver Cobb, D. D., of Rochester.
 Hymn by Choir.
 Sermon,
 Rev. Sylvester Holmes, of New Bedford.
 Dedicatory Prayer,
 Rev. Mr. Pratt of Barnstable.
 Anthem by the Choir.
 Benediction."

In the brief sketch of the service, the Inquirer says the discourse of Rev. Sylvester Holmes was based on "Psalms LXXXVII—5-6— 'And of Zion it shall be said this and that man was born in her; and the highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count when he writeth up to the people, that this man was born there.' * * * It was a masterly composition, full of original thought and striking illustration, and delivered in a style that proved the speaker to be both in earnest, and perfectly at home in the department of pulpit oratory. It was listened to with intense interest, by a very full assembly, numbering about one thousand persons, and comprising members of almost every religious denomination, all of whom appeared much gratified."

After Mr. Mason came

William J. Breed	from	June 10, 1835, to May 1839.
George C. Partridge	"	Nov. 21, 1839, to Aug. 10, 1841.
John S. C. Abbott*	"	Sept. 21, 1841, to Dec. 5, 1843.
Charles Rich	"	May 21, 1844, to May 21, 1847.
George Thacher	"	Nov. 14, 1848, to May 14, 1850.
Benjamin Judkins	"	April 1, 1851, to June 12, 1855.
J. Emerson Swallow	"	May 21, 1856, to Aug. 24, 1858.
Henry E. Dwight	"	Nov. 8, 1858, to Oct. 31, 1859.
Isaac C. White	"	Jan. 14, 1861, to Feb. 1, 1862.
Samuel D. Hosmer†	"	Oct. 16, 1862, to Nov. 1, 1872.
Henry C. Crane	"	Oct. 2, 1873, to Aug. 24, 1874.
Charles J. R. Jones	"	Mar. 20, 1875, to Jan. 1, 1877.
Luther H. Angier	"	Nov. 10, 1877, to Oct. 20, 1878.
Howard A. Hanaford	"	Nov. 20, 1878, to Oct. 25, 1880.
Louise S. Baker‡	"	Dec. 12, 1880, to Feb. 14, 1888.
John C. Emery	"	Dec. 9, 1888, to Oct. 7, 1889.
Myron S. Dudley	"	Oct. 21, 1889, to Oct. 1, 1897.

*Mr. Abbott had a very successful ministry with the largest total accession to his Church of any Pastor for the first 100 years. He had 157 join by profession against 161 under Mr. Gurney but he had 15 join by letter against 2 Mr. Gurney had.

†Mr. Hosmer married a Nantucket woman, Miss Susan Coleman

‡Miss Baker was recognized as a minister of the Gospel without the concurrent action of a Council of Congregational churches, at a special meeting of the Church, August 25, 1884, and on the following Sunday she was informally inducted into the pastorate of this Church. This did not constitute her legally an ordained and installed pastor, but gave her a semi-official and an assured standing." (Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, p. 8.)

Walcott Fay*	from	Nov. 1, 1897, to	Mar. 24, 1901.
Frederic W. Manning	"	Feb. 2, 1902, to	Mar. 1912.
F. Arthur Sanborn	"	Mar. 1913, to	Dec. 1916
Charles A. Ratcliffe	"	June 20, 1917.	

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

The Unitarian Church began as an off-shoot from the Orthodox Congregational Church. In its early days it went by the title of the Second Congregational Church. Mr. Worth expresses the opinion that the separation was a part of the religious development of the day and an effort to liberalize the discipline of the Church. The form of the Congregational Church doctrine during the greater portion of the pastorate of Rev. Bezaleel Shaw was patterned after what was called the "Half-way Covenant." Mr. Worth says, a modification which originated with the Old South Church, of Boston. Under the old system no one could vote or hold office unless he was a duly baptized member of the Church, and those only could be baptized who were of good moral character and had undergone a prescribed religious experience. The Church found, however, that there were other good men, men standing high in the community, and men of wealth and integrity. While they disclaimed being "pious" they were exemplary citizens, and it was desirable to bring them under the influence of the Church. With this general principle in view, a compromise was effected, and some churches admitted to membership persons of discreet and upright lives, without requiring the aforesaid religious qualification. "In other words," says Mr. Worth, "the Church accepted one of the two requisites, instead of insisting on both." This condition of compromise they designated the "Half-way Covenant."†

This was the condition during the larger part of the ministry of Rev. Bezaleel Shaw, and it seemed to follow during the early period of the pastorate of Rev. James Gurney. About 1809, however, there came a change. Mr. Gurney entirely abandoned the "Half-way Covenant" and drew the lines with a more uncompromising orthodoxy. In that year there was a marked addition to the Church membership.‡ The year also saw a separation in the Parish. The movement affected the Church but little, only two of its members withdrawing.** Their number was increased, Mr. Worth

*"Mr. Fay being unable to complete the last year for which he was engaged, the Supply Committee resumed the charge of the pulpit for the balance of the year, till November, 1901. For four months of this time, from May to September, Rev. Henry S. Snyder, of Weymouth was engaged. Rev. Rufus K. Harlow, of Medway, Mass., supplied till November 10, 1901. Churches and Pastors of Nantucket.

†Proceedings Nant. Hist. Socy. 1910 p. 50. Henry B Worth Esq. ‡150 were added.

**Rebecca Parker wife of Samuel and Ann Coffin wife of Thaddeus. (Worth-Proceedings Hist. Socy. 1910.)

states by the addition of some upon whom the austere mantle of the Quaker was irksome and who had been disowned.

Rev. Myron S. Dudley says of the movement*—"It started as a protest against the undue strictness and close surveillance exercised over its members in the matter of recreation and amusement rather than on account of any wide divergence on the question of doctrinal belief." Frederick C. Sanford, a prominent member, expresses a similar sentiment by saying the separation was due to a "growing spirit for more liberal ideas than had been prevailing among its worshippers."† Others attributed it to the location of the Meetinghouse which was inconveniently situated for many, and still others believed it due to friction between members of the Church and Parish.

Mr. Worth appears to consider that the location of the Meetinghouse and a cleavage between the Church and Parish as the chief cause of separation. Of the theories advanced that of Mr. Dudley seems most tenable. Immediately after the dedication of the new Meetinghouse the settlement of the Minister and the election of the Deacons, the following Covenant was adopted:

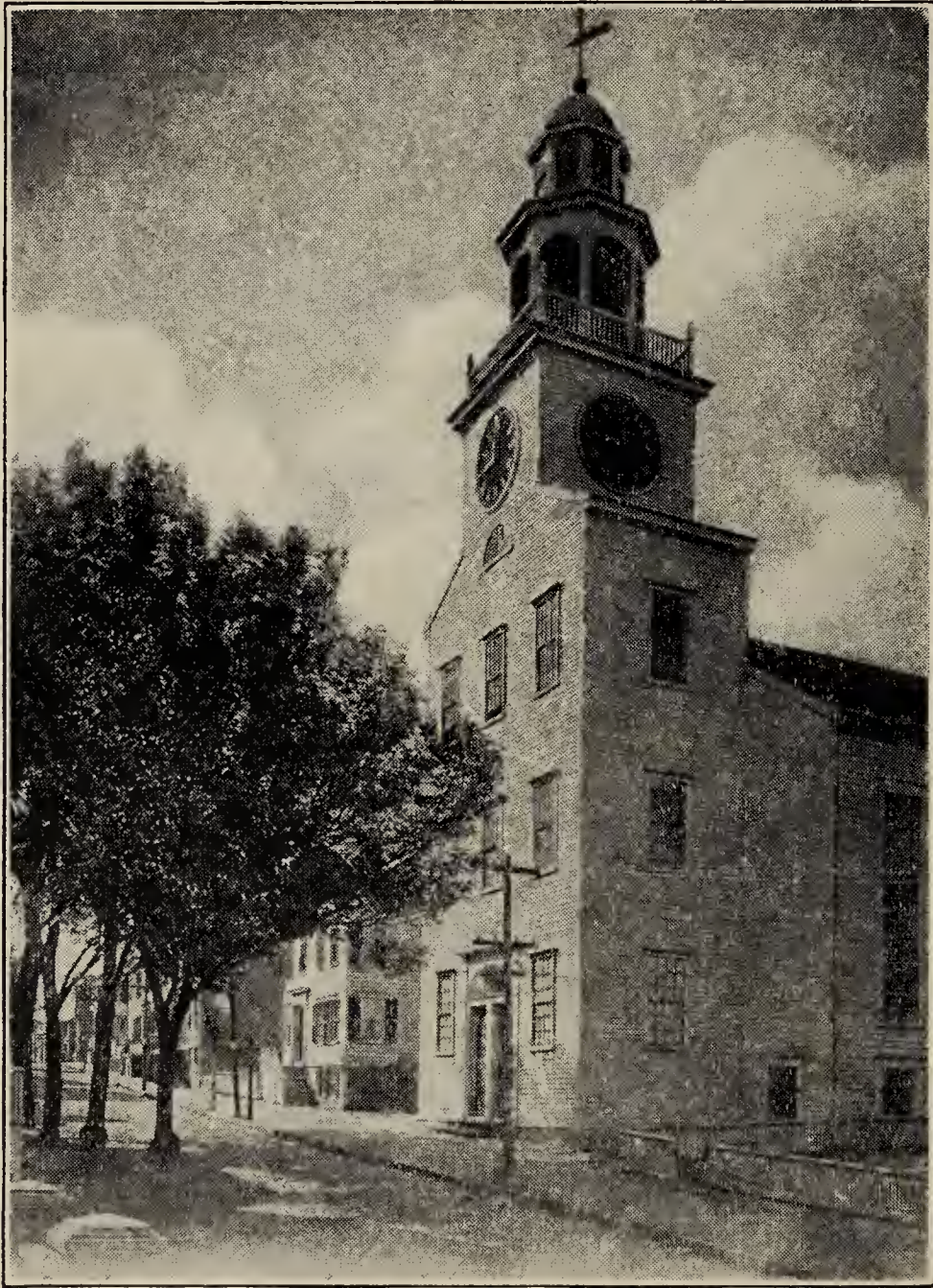
"You and each of you profess to believe in one God the Father of all, and in Jesus Christ the Son of God and son of man, the only mediator between God and men, and in the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier. You believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the word of God, the account we have there of Creation, of the original rectitude of mankind, and their subsequent apostasy and depravity, and redemption by Jesus Christ and restoration to a state of trial and probation for holiness and everlasting life and happiness. You believe in the terms of justification, and means of sanctification, as provided by Jesus Christ and revealed in His Gospel. You believe that faith in God, in Christ, and in the Gospel, repentance for sin, and holiness of heart and life are requisite for salvation. You believe that God hath appointed a day on which He will raise all the dead, and judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, having given assurance thereof to all men, by raising Him from the dead, and by receiving Him up into Heaven, where He is now exalted at God's right hand, a Prince and Saviour to give repentance and remission of sins. You believe in a future state of recompense and retribution, in which the righteous will be rewarded and the wicked will be punished according to their character in this probationary state. You believe in the external ordinances of the Gospel, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, that Baptism is the Sacrament of Initiation into the visible Covenant, or General Church of Christ and the token of Membership; and that the Lord's Supper is the appointed Sacrament of Christian communion in the commemoration of Christ's suffering and death; and that it ought to be observed by all His professed disciples until He shall come again. And you now from a sense of duty do give up yourself or selves and your offspring to God in an everlasting Covenant never to be forgotten, and promise by the grace of God to walk with Him in all the commandments and ordinances of the Gospel, blameless submitting yourself to the discipline of the Church as administered in His place. This you promise." On its part the Church in turn responded "We then

*Proceedings Nant. Hist. Socy. 1910.

†Ib.

a Church of Christ joyfully receive you into our fellowship and communion, and engage to watch over you for admonition, advice and instruction, praying that the God of peace may abundantly bless us with peace and with the riches of his grace to whom be glory forever, Amen.

The difference in religious belief could not have been very radical for there was continued harmony between the churches. The new church was known as the "Second Congregational Church"



THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

and the interchange of pastors occasionally was evidence of continued fraternity in what they deemed the essentials.

The Meetinghouse which was erected for the new congregation, and which for many years has been known as the South Church, was built in 1809, the secession from the parent Church

and the organization of the new having been accomplished in that year. The building was dedicated November 9th, 1809. The dedicatory sermon was preached by Rev. Seth Freeman Swift,* who had been called to the new organization. Rev. James Gurney of the parent Church offered the dedicatory prayer. The first public preaching in the new Meetinghouse was on November 12, 1809.

The Ecclesiastical Council invited to take charge of the ordination of Mr. Swift over the Society convened on Friday, April 27, 1810.† Rev. Joseph Thaxter was chosen Moderator of the Council and Rev. Enoch Secretary. Four persons appeared, Nathaniel Barrett, Matthew Pinkham, Thaddeus Coffin and Henry Riddell, on behalf of the new organization. To them the Covenant previously mentioned was read, and having expressed their assent they were received into full communion. The clergymen present and assisting at the ordination were Rev. Joseph Thaxter of Edgartown; Rev. John Simpkins of Brewster; Rev. Jotham, of Barnstable; and Rev. Enoch Pratt, of Barnstable. Although Mr. Gurney's name is not included it is more than likely he was present.

The Church was regularly gathered and established by the Council and the following compact signed:

"We, whose names are undersigned, having professed the Christian religion and received baptism, and being mutually desirous of enjoying Christian fellowship and communion, Christian advice and admonition and fellowship, all the ordinances and privileges of the Gospel, according to the orders and regulations established by Christ and His Apostles, do, for the purposes aforesaid, and in conformity to the common usage of Congregational churches in New England, now associate and form ourselves by solemn agreement and covenant into a religious Society, commonly called, a Church of Christ, promising as individuals and as a society of Christians of whom Christ is the acknowledged head, to watch over, advise and admonish each other as brethren, as becometh members of the same body and agreeably to the rules settled by Christ in His visible kingdom. In testimony whereof we now subscribe our names to this religious agreement and covenant as aforesaid." The only signatories to this compact at this time were Rev. Seth F. Swift, Matthew Pinkham, Nathaniel Barrett, Thaddeus Coffin and Henry Riddell. Messrs. Barrett and Riddell were subsequently (May 27, 1810) unanimously elected Deacons.

"In those days," says Rev. J. F. Meyer‡ "the distinction between the Parish or Society and the Church was rigidly main-

*The bell, with its remarkable silvery tone which has charmed so many was not added until 1815. It was purchased in Lisbon by Capt. Charles Clasby and brought to Nantucket in 1812 on the schooner William & Nancy, Capt. Thomas Cary. It was one of a chime of six, designed for a convent but had not been consecrated. It was purchased for the Unitarian church in 1815. The story is told, that the musical qualities of its tone were noted by the agents of the Old South church in Boston who sent word to Nantucket that they had a very fine clock in their tower but had been so unfortunate as to have their bell broken, and asked at what price the Unitarians would sell this bell, to which the Unitarians replied that they had a very fine bell in their tower and at what price would the Old South agents sell their clock.

†History of the Unitarian Church, Meyer, p. 3.

‡Hist. Unitarian Church, p. 5.

tained.* Whatever the size of the Parish may have been the Church membership was very small, for it consisted only of these five signers, who were all men, but it is probable that these five men went through the form of signing this agreement of association and adopting a Covenant in order to form a nucleus round which a Church might be gathered."

Early in the Church's history (May 1810) Hall, Thaxter & Co. presented it with six pieces of Church plate. It does not appear just why this was done. In June 1810, Mr. Edward Cary presented it a set of table linen and in July Mr. William Lovering Jr. gave a pulpit Bible.

At a Church meeting held April 3, 1812, it was voted "that all those who have a desire to walk agreeably to the institutions of the Gospel, and bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, shall be entitled, with their children, to the Sacrament of Baptism, on confessing the Covenant." On the 27th of June of the same year, at a Church meeting, it was voted: "That it is expedient and necessary to have a discipline for this Church, and that the one submitted by the Pastor be accepted and adopted, and that in connection with the Church Covenant it be printed for the use of the Members." It was voted to have 100 copies printed at the expense of the Church. Mr. Meyer says that "no record of this discipline seems to have been preserved."†

Even in the early days of the new Church there seems to have been some divergence from the strict letter of the law, for Rev. Mr. Meyer records (p. 4) that "on December 12, 1813," it was voted "that Edmund Gale, having offended against the principles and practise of our order and of this Church, be for the present, suspended from communion with this Church." But Mr. Gale evidently did not seek to mitigate his punishment nor palliate his offence for on June 20, 1814 at a Church meeting it was unanimously voted "that Edmund Gale be ex-communicated; first, because he has for some length of time neglected or refused to worship with this Church, with which he covenanted, and secondly,

*It would seem then that it was not a modification of this rigidity that led to the separation.

†Under date of April 26, 1810, the following named were incorporated as Proprietors of the Second Congregational Meeting House in Nantucket:

Samuel Barker	Jeremiah Lawrence
Reuben Baxter	David Myrick
James Barnard	George Myrick
Jonathan C. Briggs	Thomas N. Mc Cleave
John Brock Jr.	*Aaron Mitchell
Elizabeth Bunker (Eliza)	Matthew Pinkham
Richard Cary	Henry Riddell
Samuel Cary	Samuel Riddell
Thaddeus Coffin	William Riddell
William Coffin	Elisha Raymond
Timothy Folger Jr.	Abel Rawson
Albert Gardner	Samuel Swain
*Hezekiah B. Gardner	Wyer Swain
Benjamin Glover	Elisha Starbuck
Zopher Hayden	Ebenezer Watts
Peter Hussey	Daniel Whitney
*Zaccheus Hussey	Jeremiah B. Wood

Those with the asterisks against their names appear to have withdrawn from the Friends' Society and to have been "disowned." Frederick C. Sanford gives the following names of men not recorded in the Act of Incorporation but who were also Charter members: Nathaniel Barrett, Edward Cary, Joseph Chase, Jonathan Hall, Nathaniel Hathaway, Elisha M. Hinckley, Martin T. Morton, Zephania Wood. (Proceedings Nant. Hist. Socy 1910).

because he has denied the external ordinances, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, both which he solemnly professed to believe and promised to observe at the time of his connexion."*

A Church Library was started in 1818. The first appropriation made for this purpose was \$40.00. The purpose in making the appropriation is thus expressed: "With no ordinary degree of conviction, we feel that a mind well instructed, enlightened and established in the great doctrines and duties of the Christian religion, by reading the sacred Scriptures and well-selected religious books, is the only safe-guard against bigotry, superstition and extravagance."

In 1819 Rev. Abner Morse was ordained Pastor of the North Church. As the South Church assisted in the ceremony it indicates that up to that time at least there had been no essential drifting apart.

In 1821 a Charity Fund was established, the sole and express purpose of which was to assist the poor members of the Church.

In 1823 the Church assisted in two ordinations—Rev. Stephen Bailey to be Pastor of the North Church in place of Rev. Abner Morse who had succeeded in getting himself disliked, and Rev. Orville Dewey to be Pastor of the First Church in New Bedford.

In 1833, after a pastorate of 23 years, the longest in the history of the Church, Rev. Seth F. Swift completed his connection with the Church. According to Mr. Meyer† Mr. Swift kept a complete record of all the marriages solemnized by him and of the fee received. There are many marriages in the list but the fees are surprisingly small. When we think of what women our foremothers were the fee looks like bargain counter prices. It was rarely more than a dollar or two. Frequently it was \$1.25 which was doubtless the fee paid the Town Clerk for issuing the license and may have prompted the price. Occasionally some liberal minded citizen unusually well satisfied with his helpmate or believing that even a clergyman laborer is worthy of his hire raised the fee to \$5.00 or even to \$10.00. Then there were occasions when no fee whatever was received and opposite the name of the wedded couple appear the word "Given." Frequently the word "black" appears in connection with the marriage.

The second minister was Rev. Henry F. Edes, who was installed March 26, 1834. The customary Council was convened with representatives from the Federal Street, Hollis Street, Brattle Street, Second and West Churches of Boston and the Churches at Roxbury, Salem, Sandwich and New Bedford present. Rev. Mr. Pierce, of Newport, was Moderator, and Rev. Chandler Robbins of Boston was Clerk. On the second Sunday in February, 1837, (Feb. 12), after the observance of the Lord's Supper Rev. Mr. Edes

*Mr. Meyer thinks Mr. Gale's act is explainable on the ground that he was at heart a Friend and ultimately joined the Friend's meeting. (Hist. Unitarian Church, p. 4).

†Hist. Unitarian Church, p. 6.

presented some objections to the Covenant then in use. The record shows that "A meeting of the Church was held in the Vestry on Tuesday evening, February 28, for the purpose of taking this subject into further consideration. The Pastor having given his reasons at length, called upon the members to express their opinions. One or two having spoken, all who thought that the present Covenant in its present form had better be set aside, were requested to signify it by rising. But a few retained their seats."

On Sunday March 12, after Communion the form of Covenant used for admission into the Church of Harvard University was read, and on the question of substituting it for the one then in use the substitution was agreed upon by a very large majority.*

The new Covenant read as follows: We whose names are undersigned, present ourselves for admission to this branch of the Christian Church, in testimony of our faith in Jesus Christ, our acceptance of His religion, and subjection to His laws. We regard this transaction as an expression of our earnest desire to obtain the salvation proposed by the Gospel, and our serious purpose to endeavor to comply with the terms on which it is offered. We desire to commemorate the Author and Finisher of our faith in the manner established in our Church. In an humble and grateful reliance upon God for the pardon of our sins and assistance in duty, we solemnly take on ourselves the engagements of the Christian profession. We will, as we have opportunity, acknowledge our relation to this Christian community by attention on the services of religion, by the offices of Christian affection, and submission to the laws of Christian order, beseeching the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being faithful to each other, and to our own common Master, we may enjoy the consolations of our holy religion here, and be accepted to its rewards hereafter, through the riches of Divine favor in Jesus Christ."

Mr. Meyer says that Rev Mr Edes deserves the honor of liberalizing the Church.† Outgrowing the first Covenant was a gradual process. "In a certain sense, we may say that the Second Congregational Church in Nantucket became a Unitarian Church with the adoption of its second Covenant * * * twenty-eight years after the organization of the Church." The original signers of this second Covenant numbered 38.

Rev Mr Edes resigned in 1842 and went from Nantucket to Eastport, Maine. His successor was Rev. William H. Knapp, whose service as Pastor was from 1844 to 1850. During his pastorate the Church Covenant underwent another change, still in the direction of symplification. The third Covenant, adopted in 1847, was as follows:‡ "Regarding Jesus of Nazareth as the highest spiritual Teacher and Guide, we desire more faithfully to follow Him, to

*Hist. Unitarian Church, p. 6. The Church in Harvard University is the old First Parish of Cambridge.

†Hist. Unitarian Church of Nant., p. 7.

‡Ibid.

possess more of His spirit, to be true to our age and mission as He was to His, to co-operate with Him in His work in building up His Kingdom on earth, in establishing the reign of righteousness, truth and love among men."

Following Rev Mr Knapp was Rev. Jacob G. Foreman who continued as Pastor two years and four months, from 1851 to 1853. During his ministry the Church, at a regular meeting, voted: "That in addition to the foregoing declaration, applicants for admission may be received by baptism or such other religious ceremony as the Pastor may deem advisable and appropriate, in a public manner, and in connection with the observance of the Lord's Supper, provided it shall be most agreeable to the applicant to be received in this manner." His concluding entry in the Parish Records says: "On Sunday, November 13 1853, I delivered my farewell sermon to a large congregation from the 51st chapter of Isaiah, the 7th and 8th verses, thus concluding a ministry of two years and four months and a half on this island, during which I enjoyed the confidence and affection of the Church, my pulpit services were attended by good congregations, and I received interesting testimonials of the good will and friendship of my people, both towards myself, and my wife and children. In taking my leave, I was able to bid them a kind farewell, and to pray for their spiritual and temporal prosperity and happiness." Mr. Foreman went from Nantucket to Sandwich, and the Nantucket Church assisted in his installation.

Mr Foreman's immediate successor was Rev George H. Hepworth. It was Mr Hepworth's first pastorate as he came to Nantucket direct from Harvard Theological School. Rev Dr Ezra Styles Gannett, of Boston was Moderator of the Council that ordained him. He was Pastor for two years, severing his relations with the Nantucket Church September 7, 1857.*

For the next two years there was no settled minister. In the interim Rev Mr LeBaron an eloquent preacher officiated for a part of the time. He did not continue in the ministry.

The sixth regularly settled minister was Rev Orville Brayton, who was Pastor from 1859 to 1862.† He was succeeded by Rev John H. Karcher who was settled over the Church July 1, 1863, and continued his pastorate one year and seven months, terminating it February 1 1865. Mr Meyer says "Tradition says he was a very peculiar or eccentric man."‡

Rev Thomas K. Dawes was the eighth Pastor. His pastorate began December 2. 1865 and continued to June 11. 1871. Under him a fourth Covenant was adopted. It became operative July 3, 1868, and was as follows: "We whose names are here subscribed do unite ourselves together in order to profess more publicly our

*Mr. Hepworth went from Nantucket to the Church of the Unity, Boston, thence to the Church of the Messiah, New York. Soon after he joined the editorial staff of the New York Herald.

†Mr. Meyer says there are no records on the Parish books from Rev. Mr. Hepworth's ministry to the settlement of Rev. Mr. Karcher.

‡Mr. Karcher went from Nantucket to Alleghany, Pa. He joined the Episcopal Church at first and finally became a Roman Catholic. (Hist. Unitarian Church, p. 9).

faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of men. We acknowledge the teachings of Jesus to be the Divinely authorized rule both of faith and of practise, to which it is our duty as Christians to submit. By thus uniting ourselves together, we claim no right to exclude any one from this Communion, on account of difference in doctrinal opinions, nor for any other reason except undoubted immorality of conduct." This Covenant was signed by 37 persons.

Following Mr Dawes came Rev. Lemuel K. Washburn, (1871 to 1872) Rev Jesse H. Temple who remained less than a year, and Rev Nahum A. Haskell whose ministry began December 7 1873, and continued until October 24, 1875. Under the ministry of Mr. Haskell (in March 1875) still another change was made in the Covenant. This new Covenant, Rev Mr Meyer says was rather in the light of a reversion to the third Covenant, discarding the one adopted under Rev Mr Dawes' pastorate. It read as follows: "Regarding Jesus of Nazareth as our spiritual Teacher and Guide, we desire more faithfully to follow Him, to possess more of His spirit, to be true to our age and mission as He was true to His, and to cooperate with each other in building up the Kingdom of God on earth and in establishing the reign of righteousness, truth and love among men. For this purpose we join ourselves together." This, Mr Meyer says, "is still the bond of union on which the Unitarian Church in Nantucket is established.

At the end of fourteen months from the time of his resignation he was called to the pastorate a second time. He came in December 1876, and continued until May, 1877. He subsequently retired from the ministry.

The next minister was Rev. James B. Morrison, who commenced his pastorate December 2. 1877 and continued it until April 25, 1880.* Of his service he says: "It has been an exceedingly pleasant pastorate and the Pastor severs his connection with the Parish with love for the people, and regret for the sundering of the relations of Minister and people."

Mr Morrison was followed by Rev John Arthur Savage who began his ministry October 25, 1880, and closed it October 28, 1883.†

Rev. Henry F Bond succeeded Mr Savage. The apparent term of his ministry was from October 28, 1883 to December 1, 1885. There is nothing on the record book concerning his pastorate. The 15th minister of the Church was Rev Cyrus Augustus Roys. The opening Parish record of his ministry makes the following statement: "The Church as a working organization had practically ceased. The small body of proprietors was the only working force with administrative functions. There had been but three persons

*Mr. Morrison was born at Haverhill, Mass. Nov. 2, 1847; graduated at Meadville, June 17, 1877; was ordained Nov. 26, 1877.

†In the summer of 1881, through the generosity and love for his native Town, Mr. William Hadwen Starbuck, of New York, a new tower clock was put into the Meeting House, the building newly painted and the dome newly gilded.

For many years the Unitarian Church was locally and familiarly known as the "Steamboat" church, the prominent men in the Steamboat Co. being identified with it.

admitted to the Church in fourteen years, and no meetings of the Church except for purposes of worship, so far as the records show. The Communion service had been discontinued previous to the coming of the present Minister." Only a small number desired it revived. A proposition was made to have the proprietors revise their by-laws and make the organization practically a free Church so that the congregation of worshippers should have the business control rather than have it vested in the few proprietors. As this was not done the "Declaration of Purpose adopted in 1847, and afterwards set aside to be re-adopted in 1875 was read and membership was invited on that basis."*

Rev Mr Savage recorded at the close of 1883 "Number of families in the Parish increased somewhat, the attendance at Sunday services very good and the Society out of debt, in perfect harmony, and quite active and hopeful." Rev Mr Meyers makes this statement harmonize with that made by Rev Mr Roys by assuming (a very natural assumption) that Rev Mr Savage's term "Parish" included all "who took an active interest in the work or worship of the Church" while Rev Mr Roys included only those who had signed the covenant and had been formally and publicly received into the Church. It was the old time distinction between Church and Parish that Mr Roys referred to.†

Rev Mr Meyer thinks that about this time the disintegration among the Friends resulted in material additions to the Unitarians.

During Mr. Roys' pastorate he attempted to revive the distinction between the Church and Parish, but any distinction recognized during his term of service was apparently dropped with his departure. During his ministry the Church severed its connection with the Cape Cod Conference with which it had been allied. A permanent result of his Church work was the organization of the Unity Club.

Rev. Francis Percival Stuart Lamb was the 16th Minister. His term of service ran from Dec 3, 1893 to April 1, 1898. According to report Mr Lamb was a scholarly man and preacher but neglected his Parish work and was lacking in tact. He was followed by Rev George Henry Badger who was Pastor just one year, from October 1, 1898 to October 1, 1899. In that brief time he made, says Mr. Meyer, "a deep and lasting impression on the people."‡ Under Mr Badger the Sunday School had dwindled away to nothing and been abandoned; he reorganized it. He seems to have been the direct antithesis of his predecessor. After leaving Nantucket he was made Field Agent of the American Unitarian Association for New England.

The 18th minister was Rev John Frederick Meyer whose pastorate began January 1, 1900 and ended in 1903. During his term

*Just when the Communion was discontinued does not appear from the records.

†Hist. of the Unitarian Church, p. 11.

‡History of the Unitarian Church of Nant., p. 14.

of service the Nantucket Unitarian Summer Meetings were held in Nantucket for the first time in the summer of 1901. In July of the same year the Nantucket Branch of National Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women was organized. The Church voted to join the Plymouth and Bay Conference of Unitarian and other Christian Churches.

Succeeding pastors have been:

Rev Edward Day	1904 to 1908
Rev John Snyder	1909 to 1914
Rev H. Van Ommeren,	1914 to 1920
Rev John C. Kent	1921 ———

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Methodist Church in Nantucket dates back to the 6th day of April 1797, when Rev Jesse Lee, that veteran war horse of Methodism, first visited the Island. He remained on the Island eighteen days, and during that brief period he preached sixteen sermons. The following year Rev Joseph Snelling, a native of Boston, and at the time stationed on Martha's Vineyard was invited to Nantucket. It is said that "for lack of a room sufficiently large to hold the people, he held meetings in the open air on Mill Hills, where all classes, rich and poor, white and black, assembled to hear the Word."* A large number is said to have been converted and many others were aroused. No society was formed at the time, however. Rev. George Pickering, another man of stalwart Methodism, was Presiding Elder for the District and, after Mr Snelling, who preached up to June 9, 1799, followed for two weeks by Rev Mr. Cannon, he sent to the Island Rev. William Beauchamp under whose guidance a church society was organized.†

Mrs Fanning, who seems to have been favorably disposed towards the establishment of Methodism on Nantucket mentions Mr Beecham, (Beauchamp) for the first time July 21, 1799, when she noted in her diary "Mr Beacham preached." Under date of Tuesday July 30 she states that she went to Cromwell Bartlett's school house to meeting. Mr Beauchamp, she writes, performed "water baptism on Susanna Orpin, she is about to become a member of the Methodist Church."

*Souvenir Hist. N. E. Southern Conference Vol. 1, p. 114. From Mrs. Fannings' diaries is the following "Sunday Feb. 3, (1799) Mrs. Johnson and myself went to Town House to meeting. Mr. Cannon (Methodist) preached. Sun. May 26, went P. M. to Town house meeting—Mr. Snelling preached. Sunday June 2 Mr. Snelling preached." June 9, 23, and 30 she mentions going to the Town House meeting. Mr. Cannon preached on the 30th. "Sunday July 7, afternoon Mr. Cannon preached."

†The Souvenir Hist. states that on June 24, 1798 he formed the Society in an upper back room on Pearl street. It would seem as though this must be an error in date.

The entries in Mrs Fanning's diaries, although showing occasional breaks, probably give the most accurate statement of conditions that is obtainable. They also give quite in detail the names of those who in the early days were connected with the Church and Society. Quoting from her diaries her record reads:*

Sunday May 26. 1799 Went in the afternoon to the Town House meeting. Mr Snelling preached. Mr Snelling also preached June 2, and June 9 and 23 she records that she went to the "Town House" meeting. On June 30 and on the afternoon of July 7 Mr Cannon preached. July 21 Mr Beacham (Beauchamp) preached and



METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

on July 28 Mrs Fanning attended meeting all day under the guidance presumably of Mr Beauchamp.

Of this early period the manuscript history in the Library of the Methodist Book Concern,† says that Rev. Joseph Snelling's invitation to visit Nantucket came from Samuel Barrett, a Deacon of the Congregational Church, and that building was opened for Mr Snelling's use. His first sermon was founded on Hosea VIII-12. He remained three weeks. The manuscript does not agree exactly in detail with the printed version in the Souvenir already quoted. It says that the colored people desired to attend the meetings but there was no room for them, so Mr Snelling gave them an open air meeting on the Mill Hills preaching from Isaiah 1-6. It is stated that Hepsabeth Gardner, who subsequently married Benjamin Folger, then a young woman, was sitting at an open window while Mr

*The quotations are verbatim only when quotation marks are used. As an invariable rule they are precise as to the sentiment.

†Written and compiled by J. Lewis Rice.

Snelling was preaching and became very much impressed by what he said and was converted thereby to the Methodist faith. The Society was formed July 24, 1799 and the "back chamber on Pearl street" was in the residence of Ebenezer Rand.

There were 19 who organized the Society, and they were:—John Sherman, Hannah Smith, Jonathan Smith, Samuel Barrett, Elijah Pease, Ebenezer Rand, Grindel Gardner, Samuel Osborn, Sally Osburn, Freeborn Fisher, Mary Fisher, Naomi Cook, Laurana Gardner, Desire Pinkham, Eunice Alley, Susanna Orpin, Sally Orpin, Rebecca Alley and Merib Alley. Of them Messrs Barrett and Pease were of the Congregational Society. The Sunday meetings were held in the Town Hall, then, and for many years afterwards, standing on the westerly corner of Milk and Main streets.

Continuing Mrs. Fanning's account, she writes—Tuesday July 30, went to Crom Bartlett's school house to meeting.* Mr Beacham (Beauchamp) performed "water baptism on Susanna Orpin. she is about to become a member of the Methodist church."

August 11. Mr. Beacham still preaching.

Tuesday, August 13. Went to Town House to meeting.

Sunday, August 25. Methodist private meeting at Lurana Gardner's. Mr Beacham preached.

Wednesday, August 28, Went to meeting at Town House; Mr Webb preached—a young man from Cape Cod, about 22 years old.

Sunday, September 29. After afternoon meeting went to Mr Barrett's† to Church meeting. Mr. Cannon prayed and exhorted.

Sunday October 6. Church meeting at Mr Barretts. Mr Bigelow preached. Mr Cannon moved to Troy. N. Y.

Sunday October 13. Class meeting at Mr Barretts. Mr Beacham there.

Sunday October 20. Class Meeting at Betsy Folger's.

Monday October 21 "Mr Pickering,‡ a Methodist minister who is over this church and superintends it came to the Isle today."

Tuesday October 22. Class meeting at Mrs Pinkham's**. Mr Beacham and Mr Pickering there.

Wednesday October 23. Meeting in Town House. Mr Pickering preached. "he is a great Preacher."

Thursday October 24. Love Feast at Mr Rand's. Bread and water taken & given around in token of mutual love.

Friday October 25. Meeting in the evening. Mr Pickering preached. Martha Alley, Mary Long and Samuel Crosby baptized.

Sunday October 27. Mr Pickering administered the Lord's Supper to 17 women and 13 men. A Class meeting was held in the evening at Betsy Folger's, Sam Crosby's wife and Betsey Folger her

*Doubtless Dr. Oliver Cromwell Bartlett is the party intended. He subsequently became prominent in the Society.

†Deacon Samuel Barrett.

‡Rev. Fr. George Pickering, another well known and effective war horse of the Methodist faith.

**Desire Pinkham.

daughter baptized. Mrs Fanning writes that she herself at this time joined the Methodist church. The Class and Sunday meetings follow very regularly.

On Friday November 15 occurred the first funeral service reported as being conducted by a Methodist preacher, the subject being the wife of Francis Gardner and Mr Beauchamp being the officiating clergyman.

For Wednesday January 1 1800 Mrs Fanning records: "2 o'clock P. M. Mr. Beacham preached a sermon in the new Methodist meeting House at new Town. considerable large collection of People—the House is unfinish'd, only temporary seats."*

Thursday January 16, Peggy Ross baptized—taken into the Society last week.

Sunday January 19. Class meeting at Mr Sherman's.† "Mary Barrett, Mary West, four children of Sam Osbun's & Mary Clark (Henry's daughter) baptized. On the following Thursday a number were "taken into full Church communion."

Sunday February 16. Peleg Pinkham and Elizabeth Ellis admitted to the Society.

The following item is of much interest as showing the earliest recorded observance of Washington's birth-day: "Sunday February 22. Congress set this day for people to meet at their churches in honor of Washington." 11 o'clock there was a meeting at the M. meeting house at 2 at Mr Beacham's where there was a most excellent sermon on the shortness of Life and vanity of all earthly enjoyments. we had a very full house for great numbers of the Presbyterians were there."

Sunday February 23. Elizabeth Rice baptized. Peleg Pinkham and his wife were baptized "a very solemn sight two such aged people to come forward."

March 2 Hepza Swain, and May 4 Eunice Smith wife of ——— Smith taken into the Society. June 8 Eunice Smith, Phebe Bennett and her son William ("two or three years old") baptized—Mrs Dows taken into the Society.

Sunday June 15 Dr Abraham Pease and Mrs Mary Long were married in the meeting house by Mr Beacham.‡

Thursday June 19—Thomas Smith, Ichabod Aldridge, Desire and Love Nichols, Molly Pease (that was Long) Susanna Whitehouse, Betsey Folger, Mrs Bigelow and myself were admitted to full communion in the Church.**

*This was the dedicatory service of the new building. The building was on Fair street, corner of Lyon street. The building was subsequently known as the "Teazer" meeting house. Tradition says the name was given it because the flag of the Teazer, a local vessel was hoisted on it.

†John Sherman.

‡Mrs. Fanning always writes the name Beacham, but in all cases it should be Beauchamp.

**Rev. Mr. Beauchamp and Fanny Russell were married by Abner Coffin Esq. June 30.

Saturday July 5 Betsy Folger died today of dropsy. This Mrs Fanning says was the first member of the Methodist Society to die so that we may assume perhaps that Francis Gardner at whose funeral Rev Mr Beauchamp conducted the service on November 15, 1799, was not of the Methodist Society.

On July 8 Mr Beauchamp baptized the youngest three children of Mrs Fanning.

There is a break here in the diaries from July 8, 1800 to April 5, 1801. On Sunday, April 5. Phebe McCleve was taken into the Church and baptized.

Monday, April 1801. Class meeting at Dr. Pease's Mr Williston, a Methodist minister ("came this P. M.") led the class.

Thursday April 9 Fast Day. Mr Williston preached. Class meeting in the meeting-house.

Sunday April 19 Daniel Wood and Hitty W. Fanning were married by Mr Beauchamp.*

Sunday May 17, 1801 Mr Beauchamp preached.

Monday May 18. Class meeting; Mr Cannon led.

Sunday July 5 Fanny Russell, Anna Bocot and Phebe Swain taken into full communion with the Church.

Rev. Joseph Wells, of Boston, led the Class meeting on Monday, July 27. He expects to be in Nantucket about a year.†

Sunday, September 6 (at Nantucket) Mr Williston preached.

Monday, September 21 Mr Wells came to lead the class.

Wednesday January 13, 1802. William Gardner was admitted into the Society and Avis Chadwick, who had indiscreetly attended a dance and so forfeited her membership was readmitted. The following Sunday Peter Gardner was taken into the Society.

Wednesday, January 20 1802 Bunker, Sally Barker, Susanna Coleman, Hepza West and John Bocot admitted to full communion.

Sunday, April 11 Mr Cannon preached.

Wednesday, April 21 Two Methodist ministers from Baltimore came today with Mr Wells. Mr Wells is going to Baltimore to preach; one of the strangers to stay here and the other going to the Cape.

Sunday, April 25. Mr Shane preached (the new minister).

Sunday, May 9. Went to Methodist meeting in New Bedford. Mr Taylor preached; he is bound on to Nantucket—is our presiding Elder.

Sunday, July 25. Lydia Worth and Polly Rand admitted to Society on trial. William Gardner baptized by Mr Shane.

Thursday, August 19. Public meeting in the meetinghouse in the afternoon. Mr Hall of (New) Bedford preached.

*At this early date the salary for a Methodist minister without a family was \$80 per annum. Four families assumed the care of looking after the material part of Mr. Beauchamp's life—Deacon Samuel Barrett, Elijah Pease, Ebenezer Rand and ——— Pinkham.

†On August 14, Mrs. Fanning was in Boston and attended two Methodist services Mr. Sergeant preached at one and Mr. Pickering at the other.

Sunday, September 5. Mr Shane preached.

Tuesday, October 19. Mr.——— a Baptist minister preached.

Sunday, October 31. Mr Shaw and Mr Hall (from Bedford, going down East) preached. Elizabeth Pinkham taken into full communion.

Sunday November 28. A member dismissed for not attending class meeting. Anna Coffin and Phillis Munro taken into the Society.

Friday December 24. Anna Coffin and Eliza Alley were baptized in the evening and Betsy Baker and Hannah Cash were taken into the Society the following Sunday.

Sunday February 6, 1803 Lydia Wood and Polly Rand were taken into full communion.

Tuesday April 19 Mr Taylor, Presiding Elder, came to the Island.

Sunday, April 24. Elizabeth Watson and Deborah Worth were taken into the Society.

Sunday June 5, Jedida Sawyer (daughter of Abishai Swain) and Betty Nicols taken into Society.

Sunday June 26. Mr Beauchamp and Mr Cannon preached.

Tuesday July 12 Mr Soul,* the new minister, formerly of Sandwich, came to the Island.

Tuesday July 26, Mr Pickering came to the Island.

Thursday August 18. Brightman and Sally Dow were married by Mr Beauchamp. Sally was 15 last spring.

Sunday August 28 Mary and Eunice Swain taken into full communion.

Saturday October 1. Mr Soul went off this morning to exchange with Mr Shane at Sandwich. On the second Sunday following Mr Soule is reported as again preaching in his own pulpit.

Sunday, October 30. Betsy Warren and Elizabeth Watson received into full communion.

From December 15, 1803 to June 29, 1804 the writer of the diaries was in New York City.

Tuesday July 10, Mrs. Soul (minister's wife) had a daughter born this morning.

Friday, August 10, 1804, Mr. Bishop,† wife and two children, came to the Island today. He is the Methodist minister appointed here by the New York Conference.

Wednesday September 19. Mr Beauchamp's child died yesterday.

Sunday, Sept 30, Matty Wood received into Society.

Sunday, October 28. Sylvia Ray and Betsy Pollard admitted on trial.

Sunday, January 27, 1804. Mrs. Clark admitted on trial.

*Joshua Soule.

†Freeman Bishop.

Sunday, March 3. Eight persons joined Society.

Tuesday, April 28. There is to be a camp meeting between Taunton and Providence.

Sunday, June 30, Mr. Cain and Sukey Marshall received into the Society on trial.

Tuesday, July 2, Sukey Bartlett admitted on trial.

Thursday, September 19, Mrs. Beauchamp had a daughter born this afternoon.

Sunday, December 14, "After the afternoon meeting the congregation went down to the shoar. Mr. Bishop baptized Mrs. Hutson and Basheba Chander by immersion; more than 1000 persons were present."

Sunday, Dec 28, Mrs. Hern received into the Society.

Mr. ——— Perry and Eunice Chase were received into the Society on February 23, 1806; Eunice Hoig on March 16; and John Jenkins' wife and Mary Burditt on March 30.

From May until August 31, Mrs. Fanning was in New York. On her return Rev. Joshua Crowell was minister.

Tuesday, September 16, meeting in the evening at Bro. Raymond's. A "black negro" preached there.

Sunday, September 28, Rebecca Gardner received on trial.

Sunday, October 25, Susanna Jenkins taken into full communion; Timothy Coffin taken into the Society.

Sunday, December 28, Clovis Black taken into the Church.

Sunday, January 24, 1807. A black man was received into full communion.

Sunday, March 29. Debby Price was received into the Society.

April 30, Rev Mr. Beauchamp and his family remove to Ohio. (From April 30 to November 8, 1807 the record is missing)

Sunday November 29, Lydia Starbuck and Kezia Pierce admitted on trial.

Sunday February 28, 1808. Dinah Paddack and Thomas Hutchins were received into the Society.

Tuesday April 12, J. Swain baptized and received into the Society; Love Calder was received Sunday April 25.

Tuesday, May 10, Mrs Fanning records that Rev Mr. Metcalf* was appointed to preach in Nantucket, but evidently that was an error for on Thursday, May 19, she enters in her diary Mr Coye† (our stationed minister) wife and two children came to the Island today.

Sunday June 26, Hepza Burgess received into full communion.

Friday July 29 Mr. Broadhead, our Presiding Elder, here.

Sunday July 31, John Jenkins joined the Society.

Friday, October 7, Mr. Webb, Methodist Minister from Boston here.

*Alfred Metcalf.

†Nehemiah Coye.

Sunday October 9, John Jenkins immersed today by Mr Webb, down to the North Wharf; several hundred people present.

Sunday, November 27, William Jenkins and Sylvia Alley joined the Society.

Tuesday, January 24, 1809 Mrs. Fanning records another sister excluded from the Church. No reason is assigned.

Sunday, February 19. Last Church meeting Eunice Rand, John Jenkins Jr., Sukey Jenkins, Amelia Stubbs, Sukey Gorham and Lydia Short joined the Society.

Sunday, March 26, Jerry Gardner, ——— Smith, William ———, Lucinda Fisher, Laurena Wyer, and another admitted to the Society on trial.

Sunday, April 30. Mr. Coye baptized 11 persons by immersion at the New Wharf—Jaba Perry, William and John Jenkins Jr., Hezekiah Reynolds, Matthew Smith, William Holmes, Josiah Gorham, Nathan ———, Polly and Eliza Morselander and Sukey Jenkins. "tis said there were more people collected together by several hundreds than were ever known on any occasion on this Isle." ——— Burden (Simeon's wife) received into Society. John Jenkins, and Abraham Coffin taken into full communion.

Sunday, May 21. Elizabeth Wyer (Hugh's wife), Polly Coffin (Joseph Coffin's daughter), Kata Gardner, and ———, a black woman, received on trial.

From May 27 to June 29 Mrs. Fanning was in Boston. She mentions the "new Methodist church, Mr. Rutter."

Sunday, July 2, Nancy Jenkins (not 12 years old) received into the Society.

Saturday, July 8. The new minister arrived—Mr. Rexford.*

From July 9 to December 16, Mrs. Fanning was in New York.

Sunday March 18, 1810. John Jenkins and Amelia Stubbs were married in meeting by Mr Rexford. William ——— and Susan Jenkins were married before meeting by Mr Rexford.

Sunday, April 29. Susan Ellis taken into full communion.

Sunday, May 27. Elizabeth Morselander received into the Society.

Sunday, July 29, ——— Ross, a colored woman, wife of ——— Ross, received into the Society; he already belonged.

Sunday September 30. Parnel Swain and James Ross (black)† received into full communion. Ross and his wife baptized. Mr Wederhold and C. Black withdrew from Society.

Sunday, November 25. Solon Worth was received into the Society. He was baptized December 2.

Sunday January 26, 1811. Charles Davis and Phebe Bunker (Owen's wife) received into Society. ——— Ross, colored woman received into full communion.

*Jordan Rexford.

†Probably the ones referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph.

Sunday, February 24. ——— Morselander received into full communion.

Sunday, March 10. Thomas Meader and Debby Burnell were married this evening by Mr. Rexford.

Sunday, May 5. Rhoda Orpins baptized by immersion.

Sunday, May 26. David Upham, Nancy Fitch and Judith Robinson received into the Society.

Sunday, June 2. Anna Harrah and Sophia Robinson received into the Society.

Sunday, June 9. Dr. Bartlett and David Upham baptized by immersion at new South wharf by Mr. Rexford; "many hundred if not thousands of people were spectators.

Sunday, June 16. Judith Robinson baptized by immersion in the morning; Sophia Robinson was baptized at the meeting in the evening.

Thursday, June 20. Mr. Lambert, of Falmouth, preached.

Thursday, June 27. Mr. Walker, of New Bedford, preached.

Saturday July 13. Mr. Stephens* (the new Methodist minister,) wife and four children came. He was formerly of Lynn.

Sunday, October 27. Lydia Hunter, Lucy Gardner, and ——— Worth received into the Society.

Sunday, November 17. Mrs. Matthews has left Mr. Swift's Church and this day has joined ours. Elizabeth Coffin, John Beard's grand daughter and Sophia Ross have joined.

Sunday, November 24. Eunice Coffin and Fanny Handy have joined the Society.

Thursday, December 5. Mr Stephen (Stevens) baptized by immersion this afternoon Moses Ellis, Frederick Worth, Elisha Green, Arnold James and Nancy Jenkins at the New North wharf.

Sunday, December 8. Fourteen taken into the Society—James Arnold and wife, Eben Dunham, Matthew Nailor, (an Englishman school teacher), Sally West, Prince Morris, Mary Skinner, Hepza Coffin, ——— Fosdick, Elizabeth Gardner, Nancy Innis, Deborah Gerald, Polly Dunham.

Sunday, December 15. ———Luce and three of William Gardner's daughters (Avis Whippy, widow, Betsy Godfrey, and Sally Gardner) received into the Society.

Sunday, December 22. Sally Ross, Susan Cash, John Worth (George's son) and ——— ————joined the Society.

Sunday, December 29. Phebe Worth and three others received into the Society.

Sunday, January 26, 1812. A colored woman joined the Society.

Thursday, April 9. Benjamin Folger baptized in the afternoon.

*Rev William Stevens.

Sunday, April 19. ————Huxford, Love Folger, Hannah Davenport, Susa Raymond, Mary Barnard and Nancy Rand joined the Society

Monday, June 29. Mr. Stephens is stationed in Boston, the Boston preacher Mr. Hadding* is stationed here.

Tuesday, June 30. ————persons taken into the Society.

Tuesday, July 7. Mr. Hadding and his wife arrived.

Sunday, August 9. Whelden Cash received into the Society. Ten received into full communion.

Sunday, April 25. Susa Elkins joined the Society.

Sunday, August 8. Mr. Mungar† preached.

Wednesday, August 11. Mr. Virgin, Presiding Elder arrived.

Sunday, December 26. Peggy Skinnamon was received into full communion.

Thursday, April 14, 1814. Mr. Frost,‡ the Vineyard preacher here in exchange with Mr. Munger; preached three Sundays.

Sunday, May 1. Colored man and woman immersed by Mr Frost.

Tuesday, May 24. Mr. Bigelow, Methodist minister from the Cape, here.

Sunday, June 19. Mr Lindsey. ** settled minister here arrived has a wife and one child. (Is a Freemason.)

Thursday, July 14. Mr Virgin, Presiding Elder, here.

Sunday, November 27. Lydia Chadwick and Eunice Merry (?) received into full communion and baptized. Silvanus Russell received on trial.

Sunday, December 25. Silvanus Russell and Solomon Folger received into full communion and baptized.

Sunday, April 30, 1815. Mr. Pierce,†† of Falmouth preached—he also preached the 28th.

Wednesday, August 9. Female meeting in the vestry to consult respecting a female monthly meeting for the relief of poor Methodist preachers.

Wednesday, August 16. A Society was established as suggested August 9. It is to be called "The Mite Society."

Tuesday, October 10. Mr Asbury, a local preacher, late from Cincinnati, is here.

Sunday, November 26. Church meeting. One erring one is expelled and Eliza Crowell is received on trial.

Monday, January 29, 1816. Rev. and Mrs. Lindsey has a son born. On Sunday February 25, a recalcitrant Brother was expelled from the Society.

*Rev. Elijah Hedding.

†Rev. Philip Munger.

‡Rev. Leonard Frost.

**Rev. John Lindsey.

††Rev. Thomas C. Pierce.

Friday, July 12. Our new preacher Mr Marsh* preached in the evening.

Sunday, February 23, 1817. Mr Marsh preached a funeral sermon today for Mr. Kean's family.

Sunday, April 27. Anna Swain was baptized.

Tuesday, April 29. Paul Gardner's daughter Lydia was married in the meeting to ——— Swift, of Sandwich.

Sally Ellis was taken into the Society in October.

Sunday, October 30. Mr Hart, Hannah and Mary Ann Fisher, Phebe Bunker, ——— Davis, Joseph's daughter, and ——— daughter, of Barnstable, received into the Society.

Sunday, December 28. Benjamin Franklin Russell, Washington Jerrill† and Hannah Wilbur were baptized, and they and Mary Coleman were received into the Society.

Sunday March 15, 1818. Love Alley (Alfred's wife) Catherine Macy (——— wife), Mary Coffin (Isaac's daughter), Sally Starbuck (Joseph's daughter), Sally Hussey (Naomi's daughter) Nancy McCleave (Jo's daughter) were baptized in the afternoon.

Tuesday October 27. Barzillai Russell and Lucretia Bartlett were married this evening by Mr. Hardy.‡

Sunday February 28, 1819. Rebecca Cottle and Nancy Bunker were baptized and received into the Society. Allen Gibbs, Susan Smith, Sally Smith, ——— Taber and Mary Jones were received into full communion.

Wednesday, April 14. The women members of the Society met at Frederick Worth's to form a Society to relieve the poor and needy. An organization was formed with Betsy Farris, President; N. Fitch, Vice President; Lydia Hussey, Secretary; and ——— Myrick Treasurer. It is to meet on the second Wednesday of each month. The admission fee is 50 cents and the dues are 12½ cents per month.

Wednesday, June 2. Dr. Bartlett went to Boston last Thursday with Mr. Hayden; was ordained last Sabbath in Bromfield's Lane.

Sunday, June 27. Mr. Merritt,** the new preacher, wife and five children arrived.

Sunday, August 8. Nantucket Methodists have gone to Camp Meeting at Wellfleet.

Thursday, June 15, 1820. Bishop George, Elder Pickering, Elder Soul (formerly minister here), Mr Hadden (also a former minister here) and Elder Beale, came from New York to attend the Methodist Episcopal Conference here.

The last item Mrs Fanning enters in her diaries is that Rev Mr. Kent (Asa) is the minister. Mrs. Fanning died in 1820.

*William Marsh.

†Probably Gerald.

‡Rev. John W. Hardy.

**Rev. Timothy Merritt.

Returning now to the manuscript history by Mr. Rice we find that by the latter part of January 1800, the Society numbered 65 members. At that time there were three other meeting-houses, two of them occupied by the Friends and the third used by the Congregationalists.

Mr. Lewis says that at this time the customary salary for a Methodist minister, without a family, was \$80 a year. Presumably he also boarded around for Mr. Lewis says that in Rev. Mr. Beauchamp's case four parishoners, Deacon Barrett and Messrs Pease, Rand and Pinkham agreed to make him a member of their families.*

On June 21, 1820, the New England Conference met in Nantucket for the first time, about 100 ministers, representing 17,739 communicants, attending.

In 1823, under the ministrations of Rev. Isaac Bonney, the Society having outgrown the Fair Street Meeting-house, a contract was made for a larger building and the building called "The Chapel" now standing at the corner of Center and Liberty streets, was erected. The cost of the new edifice as built was \$14,000 and its nominal seating capacity was 1,000. It was formally dedicated September 30, 1823, by Rev. John Newland Maffitt. It was held in the name of the "Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Oliver C. Bartlett and others having been incorporated under that title the previous January.

In June, 1837, the New England Conference met for the second time in Nantucket. Bishop Hedding presided at the session, which, in some respects, was not so harmonious as on other similar occasions. The question of human slavery was a disturbing element injected into the discussions, with the customarily embittering and irreconcilable results. Rev. John Lord, who was the resident minister at the time, appears to have been too strenuous in his position and was suspended for a year. Rev. John Thompson Burrill was appointed to succeed him. "Mr. Lord, feeling pugnacious, drew off some of the best of the membership and organized the Summer Street Baptist Church. At the next session of the Conference he was expelled from the Methodist Church, but the effects of his disloyalty are still (1897) felt."†

The original building on Center street was plain in front. In 1840 the front was remodelled and the pillars added at an expence of \$2,000.

In 1841, the New England Conference was divided and the Providence Conference formed and held its session in Nantucket. "Rev. Daniel Fillmore was made Pastor," says the Souvenir His-

*Mr. Beauchamp married Mrs. Frances P. Russell, widow of Abraham Russell, and daughter of Mr. Rand, June 7, 1801 and settled on the Island and taught school.

†Souvenir History N. E. Southern Conference Vol. 1., p. 115. Mr. Lewis says that Lord and others took the old Fair Street church and formed another Society.

tory* "and during the year one of the most extensive revivals of religion occurred that the Island has ever witnessed, swelling the membership to 621." This seems to have been the high tide limit in the Society's prosperity. At the time of the Great Fire of 1864 the meetinghouse was comparatively unharmed.

The ministers who have been in charge from the first are:

1798-9-1800	William Beauchamp	1801-02	Joseph Wells
1803	Joshua Soule	1804-05	Freeman Bishop
1806	Joshua Crowell	1807	Alfred Metcalf
1808	Nehemiah Coye	1809-10	Jordan Rexford
1811	William Stevens	1812	Elijah Hedding
1813	Philip Munger	1814-15	John Lindsay
1816	William Marsh	1817-18	John W. Hardy
1819	Timothy Merritt	1820-21	Asa Kent
1822-23	Isaac Bonney	1824	Leonard Frost
			Daniel Fillmore
1825	Daniel Filmore†	1826	Darius Barker
	Benjamin F. Sanford		
1827	Darius Barker	1828-29	David Wells
1830-31	John Lindsey	1832-33	Thomas C. Pierce
1834-35	John Lovejoy	1836	John Lord
1837-38	John T. Burrill	1839	Stephen Lovell
1840	E. W. Stickney	1841-42	Daniel Fillmore
1843-44	David Patten	1845-46	Daniel Wise
1847	E. B. Bradford	1848	John Lovejoy
1849	William Livesey	1850-51	J. B. Husted
1852-53	Micah J. Talbot, Jr.	1854	N. P. Philbrook
1855	John Cooper	1856	E. H. Hatfield
1857	S. W. Coggeshall	1858-59	M. P. Alderman
1860	James A. Dean	1861-62	Asa N. Bodfish
1863-64	W. H. Stetson	1865-66	C. S. Macreading, Jr.
1867	William H. Jones	1868-70	William H. Starr
1871-72	G. A. Morse	1873	B. K. Bosworth
1874	S. E. Evans	1875-76	C. N. Hinckley
1877	C. E. Walker	1878-79	Richard Burn
1880	A. L. Dearing	1881-82	Merrick Ransom
1883-85	Frank Bowler	1885	A. M. Osgood
1886-87	George E. Brightman	1888-89	S. M. Beale
1890	Angelo Canoll	1891	J. L. Hill
1891	R. J. Floody	1892	J. N. Geisler
1893-94	R. J. Kellogg	1894-95	D. C. Ridgway
1895-97	O. M. Martin	1898-99	C. A. Lockwood
1900-04	J. O. Rutter	1904-05	Arthur J. Jolly
1905-11	Benjamin F. Raynor	1911-13	Richard M. Wilkins

*Page 115.

†Herschel Foster seems also to have preached.

1913-16	David C. Thatcher	1916-17	D. B. Nelson
Dec. 1917 to		1919-21	J. B. Ackley
Apr. 1919	J. E. Montgomery	1921	(Mrs.) Kate Cooper

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH

There is some difficulty in getting at the history of the Universalist Church in Nantucket. If there are any records in existence no one seems to know where they are.

In the Nantucket Inquirer for March 22, 1824, appeared an advertisement requesting those who contemplated forming a new Universalist Society to meet at Aaron Mitchell's on Wednesday, March 24. There is no report of the meeting or what was done. A second meeting was held May 12.

The next report we have concerning the Society was in the Inquirer of May 9, 1825, and told of the laying of the corner-stone of the new Meetinghouse for the Society on Federal street, on the site now occupied by the Athenaeum on May 3, of that year, with a list of articles deposited therein.* On October 16, 1825 there was a sale by auction of the right to unappropriated pews. November 3 of the same year the new Church was dedicated. The Dedicatory Sermon was preached by Rev. Josiah Flagg, of Dana, who took for his text Genesis XXVIII-17.

The building is described as of simple Gothic in style, 60 by 50 feet in dimensions, with 62 pews, besides a choir gallery. An organ, presented to the Society, was made by Eben Goodrich, of Boston, was nine feet high, six feet wide, and two feet and a half deep, and had six stops—Diapason Bass, Diapason Treble, Open Diapason, Principal, Twelfth and Fifteenth, comprising 216 pipes. The pews were painted a delicate straw color.

According to a communication from Allen Coffin, Esq., in the Nantucket Inquirer and Mirror, dated December 1, 1902, the land where the Church stood was sold by Samuel Swain to John Swain in 1810. It then had a dwelling house on it. "By a deed bearing date of July 13, 1827, one Smith Upton of the State of Connecticut, for the sum of \$900. conveyed the tract of land known as Bocochecho Share No. 17, (the site of the present Athenaeum) to 'a certain corporation known and called by the name of the Proprietors of the First Universalist Church in Nantucket.' "

Mr. Coffin thinks that the Citizens' Bank loaned money for the construction of the Meetinghouse as there is recorded a conveyance by James Mitchell, Cashier of the Bank, to Samuel B. Tuck,

*The Inquirer of May 9 states that in the corner-stone were deposited, hermetically sealed in bottles, a scroll with the names of the proprietors, the principal builders and other memoranda, a copy of the latest edition of the Inquirer, the various United States coins and a lock of hair from the late lamented John Murray.

Treasurer of the First Universalist Church and Society, on Aug. 6, 1834, for \$2,000. The same day Samuel B. Tuck conveys the building to Aaron Mitchell for \$3,500.* And on the same day Aaron Mitchell conveyed to Charles G. Coffin and David Joy, for \$1800, this tract of land "including the building and appurtenances now thereon standing heretofore known by the name of the First Universalist Church." It would appear that there must have been a prior bill of sale or a lease of the land to the Society as it is not likely the Society would have built on land over which it had no control.

Rev. Myron S. Dudley in his monograph on the "Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, Mass.," says, in commenting on the Universalist Church: "The only person associated with this organization as preacher, of whom there seems to be any record, is Frederick Swain, known as 'Parson Swain.' Whether he was regularly placed in charge by the authorities of the Church, or only an occasional supply, there is no information."† Mr. Dudley is in error. In his reminiscences of the Church, Allen Coffin, Esq., says: "Mr. Frederick C. Swain was a leading member of the Universalist Church and a most public spirited citizen. In the absence of the Pastor he probably conducted the exercises and preached the sermons, from which circumstance he was dubbed 'Parson Swain,' a designation which distinguished him from several other Frederick Swains. I think he was a carpenter by trade, but I remember him as a knight of the evening watch with a staff surmounted with a shining steel crook, which in his hands was never so much a terror to the boys as in some other officers' hands. His countenance was genial and bland. I think he liked boys, and it is related of him that in the exercise of his police functions the street urchins who made a rendezvous about the old Town House steps and Liberty pole, always welcomed the approach of 'Parson Swain,' when they would shout 'Hooker'‡ upon the approach of any other officer and scamper away. He is said to have entered into their boyish games sometimes after admonishing them that less noise was desirable. He talked with the boys instead of talking at them. And on one occasion when he had the attention of a large crowd, warming with his subject, he leaned his official crook against the Liberty pole (which stood upon the spot now occupied by the Soldier's Monument), turning his back upon it while he finished his little sermon. In the meantime some graceless scamp had stolen his staff. Without concealing his displeasure at the trick he appealed to the good boys to see that his staff was restored, and his appeal was not in vain.

"He must have removed from the Island about the time of the Great Fire of 1846. He revisited his native Town in 1881, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Mandana A. Swain, and they were then citizens of Holyoke, Mass."

The Nantucket Inquirer of January 2, 1826, announced that Rev. William Morse, of the Second Universalist Church of Phila-

*Probably formed a part of the real estate conveyed by Joy and Coffin to the Nantucket Athenaeum.

†Page 18.

‡Taking the nickname from the staff and crook, the symbol of the officer's authority as well as an offensive and defensive weapon.

delphia, has accepted the unanimous call from the Universalists of Nantucket and has entered upon his duties.

The Church was incorporated January 20, 1827.*

There seems to be nothing to indicate how long Mr. Morse's pastorate was. His successor was Rev. George Bradburn, of Lowell. This was his first pastorate and he was ordained June 1, 1831. Possibly if there was an interim between the services of Mr. Morse and himself "Parson" Swain may have officiated. Of Rev. Mr. Bradburn, Mr. Coffin writes—"He was a young man when he came here, and married a Nantucket lady, a daughter of Valentine Hussey.† He was a forceful pulpit orator and an excellent public speaker, clear and deliberate in his enunciation, oftentimes rising to a degree of forensic eloquence that was captivating and sublime, particularly upon the anti-slavery platform.‡ He took an interest in public affairs and became an important factor in the political concerns of the Island, having been chosen one of the Representatives to the General Court for three successive terms—1839, 1840 and 1841.** And while a member of the Legislature the whole State was aware that Nantucket was represented. He became thoroughly conversant with State affairs, debating upon the floor of the House many of the great questions of his day with consummate capacity and skill. One of his six colleagues from Nantucket (which was then entitled to six or eight Representatives), said that Bradburn held the floor half the session, and that no subject could be presented that he did not familiarize himself with and become prepared to advocate one side or the other, so that he ranked as one of the few radical champions of the House, in the years of Nantucket's most prosperous period, sustaining a population of nearly ten thousand, according to the census of 1840. Doubtless his Legislative experience opened wider fields of usefulness to him. He became a valued associate of the early abolitionists and lectured extensively in all parts of the free North, at one time, in connection with Frederick Douglass, holding meetings upon the border line of the slave state of Missouri. From Douglass' own lips I learned how Bradburn quelled a mob by persuading the ringleader to come over to his side. I have no personal recollection of the Rev. George Bradburn in Nantucket. When I knew him he was a white-haired, deaf old gentleman, recognized as the dean of political history and statistics in the Boston Custom House where he was employed."

*The petitioners for incorporation were—Aaron Mitchell, Gardner Coffin, Elisha Starbuck, Robert F. Parker, Henry Gardner 3d, Samuel B. Tuck, Henry M. Pinkham, Samuel H. Jenks, Benjamin Pike, Peter Chase, Benjamin Worth, John R. Macy, George Brown, David Coffin, 2d, Joseph T. Worth, Eben W. Tallant, Zenas Coleman, James Stiff, John W. Olin, Nathaniel Tallant, John B. Nicholson, William Lawrence.

†Lydia Barnard Hussey daughter of Valentine Hussey. She died Aug. 28 aged 24 years.

‡The exercises at his ordination, which was on the first Sunday in June 1831, consisted of an Anthem; Scripture Reading by Rev. Mr. Bugbee of Plymouth; Introductory Prayer by Mr. Bugbee; Hymn; Sermon, Rev. Mr. Pickering of Providence; Ordaining Prayer, Rev. Mr. Dean of Boston; Delivery of Scriptures and Charge by Mr. Dean; Right Hand of Fellowship, Rev. Mr. Bugbee; Address to Church and Society, Rev. Mr. Dean; Hymn; Concluding Prayer, Rev. Mr. Pickering; Anthem; Benediction, Rev. Mr. Bradburn.

**The paucity of information leaves one somewhat in doubt whether Mr. Bradburn abandoned the ministry or the ministry abandoned Mr. Bradburn but, by his continuing his residence on the Island and entrance into politics would suggest that the little Society was unable to support a pastor. The sale of the Meeting house sustains that view.

Just when Mr. Bradburn left the ministry does not seem clear, but it probably was prior to the middle of the year 1834 for the Church building appears to have been disposed of to Charles G. Coffin and David Joy August 6, 1834 for the use of the Nantucket Athenaeum.* The Society as a body, however, does not seem to have abandoned worship for the *Inquirer* of June 18, 1837, printed the following advertisement "Notice—Universalist Preaching will be continued in **Broad Street Hall** for months to come, for those who love "the joyful sound." " Apparently this advertisement was the swan-song of Universalism in an organized form in Nantucket.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

More than fifty years ago Mrs. Samuel Haynes Jenks, an unusually well informed woman told the following as the "Romance of the Episcopal Church in Nantucket." A young man named Marcus, seeing the flaming advertisements in New York of splendid fortunes for whalemén ran away from his parents to ship on a whaler.† He went to Nantucket and on telling what he wanted was referred to a sailor boarding house. His father being an English clergyman and he delicately brought up, he was disgusted with his surroundings and applied to Samuel H. Jenks, then Editor of the *Inquirer*. Mr. Jenks earnestly recommended him not to go whaling, and being more than supplied in his office help could do nothing for him there. He (Mr. Jenks) had Episcopalian tendencies himself and assisted Marcus to get a school at Polpis. Marcus was cultivated in his manners and soon became acquainted with the Athearns and other prominent families, and in time was engaged to Lydia Athearn Cary, a relative of and living with the Athearns. As he must be married in the Episcopal form, his father

*Mr. Bradburn found an enthusiastic biographer in his second wife (Miss Frances H. Parker) to whom he was married in 1850. She says in her "Memorial of George Bradburn," (p. 1) that he was born in Attleboro, Mass. March 4, 1806. He was educated a machinist but at about 19, although successful, his love of study induced him to take a course at Exeter Academy. Graduating from Exeter and feeling a strong bias for theology he studied under Rev. Mr. King father of Rev. Thomas Star King. He next entered the Divinity School at Cambridge. Embracing the Unitarian views of Prof Ware he received on leaving the School a certificate to preach from the American Unitarian Association. His first settlement over a Church was in Nantucket. He seems to have made a remarkable record in the General Court. He introduced resolves "on the deliverance of citizens liable to be sold as slaves," when every other member of the Committee signed a report of "inexpedient" and fought it to a triumphant finish. One newspaper writer said of him "Nantucket Bradburn is among them not unused to the patriotic Hall,—the politician, as well as the philanthropist, too honest and too generous and too unwary for party."

†When the farmer lads came down to the sea no more in adequate numbers, the whaleships were forced to fill their crews far from home and to take what material they could get. Shipping offices, with headquarters at the whaling ports, employed agents scattered here and there in the principal cities, especially in the Middle West and the interior of New England. These agents received ten dollars for each man they secured for the ship's crew. Besides this, each agent was paid for the incidental expenses of transportation, board and outfit of every man shipped. By means of lurid advertisements and circulars, these agents with emancipated conscience, made glowing promises to the desperate and the ignorant." (Herman Melville by Raymond M. Weaver, p. 157).

must be informed.* So Mr. Marcus came to the Island, and learning that there was no Episcopal Church on the Island, on consultation with Mr. Jenks, thought it a good field for missionary enterprise, and sent around notices that there would be a meeting in the Athenaeum the next Sunday evening in the Episcopal form. At that time an old lady named Jenkins was the only full Episcopalian on the Island, but half a dozen Service books were found. The Hall was crammed on the night of the meeting and an Episcopalian Church was formed."

Mr. Marcus, who came from New York, made the following statement in a brief "Memorabilia" now in possession of the authorities of St. Paul's Church: "1837, Dec. 30. I, this day, made my first visit to the Island of Nantucket. Dec. 31. Preached in the Methodist Chapel, in the morning; in the Second Congregational, in the afternoon; in the First Congregational, in the evening. I am the first clergyman who ever officiated on the Island."

It was doubtless in consequence of this early visit and its apparent results that Mr. Marcus received a missionary appointment by the Council of the Domestic Missionary Society and the meeting in the hall of the Athenaeum with the use of the Episcopalian form of worship seemed to indicate sufficient encouragement.

On March 31, 1838, Mr. Marcus entered formally upon his duties. In the Inquirer of April 4 appeared the following advertisement:

"PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The building hitherto known as the Broad St. Hall† on Broad street will be opened on Sunday morning next, the 8th. of April instant, for divine worship according to the usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church, under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Moses Marcus, B. D., who, at the request of the Right Reverend Bishop Griswold, D. D., has been appointed a Missionary in the Eastern Diocese by the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Service to commence at 10 o'clock A. M., and at 2½ o'clock P. M.

A Sunday School will be opened in the same place at 9 o'clock, A. M., should sufficient encouragement offer. All persons desirous of aiding the above objects are respectfully requested to attend."

Of this meeting a correspondent, over the signature of "Catholicus," says the attendance "was respectable and numerous," and expressed the hope that ere long a more suitable edifice would be needed. A later advertisement announced that the Church would be open on Good Friday at 10 A. M. On April 14 a communication from Rev. Mr. Marcus announced that he would give advice and assistance to

*The Town Records show that on Monday evening January 1, 1838, William Nathaniel Marcus and Lydia Athearn Cary were married in the Episcopal form at the residence of James Athearn by Rev. Moses Marcus, who signs himself "Chaplain of the Sailors' Snug Harbour in the Diocese & State of New York."

†The Friends' North Meetinghouse. The lot was next to the east of the present Ocean House.

all who came to see him but he will not go out of his way to make Churchmen.

Mr. Marcus must have found the revenue from his ministerial duties insufficient, for in May he advertises a Collegiate Institute, including board and washing.

The building then used for a Church was subsequently removed to the rear of the lot it stood on and was remodelled into a Chapel and Sunday School room, and a beautiful church building, gothic in its style of architecture, erected. This was known as Trinity Church. It was the last building west on Broad street to be



ST. PAUL'S (EPISCOPAL) CHURCH

destroyed by the Great Fire of 1846. For several years after that event, the ruin remained, still showing traces of its original comeliness. The Church as organized was known as The Trinity Episcopal Church and the edifice was consecrated September 18, 1839.

July 11, 1841, Rev. Mr. Marcus resigned his Rectorship and was succeeded by Rev Frederick W. J. Pollard whose term of service was from July 18, 1841 to October 30, 1844. Mr. Pollard was in turn succeeded by Rev. Ethan Allen whose Rectorship began February 23, 1846.* Mr. Allen was hardly settled in his new po-

*Between the time of the resignation of Rev. Mr. Pollard in 1844 and the dissolution of the organization, Trinity was under the direction of Rev. Messrs Salter, Robinson and Allen as ministers in charge. Of Mr. Pollard, who was called to be Assistant Rector at the Church of the Advent, Boston, Dr. Elwer says: "The influence the Rector had over youth was not merely strong, it was positive fascination. His flock are now, after the lapse of 30 years, widely scattered, but I will venture to say that with few exceptions, all look back with tender
(See next page)

sition when the Great Fire deprived him of his Church. The Church was still heavily in debt when the Fire swept away its house of worship. It was decided to turn over to the creditors all the property there was left and to start anew. This was accordingly done and the Trinity Church organization was dissolved and abandoned September 21, 1846. A new organization was at once begun and dated from September 28, 1846. The question of a name of the new Parish being put to vote it was decided to name it St. Paul's Episcopal Church, by a vote of seven to six in favor of St. John.

Rev. Mr. Allen became the first Rector of the reorganized Church.* Following Rev. Mr. Pollard the record is:

Ethan Allen, Trinity February 23, 1846 to September 21, 1846.

Ethan Allen, St. Paul September 28, 1846 to July 1, 1855

Charles H. Canfield, October 21, 1855 to March 25, 1857.

Noah Disbrowe,† April, 1857 to April, 1859.

From the close of the Rectorship of Mr. Disbrowe until 1872, St. Paul's was without a Rector. Services were held at rare inter-

gaze to those precious days when Trinity Church was in its glory." Under his Rectorship the interiors of the Church and Chapel were beautifully decorated with mural painting. Mr. Thomas D. Morris being the artist.

Rev. Rev. Dr. Ferdinand C. Ewer gives the following description of the new meeting house: "There were three Gothic windows on each side, and a graceful tower in front, surmounted with well-formed pinnacles. Its interior, however, was not so satisfactory. It would seat about three hundred. It contained a small but sweet-toned organ. It had two side alleys, without any center alley. Its chancel was cumbered with a huge and hideously carved composite structure, not exactly what is known as a "Three-Decker," but what may be called a "Two-Decker," the main and striking elements of which were the pulpit above and a reading desk below; the latter being a triplicate sort of affair. Into the several curious compartments and receptacles of such a wonderful wooden creation it was the custom in those days of "De-formation" for the Priest to climb around, taking care when he appeared below to do so in spotless white, and when he appeared above to do so in jet black. As a piece of Ritual it was marvellous. * * * This amazing carved fabric of which I speak, with its mysterious alcoves, and stories and chambers, had, if I mistake not, been discarded, after long and loving use, by Trinity Church, Boston, for something that was at least one grade better, and had been generously donated by that parish to its namesake at Nantucket. How long it stood choking up the chancel I cannot say, for I know nothing of what happened until some two or three years afterward—the year 1843. * * * Mr. Pollard * * * had not held the cure long when the wooden abomination that stood clogging up the chancel was pulled out and pulled to pieces. Out of it a tall reredos or screen was made to stand at the back of the chancel, stretching across from one side to the other. Out of another part a lecturn, and out of still another a pulpit were constructed. The balance of timber, etc. found its way, after proper comminution into the stove. * * The reredos * * * served to conceal a flight of stairs leading to the vesting room which occupied the basement underneath the sanctuary. In front of this reredos, and at its center, stood a beautiful altar. Nant. Inq. and Mir. Dec. 7, 1872.

*Godfrey says in his handbook on the "Island of Nantucket" (p 78) The Church first met for worship after the reorganization in the vestry of the First Congregational Church and in 1848 removed to Harmony Hall the headquarters of the Sons of Temperance, afterwards occupied by St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church. The wooden building on Fair street was built in 1849 and first used for worship in 1850.

†Mr. Dudley says (p. 13) "There is nothing in the records to show that Mr. Disbrow was ever invited to become Rector." Dr. Ewer says that from 1860 to 1872 the little Church was left severely alone by the Church authorities.

vals by clergymen who chanced to visit the Island. About 1869 or 1870 Dr. Arthur Elwell Jenks kindly volunteered to serve the Church as lay reader, and thus keep the seemingly neglected flock together until better days should dawn. With "noble perseverance he stuck by the wreck till, through the efforts of off-Island friends of the Parish a Rector" (Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Meade) was secured.*

There seemed to be a marked difference of opinion on theological matters between the little Parish at Nantucket and the Church authorities in the Massachusetts Diocese. Mr. Pollard was intensely High Church in his belief and appears to have impressed his belief very firmly on his communicants. Rev. Ethan Allen was sent by Bishop Eastburn to counteract the teachings and practice of his predecessor. The change was not an easy one to bring about and Mr. Allen left St. Paul's in 1856 and took a Parish in Vermont without having accomplished the task set for him. For the next thirteen years the Bishop, apparently piqued at this lack of success declined to visit the little Church at Nantucket to administer the rite of Confirmation. The services were still maintained, however, with Mr. Charles Henry Starbuck as Lay Reader, and the record shows that when Rev. Dr. Ewer made his summer visits to his old home he conducted a regular service there. Then followed the Lay service by Dr. Jenks, so warmly commended by Dr. Ewer.

Following Rev. Dr. Meade, who Rev. Mr. Snelling thinks assumed charge about 1868,† and continued until 1873, the order of succession was:

Rev. Levi Boyer, From 1873 to 1876.

Rev. W. L. Hooper, From 1876 to 1878.

Then followed another interregnum with rectors in temporary charge, among them being Rev. H. W. Fay, Rev. Charles L. Sweet (1881 to 1883).

Rev Edward Porter Little From 1884 to 1893

Rev. J. Cullen Ayer, Ph. D. From 1893 to 1900

Rev. John W. Gill From Mar. to June 1901

Rev. George Herbet Patterson From June 1900 to 1903‡

*Dr. Ewer says: "It is rarely that a young man can be found willing to assume so unusual and conspicuous a post as that which Dr. Jenks so long and so well filled. It was a step which required no little self-sacrifice on his part. There is many another man, who would have tried it for a while and then abandoned it. But Sunday after Sunday came, and years passed, and still he was found faithful to his self-imposed duty. He richly deserved the thanks not only of the Wardens and Vestrymen of the Parish, and all its parishioners, but also of every non-resident friend of the Parish."

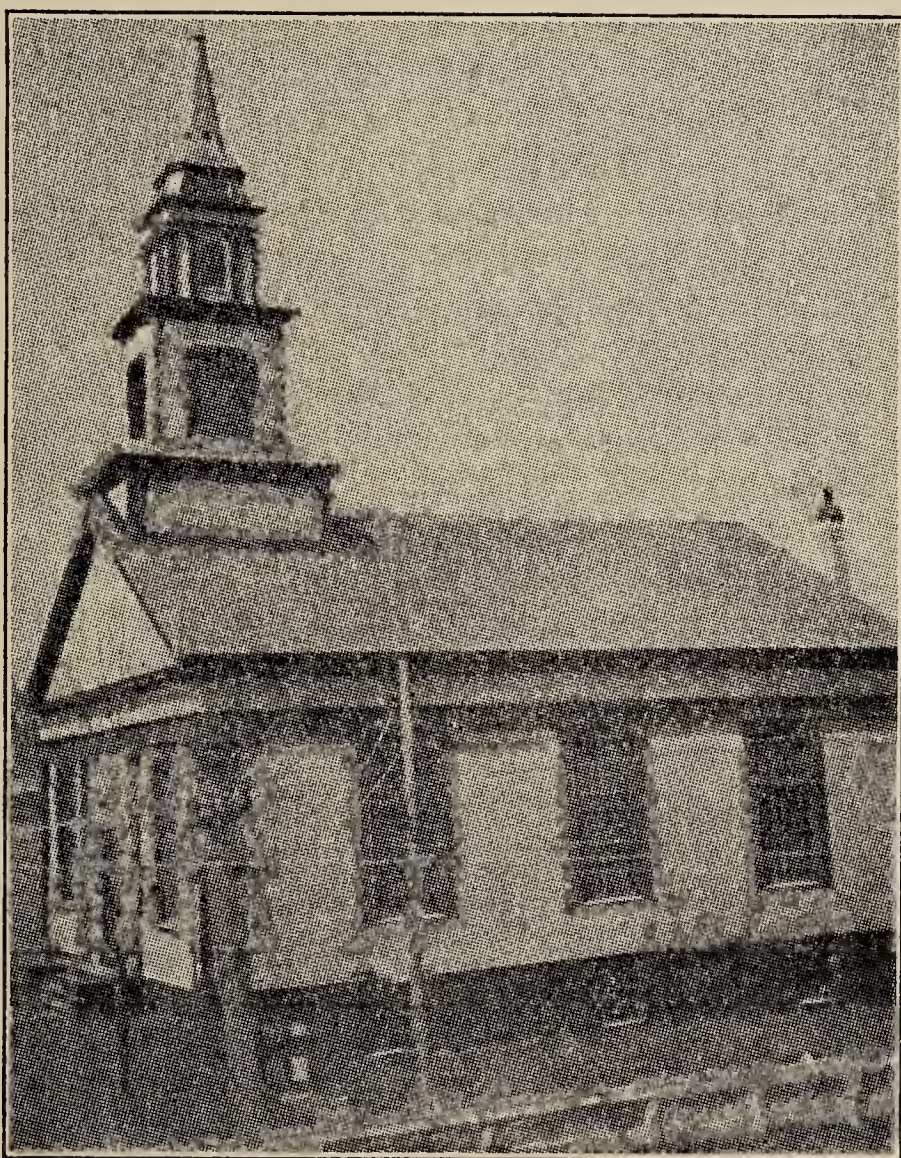
†Rev. Mr. Dudley in his "Churches and Pastors" (p. 14) gives the following succession at St. Paul following Rev. Noah Disbrowe; Rev. Samuel H. Meade, Nov. 9, 1872 to Mar. 29, 1875; William R. Hooper Jr., April 1875 to April 1876; Levi Boyer, July 1876 to Sept 24, 1883; H. Warren Fay April 1883 to April 1885; Charles F. Sweet July 1, 1885 to April 11, 1887; Edward Porter Little, May 24, 1887 to Nov. 30, 1893; Edward C. Gardner, Dec 15, 1893 to Apr. 12, 1896; J. Cullen Ayer, Apr. 12, 1896 to Oct. 1, 1899; Edward C. Gardner, Nov. 1, 1899 to Nov. 30, 1900; John W. Gill, Mar. 1 to June 1, 1901.

‡It was during the rectorship of Rev. Mr. Patterson that the present beautiful stone church was erected as a memorial by Miss Caroline French.

Rev. H. H. Ryder	From 1903 to 1911
Rev. Edward L. Eustis	From 1911 to 1913
Rev. Samuel Snelling	In charge one year
Rev. Charles Mallory	From May 1914 to Nov. 1917
Rev. Samuel Snelling	From Nov. 1917 to

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

The First Baptist Church was organized in 1839. Rev. Daniel Round Jr was especially active in the movement and became the first Pastor of the new Church. During 1839 and 1840 the organization met in Franklin Hall (on Water Street). In 1840 the Summer



BAPTIST CHURCH (Summer Street)

Street meetinghouse was built and dedicated in December of that year. The following year (1841) the tower and vestry were added.*

Rev Myron S. Dudley in his Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, says of the pastors of this Church—† "In the course of pulpit

*Godfrey p. 77-8.

†Page 15.

service for this Church, there has been an unusual period of temporary supplies. Also, among those who have been considered pastors, there are many short terms of service, sometimes less than a year." Mr Dudley does not list in his roll the temporary supplies, but does name those regularly reported as pastor though their sojourn was less than a year. Mr Dudley gives in his list:

Daniel Round Jr, from June 1839, to February 1844.

James Barnaby, from July 1844, to October 4. 1845.

George James Johnson, from December 22, 1846, to August 1. 1847.

Reuben Jaffrey, from ——— 1847 to July 22, 1849.

Isaac Sawyer, from ——— 1850 to ——— 1851.

Thomas W. Clark, from May 25, 1851 to ——— 1853.

Charles B. Smith, from June ——— 1854 to September 1, 1855.

Abner D. Gorham, from November 1855 to September 1857.

Abijah Hall, from April 1858 to July 1858.

George Howell,* from April 1859 to June 1861.

———Parker, from October 1861 to April 1862.

James E. Crawford,† from April 1862 to February 1863.

Silas Ripley, from January 1866 to June 1867.

John J. Bronson, from September 1868 to April 1870.

William L. Loomis from November 1873 to May 1 1874.

R. D. Fish from June 1874 to November 1875.

Alden B. Whipple‡ from November 14, 1875 to February 1879.

Daniel Round Jr** from August 1879 to July 1882.

G. J. Ganun from December 21, 1882 to May 1883.

Charles F. Nicholson from May 21 1885 to November 20, 1885.

William Dugdale from January 23, 1887 to April 1888.

James R. Patterson from March 1889 to October 1896.

Edward A. Tuck from November 1896 to December 1 1897.

Roland F. Alger from May 15 1898 to November 1901.

George A. Bryant†† from September 1902 to December 1902.

William Brown†† from June 1903 to October 1903.

Daniel R. Higgins†† from January 1904 to September 1905.

Hengo J. P. Selinger from October 1905 to September 1906.

N. P. Jones from March 1907 to September 1907.

Frank S. Jones from May 1908 to December 1909.

Phanuel B. Covell from March 1910 to November 1913.

Drew T. Wyman from January 1914 to May 1916.

H. H. Alger from July 1916 to Nov. 1918.

N. B. Rogers from October 1921 ———

*Was a layman. (Dudley p. 15).

†Rev. Mr. Crawford was at the same time Pastor of the Pleasant Street Baptist Church (colored).

‡Mr. Whipple was Principal of the High School from 1855 to 1858 and from 1876 to 1879.

**Rev. Mr. Rounds was in Nantucket on a visit, and the Church being without a Pastor he was invited to the Pastorate and for the second time accepted the office.

††Laymen.

THE AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH

In a letter written May 13, 1872,* Rev. James E. Crawford gave the following as the records of the two African Baptist churches, the York Street and the one over which Mr. Crawford was for many years Pastor, the Pleasant Street Baptist Church, which was organized out of the York. "This," he says, "is all the information I can give you relative to the colored Baptists."

"Nantucket May 24th 1831; Baptist Church Newtown.

The Lord having in His Providence cast the lot of those whose names are hereafter found as the constituent members of the African Baptist Church on the Island, far from the churches to which some of us formerly belonged, we felt it our duty and privilege to become a distinct Baptist Church. Pursuant to these impressions on our mind we sent for Eld. Seth Eamers of Martha's Vineyard and Edward Harris of Hyannis, Barnstable, pastors of Baptist Churches in those places, to take it into consideration our situation and if in their opinion we were entitled to church privileges to reorganize as such. Accordingly they came and after hearing us relate our Christian experiences & religious views, they gave it as their opinion that we ought to become a distinct Church; after having heard both preach unto us Jesus & the resurrection two of our number received Baptism by Eld. Harris; we were then publicly reorganized† by them as the African Baptist Church & received the hand of fellowship by Eld. Harris & an address by Eld. Emes; they then administered the Lord's Supper.

The following are the names who constituted the Church at its beginning:

John Barber,	Charles Godfrey,	Rhoda Boston,
Sarah DeLuce,	Charles Groves,	Sarah Dennison.
Mary Marsh,	Hannah C. Boston,	Priscilla Thompson,

The meetings were held in the same building which had been used as a schoolhouse.

Services were held by the organization for several years, the pulpit supplies being temporary, generally white, and sent from Cape Cod for one or more Sundays. "There is," says Mr. Dudley,‡ a letter extant which indicates that the Rev. Jeremiah Kelley, a white preacher, became Pastor of this Church in 1835, but there is no record to show how long he remained. He is remembered by some of the oldest colored citizens."

The Church organization continued apparently until some time in the "forties" but removals, deaths and other causes so depleted the society that it ceased to exist. In December, 1846, and January, 1847, measures were taken to reorganize and incorporate the Church and Society. It was more than a year before the effort was successful, the Pleasant Street Baptist Church being organized April 19, 1848.** The record says:

*Unpublished.

†Reorganization undoubtedly means organization.

‡Churches and Pastors of Nantucket, p. 13.

**The organization occupied its own house of worship at the corner of York and Pleasant streets.

"The Council consisted of the following named brethren

From the Summer St Baptist Church,

Rev Reuben Jeffery, Dea. Alex Swain, Watson Holmes
Stephen Easton, Wm. C. Folger, Seth E. Swain.

From 1st Tisbury Church.

Rev. O. F. Walker, C. Norton. Job H. Gorham.

From 2d Barnstable Church

Rev. Tubal Wakefield.

From the Marshpee Church.

Sampson Alvin.

The Council organized by choosing Rev Tubal Wakefield, Moderator, Rev. O. F. Walker, Clerk. Rev James E. Crawford was appointed Pastor and continued in that capacity up to the time of his death which occurred October 20. 1888 filling a pastorate of 41 years, the longest in the record of Island pastorates.

Mr Crawford will be remembered by many of the older residents of Nantucket as being so light complexioned as easily to pass for a white man. He was one of those genial but sincere and upright men who commanded respect and esteem. The receipts from his parishioners were meager for his parish was small and its members poor, and Mr Crawford supported himself by following the occupation of a barber. There is no record of any ministerial successor to the Church.

(Note. In the Nantucket Inquirer of June 22, 1836, appeared the following notice.)

"Protracted Meeting

It is expected that the Rev Mr Choules of New Bedford, Rev. C. O. Kimball of Methuen, and Rev. D. Chessman of Barnstable will visit Nantucket on the 28inst. and hold a series of meetings at the Town Hall afternoons and evenings. The meetings will commence on Tuesday the 28th at 2 o'clock P. M. and at quarter before 8 in the evening. There will be preaching at the same time in the Baptist meeting house at Newtown."

What denomination this movement was allied to does not seem clear."

PEOPLE'S BAPTIST CHURCH

During the pastorate of Rev. Edward A. Tuck over the First Baptist Church from November, 1896, to December, 1897, a schism divided the Society and some of them withdrew and the others under the leadership of Mr Tuck, who became their first Pastor, organized the People's Baptist Church. They purchased the former Friend's Meetinghouse, on Center Street, and it was formally dedicated to their service November 23. 1899. Mr Tuck's pastorate continued from December 12, 1897 to June, 1899. He was succeeded by

Rev Thomas S. Sayer. The first meetings of the dissenters were held in the meetinghouse of the colored Baptists on York street. At the meeting of the Barnstable Association of Baptist churches delegates were from the parent church and also from those who had withdrawn. The York street delegates alone were recognized. This action compelled the Massachusetts State Convention of Baptist Churches to recognize the dissenters. Legal notice was sent from the Convention in Boston for those occupying the Church building on Summer street to vacate the building as the Convention had a claim on the property. Those holding possession obeyed the order and moved into Wendell's Hall on Main street. Here, under the ministrations of Rev. Mr Tuck public worship was conducted, the name given to the new organization being "The People's Baptist Church." Those who had been conducting their services in the York Street meeting house returned to the Summer Street building and resumed worship there under the name of the First Baptist Church and Rev Roland F. Alger was called to be their spiritual leader.

The People's Baptist Church purchased the Friend's Meetinghouse on Center street, renovated it added new seats and an organ and held services there. Rev. Mr. Tuck continued the leadership until June 1899, when he resigned. In December 1899, Rev. Thomas S. Sayer, a native Nantucketer was called to the pastorate. Under his administration a Council was called and the Church was admitted to the Taunton Baptist Association. Rev. Mr Sayer remained a year and a half, going from Nantucket to Hebronville, Mass. He was succeeded by Rev. J. E. Dinsmore, who served a little over a year. When he left, the Church disbanded and sold its property to Mr. Roberts and the building is now an annex to the Roberts House.

THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

"The African Methodist Episcopal Church in Nantucket" was incorporated under Chapter 18 of the Acts of 1835, the bill being approved by the Lieut. Governor. Locally it was known as the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church. Those named in the incorporation are Bristol Wright, Arthur Cooper and John Cooper. Its Meetinghouse was located on the south side of West York street, not far from the corner of Pleasant and York streets. A dwelling-house stands on the site of the Church building. There is no record of the activities of the Church.

SECOND METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The "Second Methodist Episcopal Church in Nantucket" was incorporated by Chapter 41 of the Acts of 1846 approved by the Governor February 14. The Trustees named under the act of incor-

poration were William Jenkins, William Hart, Samuel Dunham, James Macy, Henry S. Coffin, Elisha Smith, George Bowen, Caleb W. Field, and Owen C. Spooner. They held their meetings in the "Teazer" Meeting house, formerly occupied by the First Methodist Church, at the corner of Fair and Lyon streets. The Church lived about ten years. There are no records known to be in existence regarding its transactions. Rev. Mr Dudley says*—"Of the preachers, the only names recalled by informants are the Reverends Trakey, Blake, and Dunbar. Rev. Mr. Dunbar was the last preacher, his date being about 1856.

REFORMED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

"The Reformed Methodist Episcopal Church," says Rev Mr Dudley,† was a movement in revolt from the First Methodist Church, largely of local self-government." It met for worship in a building at the foot of Silver Street near Union Street. The Society also met at the Sailors' Bethel, which was located on Union Street nearly opposite Stone Alley.

The only information obtainable concerning this organization comes from the advertising columns of the *Inquirer*. The first intimation is contained in a "Notice" published October 31 1835, and indicates trouble. It reads "A Meeting of the **Reformed Methodist Church**, in this town, on the 27th instant, it was Voted—That Owen Swain and John Gardner be impeached as Trustees of said Church, for illegally shutting the Meeting House against the Church and Congregation." The advertisement is unsigned. Messrs Swain and Gardner retaliate in the issue of November 7 by stating that at a meeting of the male members and Trustees of the Church October 20 it was voted that "Moses Swift‡ be no longer a member of said Church" and also "That said Swift shall not have the privilege of preaching in said Church." "The above votes were past in consequence of the treatment of said Swift of a Member of said Church

*Church and Pastors of Nantucket, p. 19.

Note—There seems to have arisen in 1838 a question of proprietorship over some of the property connected with the Fair Street Meetinghouse in 1838. The only clue there is to it is an unsigned advertisement in the *Inquirer* of March 17 in which appears a call for a meeting of the proprietors and friends in the vestry of the Meetinghouse "to consult together on the subject of the Methodist Parsonage so-called. Their object is to ascertain whether they have or have not, as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church or as donors any right of property in said Parsonage. Also to see what advice it is expedient and proper to give the present occupant relative to removal or otherwise." Trustees, church members and all interested are invited to attend. There is no report of the meeting. The Editor intimates that anti-slavery questions are concerned. It is not impossible that this may have been an aftermath to the suspension of Rev. John Lord by the Conference of 1837.

†Page 19.

‡Mr. Dudley describes Swift as "a layman, whose occupation was that of a ship carpenter, and who held his appointment by the authority of the local Conference of the Reformed Methodist Church." (page 19).

and others." The notice stated that Mr Pierce will preach at the Church on Sunday next.

More advertisements follow. Mr. Swift denies the legality of the meeting and the jurisdiction of the two Trustees, signing his remonstrance as Pastor, while the two Trustees in turn say that Mr Swift has his redress before a committee of the neighboring Churches, before a committee of Ministers of the Reformed Methodist Church, or by a civil suit.

So far as external appearances showed—that is so far as the advertising columns of the *Inquirer* showed—all was quiet for several months. On March 12. 1836, the following appeared—

"Notice is hereby given, to the Trustees and all members of the Reformed Methodist Church in this place, to meet at my house on Saturday Evening, 19th inst to transact business in relation to the ensuing Annual Conference, to be holden at Brewster, commencing on the 31st March inst. 1836.

MOSES H. SWIFT.

Nantucket March 12. 1836

Pastor Reformed Methodist Church

Messrs Swain and Gardner in a lengthy reply on March 19 reiterated their denial of Swift's claim to be Pastor and assert that he (Swift) had previously maintained the independence of the local Church. Mr Swift again replied March 23.

In the issue of the *Inquirer* of April 13, 1836 appeared this—

"Notice

By leave of Providence the Rev Benjamin Swift, of the Reformed Methodist Conference in Massachusetts, will preach in the Reformed Meeting House in this place next Sabbath. By request—

BENJAMIN SWIFT."

But something immediately occurred that induced him to change his mind for the next issue of the paper (April 16) contained the following among the advertisements:

"(For the *Inquirer*)

Mr Editor:—I find in this place two parties calling themselves Reform Methodists. One solicits, the other forbids my preaching in the Reformed Methodist Church, in this place, which they both claim as their property. Consequently, I shall not preach in the house, till a final decision; and the appointment made for services in the Reformed Methodist Church for tomorrow, is recalled.

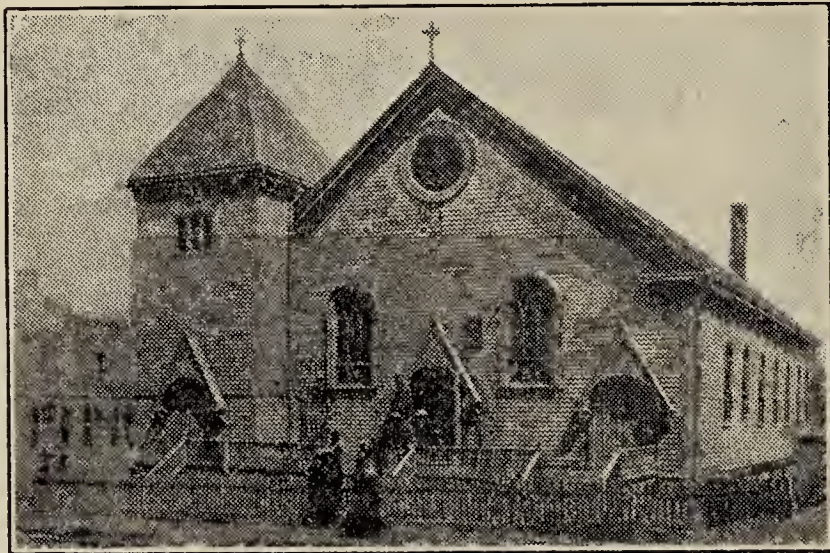
BENJAMIN SWIFT."

And so the curtain falls on the Reformed Methodist Church for there seems to be no further record.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The exact beginnings of the Roman Catholic Church in Nantucket seem involved in much the same obscurity that characterizes some of the Protestant ones. There does not seem to be any records of the early meeting. The local newspaper of today would have published such an event as a good piece of news but 75 years ago the advertising columns were the principal media for local happenings unless the event was some big calamity or something in which the editor was especially interested.

It is known, however, that as early as 1849 Rev. Fr. McNulty, of New Bedford, celebrated mass after the forms of the Roman Catholic Church in the old Town Hall, located at the corner of Main and Milk streets. The Town Hall was used for awhile and afterwards Pantheon Hall. The communicants were few, however,



ST. MARY'S (ROMAN CATHOLIC) CHURCH

at first and the services necessarily somewhat desultory. Mr. Dudley says:* "It is claimed that Mrs Lucy Sullivan, a native of Nantucket, who espoused the Roman Catholic faith, was the leader in the movement to establish Roman Catholic religious services on the Island."†

In the early days of the Church at Nantucket there was no permanently resident priest, but the Parish and its affairs seem to have been administered by priests from New Bedford or from various towns in Barnstable County. A part of the time services were held in Broad Street Hall. The charge of affairs seems to have rested with Rev. Fr. McNulty so long as he was a resident of New Bedford. He was followed by Rev. Fr. Hennis, of New Bedford who made periodical visits and ministered to the religious needs of his

*Churches and Pastors on Nantucket, p. 160.

†Mrs. Sullivan became a convert to Roman Catholicism during a brief residence abroad and having married a man of that faith became the leader in the beginnings of the Church in Nantucket.

people until his death in 1858 or 9. It was during his administration that Harmony Hall, long a Temperance headquarters on Federal street, was bought and consecrated as St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, the consecration being performed in 1858. Next to him came Rev. Fr. Fallon, whose service began in 1859. Following him came Frs Foley and Mc Mahon, who, like their predecessors, were from New Bedford. Then came Fr. O'Connor, of Harwich, Fr McCabe, of Fall River, Frs Brady, McComb and Clinton, of Sandwich, and Fr C. Mc Sweeney of Woods' Hole. The last named took charge in 1883. During his Priesthood the old St Mary's Church was removed and the lot enlarged and the present commodious Church building erected in its stead. The new Church was completed in 1897 and the first high Mass was celebrated in it on August 4 of that year. Fr. Mc Sweeney continued in charge until the close of 1901 when he was succeeded by Rev Fr Coffey, whose rectorship continued about a year. On June 1, 1903 the Catholics of Nantucket were established as a Parish with Rev Dr Thomas Mc Gee as Pastor. Under his direction the Parish made great progress. In May 1910 Rev Fr Kelley succeeded Dr Mc Gee, continuing a little less than three years. Rev. Fr Joseph M Griffin has been in charge of the Parish since February 1913.

From its beginning the progress of this church has been constant.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH

The first Sunday service of the authentic Christian Science movement was held at the Siasconset home of Miss Marion Crosby in the summer of 1903. There was an attendance of about 40, all but two of whom were summer visitors. These meetings were held for 13 years in the Sconset Chapel and in the cottages of various residents. In 1916 a hall was rented in Town and since that time regular services have continued there. The present Meeting-house of the Society is on Gardner street and the attendance is reported as steadily growing. A Sunday School has been organized.

THE INDIAN CHURCHES

It is somewhat singular that for the first half a century nearly after the settlement of the Island the only Christian churches in the community were those gathered among the Indians. From an early date, however, the Mayhews had labored to inculcate in the Indian inhabitants of two islands the principles of Christianity and even before Nantucket was settled by the whites the Mayhews had performed missionary work there.

Thomas Mayhew Jr. son of Thomas the original purchaser of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, appears to have been the earliest to endeavor to Christianize the Indians. His early work was as a preacher to the English inhabitants but seeing the need of spiritual guidance so marked among the aborigines the effort to convert them became his life-work. The Sagamore Tonaquatick was one of his earliest converts. He was appreciative of the efforts of Mayhew and said to him—"You shall be to us as one that standeth by a running river, filling many vessels; so shall you fill us with everlasting knowledge."*

The elder Mayhew was in full sympathy with the work of the son and on the untimely death of the latter,† advanced in years as he was, the father learned the Indian language and became in turn a missionary among the red men. Gookin, in his "Historical Collections" says of the Praying Indians that the first light of the Gospel came to Nantucket by means of Messrs Thomas Mayhew father and son, aided by Hiacoomes a native pastor of one of the churches on the Vineyard. An efficient assistant was Peter Folger, whose early experience on the islands was as an interpreter and a preacher to the natives. Of Folger, Pierce, the biographer of the Mayhews terms him "an able and godly Englishman, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion, by catechizing, being well learned likewise in the Scriptures, and capable of helping them in religious matters." On his removal to Nantucket he naturally acquired considerable influence.

In a letter to Captain Gookin of Cambridge the elder Thomas Mayhew wrote "I have often these thirty-two years been to Nantucket." Elliot, the "Apostle to the Indians, in 1670, visited Martha's Vineyard to ordain a pastor for an Indian church there and make an investigation as to the religious condition of the natives in those parts. The teacher of the praying Indians of Nantucket, who was present at some of the interviews with Elliot, reported that about ninety families on that Island prayed to God. Elliot appears to have recommended "that some of the most godly among them should join to the church at the Vineyard; and after some experience of their godly walk, should issue forth into church state among themselves, and have officers ordained." Although there is no record showing the date when this recommendation was put into effect it must have followed very soon after the interview for in 1674 a church seems to have been fully established. Gookin states that he gained his facts from personal conversations with Nantucket Indians. There was one church admitted to full communion which had thirty members, twenty of whom were men. The Pastor was Assassamoogh, or, as he was known among the English inhabitants, John Gibbs, very probably the man for whom King Philip sought when he came to the Island in 1665 and who was saved from the Indian chieftain's vengeance by the determined stand of the whites. Forty children and youth had been baptized

*Congregational Quarterly, January 1865.

†Lost at sea—on a voyage to England.

and three hundred Indians, young and old, prayed to God, and kept holy the Sabbath day. This Church met at Ogguwame (Occawan).^{*} There were also congregations at Wammasquid and Squatosit. There were three other religious teachers—Joseph, Samuel and Caleb, who also kept school.

“Nearly abreast the fifth milestone,” writes Rev. S. D. Hosmer in the *Congregational Quarterly* for January 1865, “as one now rides out to the fishing village Siasconset, he sees at a distance, on his left hand, a bright sheet of water, stretching along the base of a sandy hill. Issuing thence, a lazy brooklet through the low meadow winds its way oceanward. That meadow marks the spot of the Indian village, Okawah, where John Gibbs for nearly twenty-five years preached to the church of converted savages. The water still bears his name, Gibbs’ Pond; and farther down in the valley, a secluded spot of a few acres, in the midst of marshy reeds and brakes, perpetuates the memory of another aboriginal occupant in its appellation, Tashima’s Island.”

In 1684 John Eliot in a letter to Mr Boyle of London, mentions the Indian Church at Nantucket. Mather’s *Magnalia*[†] contains an interesting letter from Capt. John Gardner, whom Dr Mather describes as well acquainted with the praying Indians and having for several years assisted them in their government by instructing them in the laws of England and deciding difficult cases among them. Captain Gardner writes of two Congregational churches and one Baptist. He expresses regret at the decay of religion among the Indians, ascribing it to their not possessing the truth for itself, and to their fondness for strong drink, as well as because of their being more mindful of the outward form than of the inward substance.[‡]

In their civil government each of the praying settlements had its own Court which was authorized to hear and determine all causes of forty shillings or less; magistrates chosen from their own numbers, yearly, who frequently appealed to the English for advice in more important matters.

Four years later at the desire and expense of the Christian Indians, “the worshipful Capt Gardner,” as the Indians called him, procured the frame of a meetinghouse which they were building in June 1698. At which village it was being erected does not appear.

^{*}Nearly abreast of the 5th milestone on the Siasconset road and near Gibbs’ Pond.

[†]Book VI, Section 56.

[‡]Capt. Gardner writes “Their decay is great chiefly in number there being now but about five hundred grown persons; as to their worship, there are three societies or churches; two Congregational, one of the baptists, but their number is small; but there are five constant assemblies or meetings; two amongst them that went by the name of the antipeatames or powatoms; and that I may now say there is not known a powaw amongst them; and although it is true there is a great decay of religion among the first Societies many of their best men and I may say good men are dead; yet amongst the now praying Indians, there is an increase. God raising up even of themselves preachers and serious men too some of them which is a cause of thankfulness.”

In the summer of 1698 Rev Mr Rawson of Mendon and Rev Mr Danforth, of Taunton, visiting the Indian plantations, reported five congregations at Nantucket. Job Muckemuck has succeeded John Gibbs who has deceased. The names of other preachers are given, one especially who frequently used the pulpit from which to rebuke all moral evils—Noah, an Indian never known to be intoxicated, but a zealous preacher against drunkenness. These visitors, who appear to purposely overlook the Baptist Society, report two churches with regularly ordained officers, in each of which are twenty or more communicants under a commendable condition of discipline.* They state the whole number of adults to be about five hundred. They maintained commonly three schools. At the time of the visit of Messrs Rawson and Danforth the schools were temporarily suspended for want of primmers. Their report further says: "We preached to them in their own language twice in one assembly, into which they were generally convened on the Lord's Day. Three of their principal speakers were improved by us in prayer, that we might discover something of their abilities, in which we found them good proficient." Their churches flourished up to the year 1700. The ability to purchase liquor, however, encouraged by the very few unscrupulous whites had its effect in lessening religious influences and the "plague," so-called, of 1763 nearly blotted them out as a nation.

Zaccheus Macy in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society, written in 1792, says of their meetings: "I will say something more in recommendation of some of our old Indian natives. They were very solid and sober at their meetings of worship, and carried on in the form of Presbyterians, but in one thing they imitated the Friends or Quakers, so called; which was to hold meetings on the first day of the week and on the fifth day of the week, and attended their meetings very precisely. I have been at their meetings many times and seen their devotion; and it was remarkably solid; and I could understand the most of what was said: and they always placed us in a suitable seat to sit; and they were not put out by our coming in, but rather appeared glad to see us. A minister is called cooutaumuchary. And when the meeting was done, they would take their tinder-box and strike fire and light their pipes, and, may be, would draw three or four whiffs and swallow the smoke, and then blow it out of their noses, and so hand their pipes to their next neighbor. And one pipe of tobacco would serve ten or a dozen of them. And they would say 'tawpoot', which is, 'I thank you.' It seemed to be done in a way of kindness to each other." "And as I said before, they had justices, constables, grand-jury-men, and carried on for a great many years, many of them very well and precisely, and lived in a very good fashion. Some of them were weavers, some good carpenters."

*Mr. Macy, in commenting on the religion of the natives, says (page 56) "They were assisted by a translation of the New Testament into their language, and encouraged to meet together for divine worship. They at one time had four meeting-houses, one towards the east end of the Island, at a place called Okorwaw, near the east end of Gibbs' swamp, one at Myercommet, a little South from the town, one near Polpis, and the fourth in Plainfield, situation not exactly known." "In these they held their religious meetings, under ministers of their own nation."

In the summer of 1763 the Indians were attacked by the "plague" otherwheres referred to and only a mere remnant survived. In 1784 the Town statistics record only 35 Indians. Eight years later the number was reduced to four males and sixteen females.

So vanished the race. During the entire time of the occupation of the Island by the whites there was no time when a rupture between the races was threatened. They seemed to be, as Mr Worth has described, unable to entirely comprehend the laws relating to the transfer of real estate and the manner in which they lost all control over the lands that had been their fathers from time immemorial: nevertheless their discontent and dissatisfaction never reached the point of an armed outbreak either real or threatened.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NANTUCKET SCHOOLS

It must be admitted that for some reason our forefathers did not take kindly to the suggestion of Free Public Schools. Public sentiment had to be aroused in their favor. The law required a system of free instruction for all children, but the statute seemed to be either a sealed book or a quietly ignored demand. At any rate up to 1818, those children whose parents could afford the expense sent them to private schools; others got instruction or went without it according to their individual ambitions and possible opportunities.

Samuel Haynes Jenks, a native of Boston, but for many years a resident of Nantucket, writes to William R. Easton, for many years an indefatigable member of the School Committee and for a long period its Chairman, concerning this period.*

"In April, 1817, I visited Nantucket for a sad and sacred purpose; remained a year, returned to this my native place; and in 1819 was induced to adopt Nantucket as the future residence of myself and my two then motherless children. Educated as I had been under the free school system of Boston,—a system made universal (with only one exception) throughout the State,—by long standing, and positive legal requirement, I was astounded and grieved to find that Nantucket, with a population of some 10,000, should have taken advantage of her necessarily tolerated exemption from certain other burdens, to set at naught the laws requiring every town to furnish instruction, without cost, to children of all classes.† I sought to arouse that people through newspapers (such as they were) and at Town meetings, to a sense of their duty, and of their legal liability. I met with repeated rebuffs in the old Town Hall. Some of the primitives said they had already "good enough" schools (meaning the charity schools). Others (the Friends) declared they had schools of their own, and would not mingle their children with those of the world's people. Others again, like our friend Jethro M., ridiculed my motion for an appropriation for public schools, by denouncing it as a "Boston notion." I was voted down thrice, as an efficacious intermeddling "stranger and coof."‡

*Proceeding of Nantucket Hist. Assocn. 1901 p. 16.

†The law of 1647 required that every town of 50 householders should support a school house and teacher.

‡A term of derision among the Islanders and applied to residents on the main land.

Mr. Jenks states that in his wrath he got the Town indicted* He adds that "Before the trial was to have commenced, the Selectmen promised that if I should obtain a withdrawal of the suit, ample provision in the premises would be made. I did so. A small sum was voted. It served for a beginning; and thus originated the now (1859) excellent school system of Nantucket." On this point Mr Bunker's version is that "the Grand Jury found the bill of indictment a summons issued to the Town and the case was continued for notice to the July term. 1827.

"Meantime, during the session of the Legislature, 1826-1827 the school laws were revised, codified and reformed into the law of March 10, 1827, substantially their present form. At the annual meeting of that year, this law having been constructed in reference to the increase in the community of knowledge, and the growth of opinion, and provision being made by its 19 sections for heavy penalties for violation or neglect, no opposition was made. A School Committee of twelve was chosen, a liberal sum (not "small" as Mr. J. says) was voted, I think it was three thousand dollars, and a system of Schools was at once established."

Neither of these statements, although written by men in the thick of the battle, seems to quite dovetail in to the testimony of the Town Records.

At a Town Meeting held April 25, 1818, it was "Voted that Joseph Chase, James Gurney, Seth F. Swift, William Coffin, Oliver C. Bartlett, Josiah Hussey and Silvanus Hussey Jr be a Committee to take into Consideration the subject matter and Expediency of having a free School and make report at the Adjournment of this meeting."† The meeting was adjourned until the following Saturday, at which time the Committee made the following report:

"We the subscribers having been appointed a Committee to Inquire into the Expediency of Establishing schools in the town of Nantucket and having given the subject that investigation which the Importance of it demands ask leave Respectfully to Report that we find that there are in the town about Three hundred Children from three to fourteen years of age who do not Attend any school and whose parents in our opinion are unable to give them Even the first Rudiments of an education. Our attention has been directed principally to that Class of Children who are destitute of the means of useful instruction, and who, without the benefit of publick schools Can never share the advantages arising from literary Improvement. We believe that publick schools under the Regulations of a Judicious Committee would produce a salutary Effect and have a Commanding and beneficial influence upon the manner

*Charles Bunker Esq. disputes Mr. Jenks' claim to have had the Town indicted and claims in refutation that in June, 1826, at a sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court at Barnstable he met Attorney General Perez Morton and called his attention to the Town delinquency, and at the July session in Nantucket, Mr. Jenks, Henry M. Pinkham and himself lodged the complaint which resulted in the indictment. (See Proceedings Nantucket Historical Association 1901 p. 19.)

†This assuredly looks like the effect of Mr. Jenks's work. The preponderance of evidence seems to favor the general correctness of his statement.

and improvement of Youth. We find in our Enquiries that school mistresses of good moral Character and well qualified to Teach Youth from three to Twelve years old may be procured to Teach a school of Fifty scholars for one hundred and Four dollars a year. That the school Rooms may be obtained for Twenty-five dollars Each per year, and that the annual Expense for Fireing for Each School will be about Twenty five Dollars per year, making the whole yearly Expenses of one woman's school one hundred and fifty four Dollars.

Thus it appears that four public schools to be taught by females Containing fifty Children Each from three to Twelve years of age may be maintained for six hundred and sixteen dollars per year, and we, the Committee would ask leave to Recommend to this Town the establishment of Four schools of the above Discription—— We are also of the opinion that one man school ought to be supported by the Town the annual Expense of which we Calculate at Three hundred and Eighty four dollars —— so that five schools, four to be taught by women and one by a man, may be maintained during the year for one Thousand Dollars.

“We therefore Recommend to the Town to Raise by Taxation that sum for the support and maintainance of schools of the above Discription. And also to appoint a standing Committee of seven for the year Ensuing to have the Care, management, oversight and direction of said schools and whose duty it shall be in a very especial manner to visit Each School once in every month and to use their best endeavors to awaken a Zeal in the Youthful and to use their best endeavors to awaken a Leal in the Youthful mind for intellectual improvement and to impress on the minds of Children and Youth who may attend said schools the Principles of piety, Justice and a sacred Regard to truth, Love of Country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, Industry and Tranquillity, Moderation and Temperance and those other virtues which are the ornaments of human society, and the basis upon which the Republican Constitution is Structured.

The above Report is Respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Town.

Nantucket May ye 9th 1818.

JOSEPH CHASE
OLIVER C. BARTLETT
WILLIAM COFFIN
JAMES GURNEY
SETH F SWIFT
JOSIAH HUSSEY
SILVANUS RUSSELL JR

Committee of Investigation.”

The Town accepted the Report, appropriated \$1,000 particularly to assist in “supporting the above schools,” and chose as its first School Committee—Joseph Chase, William Coffin, Oliver C. Bartlett, James Gurney, Peleg Mitchell, Gilbert Coffin and Seth F. Swift.

The following week (May 16), for some reason which does not appear in the Record, the Town voted to strike out the word

"Free" from the report regarding the school. The same Committee as chosen was to continue oversight.*

According to the report of the Committee presented to the Town Meeting April 24, 1819, that body overran its appropriation by \$14.38, but the Town evidently was satisfied with their stewardship for the deficit was immediately covered.

The Committee made the following report:

"We your Committee appointed at the setting of the annual meeting to take into Consideration the subject matter of schools beg leave to state that we have paid attention to the object of our appointment and find that the school now superintended by the Fragment society Consists of about forty schollars the probable Cost of which per annum is \$190. it is the opinion of said society that by adding an assistant teacher at \$26 per annum the school might be increased so as to include all females who need the assistance of the Town in procuring their Education. We find the said Fragment Society are willing to Institute a school for Males not over ten years of age upon the same plan as that for females and at the same expense. If the above two schools are Established there will be left lads about ten years of age who will need the Assistance of the Town to finish their education. the amount Estimated for this object is \$100. Finally your Committee report that a school Committee be appointed by ballot at the adjournment of this meeting Consisting of five: and that said Committee when appointed assist the fragment society in establishing the aforesaid two schools and that they superintend the education of those not included in said schools. To enable the school Committee to Carry the preceeding Report into effect your committee recommend the appropriation of Five hundred and Fifty dollars for the following purposes:

Viz't For the female school	\$216
Viz't for the male school	216
For such school not included above	100
Contingencies	18
	\$500†

Your Committee further recommend that the school Committee be instructed to Report at the annual meeting the name and family of each scholar together with the Items and ammount of Expençe‡ all of which is submitted.

Nantucket 5 mo 1st
1819

JOSEPH CHASE
ZENAS COFFIN
AARON MITCHELL
PAUL MACY
HEZ'H BARNARD

The Committee appointed to superintend the schools made a separate report. which set forth that—

"The Town school Committee before Reporting their proceedings ask leave to state the votes and proceedings of the Town under which the Committee were to proceed. At a Town Meeting held at Nantucket the 25th of April, 1818, A Committee was appointed to take into Consideration the sub-

*The charitable, and perhaps the correct, view of the action of the Town is that the word "Free" carried with it the same stigma as "Charity."

†The figures total \$550.

‡That seems to be showing a scanty respect to the pride of those whose children were pupils.

ject matter and Expediency of having a free school and to report at an adjournment of said Meeting.

At an adjournment of said Meeting held on the 9th May Next proceeding the Committee after making a Lengthy Report on the subject Recommended to the Town to Raise by taxation the sum of one Thousand Dollars to be appropriated towards the support of five publick schools.

The Town Voted to accept the Report and Raise the sum of one Thousand Dollars particularly for supporting the schools Recommended and Choise of Joseph Chase, William Coffin, Oliver C. Bartlett, James Gurney, Peleg Mitchell, Gilbert Coffin & Seth F. Swift as a standing Committee to have the inspection and Conducting of said schools.

At an adjournment of the meeting held on the 16th of the same instant after Considerable debate had on the subject the Town Voted that the word free (publick) be struck out of the Report for a school and that the same Committee still have the Conducting Care and oversight of said schools. The Committee appointed agreeable to the foregoing votes of the Town Respectfully state at their first meeting, in order to commense on the business assigned them they Examined the votes of the Town. it appeared the Town had the Report of a Committee which Reccommended Publick Schools, and had appointed your Committee to superintend them after which they had Voted to strike the word free out of the Report the word Publick no Doubt was Intended, a question of some Delicacy now arose with the Committee how the scholars were to be selected that were to be benefitted by the liberality of the Votes of the Town being defficient on that. However your Committee believing it to be the minds and intent of a majority of the meeting at the time the word free was voted to be struck out of the report that the money to be raised should be Exclusivly appropriated for the benefit of such Children whose Parents or guardians were in Indigent Circumstances. on that principle your Committee proceeded and gave Notice to that Effect. The Fragment Society then had a school in which were about fifty poor Children which had been supported by donations. a Committee from that society made known to us that the Calls on them were great That if the Town would pay the tuition and Rent it would enable them to keep the Children Decently Clad and to appropriate their small fund to other Charitable purposes. the Committee agreed to that proposition and permitted that Society to Rule direct and order the same which they have Continued to do and such is the order, decorum and usefullness of the fragment society school that we beg leave to Recommend it to the Notice of the Town.

We Next organized two mens schools in which we put about Ninety scholars principlly boys. we then placed from fifty to an hundred scholars in nine different women's schools the average number from the Commencement to the present time of Children that have been at the Town's Charge for Expense of Schooling is about two hundred as will appear by the school list that will be handed to the selectmen with the Bills, Recips and all other papers of the Expenditures from the Commencement of the Schools to the present time. The whole amount of which is \$1014.38

Nantucket April 22d 1819.

JOSEPH CHASE
WM COFFIN
OLIVER C. BARTLETT
SETH F. SWIFT
GILBERT COFFIN.

It does not seem quite clear from the Record just what the Town did in 1820, but some action was taken and the schools continued, for at a Town Meeting held April 28, 1821 the School Committee made the following report:*

"The School Committee have attended the Object of their appointment. They have procured instruction in the course of the Year for about one hundred and Twenty-five Children, the greater number of whom have been Continued in school through the year. About thirty of those Children have been taught in a school under the immediate Superintendence of the Fragment society. the Committee have been so well satisfied of the superior Advantages of this school that they take this occasion to recommend it to the Continued patronage of the Town. There has been Expended for the Instruction of all the children in the course of the year Three hundred and Eighty seven Dollars and eighty one Cents and the committee recommend to the Town to Raise four hundred dollars to be at the Disposal of a school committee to be Expended in like manner for the Education of such Children as may require it. There remains in the hands of the Committee unexpended twelve dollars and fifty three cents.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Nantucket April 28th 1821.

GILBERT COFFIN
HEZ'H BARNARD
PAUL MACY
JETHRO MITCHELL
MATT. BARNEY

The report of the Committee was accepted, the same Committee was re-elected and the sum of \$400. was appropriated for the year.†

It is an error to suppose that the early settlers of the Island were illiterate. Their names are signed to many documents public and private. Thomas Macy had been an unlicensed preacher before removing to Nantucket and his letter to the General Court explaining his non-appearance to answer to the charge of entertaining Quakers is good in diction and penmanship. The Records of the State of New York, with letters of the early settlers on file, easily refute any charge of illiteracy especially as compared with their day and generation.

The early Town Records say— "At a Town meeting ye 24 day of ye first month 1716, warned to consult concerning setting up a School & any other business yt may be then thought needful, Richard Gardner is chosen Moderator for this meeting. Voted yt ye Town will chuse a Schoolmaster for ye year ensuing. Also voted yt ye town will hier Eleazer Folger for a Schoolmaster for ye year

*The Warrant for the Town Meeting for April 29, 1820, called for action regarding Town schools and to see if the Town would raise money for them. The Record shows that the Town voted "to accept the report of the Fragment school Committee and chose Hezekiah Barnard, Jethro Mitchell, Gilbert Coffin, Paul Macy and Matthew Barney School Committee. No mention is made of any appropriation although one must have been made.

†If Mr. Jenks began his campaign for public schools as early as 1817 it certainly bore fruit for as already shown free public schools started in 1818 and the School Committee seemed to be a responsive one. Mr. Jenks's father-in-law, William Coffin was on the Board the first year, as well as the two leading clergymen.

ensuing. voted yt ye Town will give Eleazer folger three Score pounds currant money for to keep School one year & he consents to keep for ye above mentioned sum of money." It would seem as though the experiment was not a success for it does not appear to have been repeated.

The advertisements in the local papers afford abundant evidence that however slack our forefather may have seemed to be; for the Town Records make no further mention of the employment of teachers for a hundred years, there were many and excellent instructors, native and alien, who made Nantucket their home and led the youthful minds through the paths of learning. Their number would seem to indicate a desire for instruction.*

Cyrus Pierce, who was the first instructor and principal of the High School in Nantucket, was a man of far more than usual ability. He was called to establish, organize and develop the first Normal School in America, which began its work in Lexington, Mass. in July 1839, was removed to West Newton about 1844, and from there to Framingham in 1853, where it still is. Augustus Morse, his successor, taught from 1838 to 1855; Alden B. Whipple, 1855-1858; Benjamin F. Morrison, 1858-1862; Henry Dame, 1862-1867; Galen Allen, 1867-1869; George R. Chase, 1869-1871; Charles A. Baker, 1871; C. M. Barrows, 1871-1876; Alden B. Whipple, (second term) 1876-1879; W. H. Spinney, 1879-1880; G. I. Hopkins, 1880; A.H. K. Blood, 1880-81; W. H. Russell, 1881-1882; A. J. Clough, 1882-1885; Lucius W. Craig, 1885-1888; William J. Long, 1888-1891; Dwight Miner, 1891-1892; Fred P. Batchelder, 1892-1893; Stanley E. Johnson, 1893-1900; Herbert H. Rice, 1900-1901; Frank E. Briggs, 1901-1906; Benjamin M. Macy, 1906-1907; M. M. Harris, 1907-1909; J. Arthur Burton, 1909.

THE COFFIN SCHOOL

Prior to the American Revolution Nathaniel Coffin, son of William (4), Nathaniel (3), James (2), Tristram (1), was settled in Boston, where he married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Barnes. Among their children was Isaac, born in Boston, May 16, 1759.† Isaac entered the English Navy in 1773 and was con-

*In after years Nantucket sent out into the world an army of school teachers, who were dispersed all over the country. In January, 1867, the *Inquirer & Mirror* published a list of 169 Nantucket young men and women who were teaching school in various parts of the United States.

One of the peculiar features of Nantucket's educational structure of 75 or more years ago was what were known as "Cent" schools. They were on the principle of the English "dame" schools. To a considerable extent it was a nursery school. Children, too young for public instruction were sent by their parents with their luncheon and a cent to pay for tuition to the home of some near-by neighbor who took care of them and taught them the A. B. C. or whatever their tender minds could assimilate, for the modest fee of a cent for each pupil for each session. (See *Proceedings Nant. Hist. Assocn.* for 1908).

†Another son was John, who settled in New Brunswick and who attained the rank of General in the English army.

missioned a Lieutenant in 1778; Captain in 1781; and Rear Admiral of the White in 1804; also created a Baronet and granted a coat of arms in the same year. He was made a Vice Admiral in 1808 and an Admiral in 1817. He died in 1839 at Cheltenham, England, at the age of 80 years, leaving no issue.

Of him Allen Coffin Esq. says:* "He was awarded an estate by the Government of England, known as the Magdalen Islands, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, about the time he was created a Baronet. He was a personal friend of the Duke of Clarence, who, when he became William IV, continued to show him favor. When it became necessary in 1832, to swamp the House of Lords, by creating new Peers in order to pass the Reform Bill, the name of Sir Isaac was on the King's list. He desired to make him Earl of Magdalen, but the Ministers objected, on the ground of his strong attachment to his native country, and especially cited the fact of his fitting out a vessel with Yankee lads from his Lancastrian School at Nantucket, to make master mariners of them, which could not be viewed by England with favor. So it may in truth be said that the Coffin School at Nantucket cost the Admiral an Earldom, and came near sacrificing his Baronetcy."

In 1826 Admiral Coffin visited Nantucket. In a communication to the Nantucket Inquirer and Mirror of August 27, 1881, William R. Easton, Esq. gives the following statement made in a letter to him by Hon. Samuel Haynes Jenks regarding Sir Isaac's visit which was made with the view of doing some thing to perpetuate his memory among his own people in Massachusetts.† Mr. Jenks, under date of February 5, 1859, wrote: "I took the gouty old hero to 'Sconset, as I had before done with the negro prince (Saunders). On the way he disclosed to me the object of his visit. It was, he said,—having no immediate heirs,—to do something to cause his name to be remembered. Should he build a church, he asked, or raise a great monument, or purchase a ship for the Town's benefit? etc. Full of the enthusiasm and zeal with which I had so long been excited on the subject of Schools,‡ a thought at once struck me. "If you raise a monument, Sir Isaac," I said, "it will not be looked at by more than a hundred people once a year. If you build a church, as you are an Episcopalian, it will neither be supported, nor attended; for there is scarcely one, besides myself, of that order in this place. And as to the purchase of a vessel, if done at all, it should be for the purpose of nautical instruction. The best thing you can do, the deed that will make you forever remembered, is to establish and endow a free school. You will thus benefit your numerous kinsfolk and their grateful posterity, while you effectually perpetuate your name." He at once adopted the suggestion, entered upon the preliminary details, and I felt avenged in the matter of my struggles with the Town."

*Life of Tristram Coffyn, p. 60.

†Mr. Jenks had married Martha W. Coffin, daughter of William Coffin.

‡Mr. Jenks claimed to have the Town indicted for failure to comply with the School Laws, Charles Bunker Esq. claimed that he forced action. At least Mr. Jenks appears to have been the motive power for whatever was done. The Attorney General nolle prossed the suit on July 1827 on the ground that the causes had been remedied.

Application was made to the next General Court for a charter in the name of the "Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin's Lancasterian School," and after amending the title to strike out the Sir to suit some superfastidious representative the bill was adopted in February 1827. By the original by-laws there was a Board of six Trustees—all Coffins. It was decided to erect a building, two stories high 30 x 68 feet capable of caring for 250 pupils.* William Coffin, Esq. was charged with making up the census of the eligible and by great effort he found that there were at that time between 500 and 600 children between the ages of 7 and 14 years of Tristram Coffin descent. The school was opened in 1827. The brick building on Winter street was erected in 1852-3 and occupied in 1854.

With the advance of time the Coffin element, like the other native strains became reduced in numbers and the profane and non-elect were admitted. In October, 1903, it was determined that it could best serve its purpose as a Manual training school and it is so used now as an adjunct to the public schools.†

*Seventy-five years ago this building stood on Fair street north of Lyon's St.

†Through the tireless exertions of Mrs. Elizabeth R. Coffin quite a little endowment has been attained.

CHAPTER XIV

INDIAN AND OTHER TRADITIONS

It is sometimes difficult to be sure of one's ground in the narration of Indian traditions—to tell the genuine from the spurious, the real legend from the product of the mind of some imaginative writer. There are some, however, which have the appearance of being genuine, either because of their plausibility, or because of the frequency with which they have been told and accepted.

The following, accounting in a legendary way for the dense fogs that sometimes prevail thereabouts, is seemingly an authenticated aboriginal tradition:—

In former times, many moons ago, a bird, extraordinary for its size, used often to visit the south shore of Cape Cod, and carry from thence a vast number of small children. Maushope, who was an Indian giant, lived in these parts. Enraged at the havoc among the children, he, at one time waded into the sea in pursuit of the bird. He crossed the Sound and went as far as Nantucket. Before that time the island was not known to the red man. Maushope found the bones of the children in a heap under a large tree. wishing to smoke his pipe, he ransacked the Island for tobacco, but finding none, he filled his pipe with poke-weed, which the Indians sometimes used for a substitute. It created a dense smoke. Since that time fogs have been frequent in that vicinity and the red men, on seeing a fog arising, would say, "There comes old Maushope's smoke.*"

The following has to do with a war between two tribes, and is believed to be correct in its traditional sense:

"A tribe of natives lived on the Island of Tuckanuck who were at war with a tribe that lived on the west end of the Island of Nantucket. The Islands at that time were from two to three miles apart.

It appeared that both parties had been waiting some time to satiate their revenge upon each other. To carry this into effect the Tuckanuck Indians watched every opportunity to compel their

*Mass. Hist. Socy. Coll. Vol. V First Series, p. 57.

opponents to an unconditional surrender of all their rights and privileges. A favorable opportunity was presented to carry their plan into effect.

Both parties were fishing in Maddeket Harbor but kept at a reasonable distance from each other. At length an old man and his son separated from their friends so far that the Tuckanuck Indians surrounded them and took them prisoners. The old man they immediately killed. The young man being unusually intelligent and active had his life spared on the condition that he would join them in subduing their enemy. This he readily agreed to do, but often afterwards his thoughts were employed in devising some plan by which he could assist and relieve his friends and relatives. This he naturally kept secret, waiting for an opportunity to accomplish his purpose. After he had been with his captors quite a long time, they were willing to place the utmost confidence in him. The time arriving when they were ready to execute their plan for the destruction of their enemies it became necessary to let the young man into the secret because they wanted him for a pilot. They planned to land at Maddeket in the night and surround the wigwams of their enemies and massacre them all. All details were arranged to execute their plans. The young man obtained information of every part of the conspiracy. He watched for a suitable opportunity and privately crossed to Nantucket and informed his friends of the scheme, and returned to Tuckanuck unsuspected.

The appointed night came and the assailants, mustering all their forces landed on the north side of a hill. Between the hill and the shore, they hauled up their canoes above high water mark, and then, in the stillness of the night, began their march around the hill not suspecting that their enemies were watching every movement.

As the Tuckanuck tribe advanced one way the Nantucket Indians advanced the other, until they came to the shore where they took possession of and hid all the paddles of the canoes left there. The Nantucket tribe then went in pursuit of their opponents, who, when they found that their plot was discovered, fled to their canoes. They found their paddles gone. The Nantucket Indians, availing themselves of their confusion, fell upon them and cut them off to a man; not one escaped.”*

Another romantic legend relates to the Sachem Wauwinet and his daughter Wonoma, young and fair, as all heroines are. Wonoma was skilled in the preparation and use of herbs and acquainted with their medicinal virtues. A fever broke out in the tribe in the southwest part of the Island, under Sachem Autopscot, and raged with such violence as to threaten the extinction of the tribe. In his extremity Autopscot bethought him of the fair Wonoma and her knowledge and skill, and he sent one of the maidens of his tribe to solicit her assistance. Wonoma readily assented and in a short time the plague was stayed and the stricken ones restored to health. In the meantime Autopscot had fallen in love with the beautiful and capable daughter of his rival sachem, and besought

*Unpublished M. S. of Obed Macy. Mr. Macy says of this tradition—“The substance of the foregoing narrative was told by the present Wm. Worth. He said he had heard Matthew, his father, his Uncle Jonah and his Grandfather Wm. Worth tell it and they said there was no doubt of the correctness of it.”

her to remain with them. She promised to return and dwell with Autopscot among his people. Soon after trouble arose between the two tribes over boundaries and their friendship turned to hatred, and war was imminent. Wauwinet and his braves in council settled on a plan for overcoming their enemies. Wonoma overheard their plotting and resolved to save Autopscot and his people. So at night when her father and his men slept she stole from her wigwam and made her way to Autopscot, following the shore that the waves might obliterate her footsteps. She warned Autopscot of what was intended and returned to her wigwam without her absence being discovered. The following day when Wauwinet and his men invaded the land of Autopscot he found that sachem and his men prepared to receive them, so they returned to their own land with their purpose unaccomplished.

The following evening Autopscot presented himself before the wigwam of Wauwinet and represented how much better it would be to live in friendship. He made out so good a case that Wauwinet relented and gave him Wonoma for a wife, and peace reigned ever after among their people.

POOT PONDS

An Indian legend is associated with the Poot Ponds. It is to the effect that an Indian alleged that he saw a whale rise from the water in the Chord of the Bay and immediately sound again, and come up again in the northern of the two ponds. Sounding again, he came up again in the southern pond. Going down for the third time, he reappeared off the south shore of the Island, and then disappeared for good. Whether this is or is not a form of aboriginal delirium tremens is not entirely clear, but there are the ponds and Poot is the Indian name for whale.

HOW NANTUCKET GOT ITS CRABS

The Indians of the Elizabeth Islands say that at one time when the Devil was making a stone bridge from the main land to Nanameset Island and was rolling the stones and placing them in proper position under water, a crab caught him by the fingers, whereupon he snatched up his hand and flung it towards Nantucket and crabs have been there since that day.*

Obed Macy, in 1842, made the following memoranda regarding the Indians of Nantucket, which can fairly be relied on as substantially accurate. A material part of it he was personally conversant with:

*Ricketson's Hist. of New Bedford, p. 353. Ricketson credits it to Wait Winthrop.

"The Indians lived promiscuously on various parts of the Island, where interest and inclination induced them to settle, which generally was on the north side of the Island, where the land was more productive than on the south side, and where it afforded springs of good fresh water, and fish of various kinds as well as being more convenient for fishing, as the harbors were principally on that side. They had no town and no place where they lived that would even bear the name of village. Their dwellings were mostly wigwams; some few English built houses toward the latter part of their being called a people. Their places of interment were as promiscuous as their places of dwelling. We find but one place that may be called a Cemetery or place of reposit of their dead. This is situated at Miacomet about one mile south of the Town, without enclosure or paling to denote what it really was, except some of the small hillocks among a spot of bushes of perhaps two or three acres.

"The greater number of those who were buried there died in the Indian sickness in the year 1763.* The names of the principal places where the Indians resided were Squam, Podpis, Shawkemmo, Shimmo, Nobadeer, Miacomet and Maddeket. As their places of residence were constructed of frail materials they were easily removed from one place to another, which was frequently put in practice, sometimes from a prospect of bettering themselves, but more frequently from a restless disposition inherent in their nature.

"Some time before the fatal sickness that swept the most of them from the face of the earth, some of the English were so indiscreet as to furnish them with spirituous liquor, which often brought distress and poverty among them, and, not infrequently, death. When they were furnished with strong drink they would leave town at night, and proceed toward their homes, until the effect of the poison would cause them to drop by the way, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. It often happened in these cases that they were found dead, and not much care was taken to carry them to any particular burying ground, but they were interred where they were found, which sometimes did not happen until several days afterwards.

"Their principal, or last, Meeting house was situated within a short distance of the aforesaid burying place, and was standing until about the year 1782. In this they held their meetings for Divine worship and had ministers of their own nation. Some of them were devout and seemingly religious, and lived regular lives, but generally they were a loose, irreligious people, and given to intemperance, but never very hostile or ferocious toward the English.

"The better sort among them were quiet, peaceable and industrious, and occupied the land around their dwellings with gardens, wherein they raised corn and vegetables of various kinds, some of which they sold to the English. They frequently had fruit trees in their gardens and near their houses.

From everything that I could ever understand about them, they were, as a nation, naturally prone to vice and immorality and of weak intellect. Of those ~~natural~~ deficiencies some of the English were so wicked as to take advantage and would trade with them for their baskets, fish, corn and vegetables, and pay them in spirituous liquors, and frequently get them in debt, and cause them to go whaling to pay "their Masters" as they called them. This kept them in a low, degraded state, and not infrequently as-

*A list of names of those who died at the time has been preserved but its accuracy is so uncertain that it does not seem worth while to publish it.

sistance was called from the authorities of the Town, to prevent their suffering to death for want.

"Had it not been for those bad people who furnished them with rum, I believe they would have been a quiet, peaceable people and have lived comfortably, and would have been of service to the English and the English to them, for many of them were good whalemens and very industrious. All they lacked was encouragement and proper management to render them useful members of the community.

"One of their Meetinghouses was at Ockorwaw, a place situated near the east end of the Island, not far from the east end of Gibbs' Swamp. Within the vicinity of this Meetinghouse a large body of them were settled. This Meetinghouse was built of wood, according to the common practice of the time, but at what time it was built, or by whom, is not known. After these Indians had left that part of the Island the Meetinghouse stood many years. About in the year 1770, Peleg Swain removed it to Town and placed it toward the southern part of the Town, and occupied it as a dwelling house, for which purpose it was used until the year 1838, when it was taken down."

THE VISIT OF KING PHILIP

An event occurred in 1665 which for a time bade fair to develop into something serious, and only a bolder front than conditions justified on the one side and the fear of resistance which was hardly possible on the other enabled the English settlers to escape unharmed. The affair is not alluded to in the Town Records and seems to be a matter of tradition, but there seem to be some corroboratory circumstances which make it entirely probable. The story as told by Obed Macy is as follows:—*

"King Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope, in the year 1665, very soon after the settlement of the Island by the whites, came there with a number of canoes in pursuit of an Indian, to punish him for some heinous crime. There being but a small number of English at that time, they had every thing to fear. Philip's hostile appearance and preparations made them apprehensive that he would destroy them, if any measures were taken to arrest his progress in pursuit of the delinquent. On the other hand, if they assisted to search after him, they dreaded the revenge of the Island natives. They therefore declined their aid in any respect. Philip then went with his party in pursuit of the criminal, and at length found him on the south-east part of the Island. His name was John Gibbs;† his crime was the mentioning of the name of Philip's father. Rehearsing the name of the dead, if it should be that of a distinguished person, was decried by the natives a very high crime, for which nothing but the life of the culprit could atone. Philip, having now the poor culprit in possession, made preparations to execute vengeance upon him, when the English spectators, commiserated his condition, and made offers of money to ransom his life. Philip listened to these offers and mentioned a sum which would satisfy him; but so much could not be collected. He was informed of this but refused to lessen his demand. The whites, however, collected

*Hist. of Nantucket, p. 42.

†Tradition says that Gibbs secreted himself in the swamp and near the pond which were later called by his name.

all they could in the short time allowed them, in hopes that he would be satisfied, when assured that more could not be found; but, instead of this, he persisted in his demand with threatening language, pronounced with an emphasis which foreboded no good. This very much provoked the English, so that they concluded among themselves to make no further offers, but try to frighten him away without giving him any more money. The sum raised, which was all the inhabitants possessed, was eleven pounds; this had already been paid to him, and could not be required back again. Philip had surrounded and taken possession of one or two houses, to the great terror of the inmates; in this dilemma they concluded to put all to risk;—they told him, that, if he did not immediately leave the Island, they would rally the inhabitants, and fall upon him and cut him off to a man. Not knowing their defenceless condition, he happily took the alarm, and left the Island as soon as possible. The prisoner was then set at liberty.”

It is not unlikely that the friendly act of Attaychat declaring allegiance of himself and his people to the English King as shown by the Town Records in October of that year was attributable to this intervention of the English against Philip.

In his little volume “Talks About Old Nantucket” Christopher C. Hussey relates the following legend concerning that singularly fatal illness among the Islands aborigines—“When the “Great Sickness” of 1764 * * * * * carried off the Indians, from some cause, perhaps from the action of some deep-lying law of the connection between all animal life, the blue fish, which had been plenty, suddenly disappeared from the waters around the Island. The Indian sage said—“When the houses of the red men are laid low, the blue fish will return.” Whether from mere coincidence or nature’s law it was so. Not far from the time of Abram’s* death, the blue fish reappeared. I distinctly remember hearing two men say that there had been taken at Maddequet, that afternoon, two blue fish, the first, that with possibly an occasional exception, had been taken for nearly three quarters of a century.” (p. 46).

FRENCH PRIVATEERSMEN’S RAID

The following is from unpublished manuscript written by Obed Macy.†

“In the year 1695, a French Privateer anchored under Squam Head at the east end of the Island. A boat with a number of men landed from her. They inquired of an Indian who happened to be there, where the inhabitants lived? He answered them vaguely.

*Abram Quarry who died November 25, 1854, the last person of Indian descent and himself a halfbreed.

†Mr. Macy left some manuscript on which was written “If ever any History of Nantucket is republished in a second edition some of the following anecdotes may be found useful.” Concerning the above, he wrote “Charles Bunker (a friend of good reputation) related to me the following historical story.” The year 1695 is given because there was a French privateer depredating at that time. It was omitted in Mr. Macy’s M. S.

At that time Squam was covered with thick woods, and the weather being foggy the Indian was able to get away from his questioners unperceived and he ran as rapidly as he could to inform John Swain, his master, of their landing. Swain lived near Podpis Harbor, and apprehending that the strangers might find his house and commit some depredation he took his bag of money and a spade and left his house and went westward, but did not inform his family of his intention. In his day he was considered a rich man and one of but few words. His family supposed he went upon Swain's Neck and there buried the money, but from that time to the present, no one has been able to find where he deposited his cash, how much there was of it or whether he buried any. His family always believed he buried it there and that there was a large amount for that day.

"The boat's crew searched about until they found a house where a Bunker family lived. (There were a number of that name living in Squam at that time). The head of the family was not at home at their first coming to the house. They found a woman with her family around her. The men wanted provisions to put on board their vessel. The woman said they could not spare any, and remonstrated against the crew taking any away. She told them if they took any provisions away her family would suffer. They partly respected her wishes, but took a part of what they found.

"By this time her husband had returned home, and they insisted on his going on board their vessel to pilot them around Great Point and up the Sound. He and his wife strenuously objected to such an arrangement but to no avail. He was taken on board, got the vessel around the Point and headed eastward.

"It happened at this time that Stephen Hussey had gone off to Barnstable to be married and was expected home. Soon a vessel hove in sight which proved to be the one with the wedding party. Stephen was rich and a large concourse of Indians gathered to the festivities. There was much anxiety as the two vessels approached each other. Hussey's house, which stood on the south side of the harbor, was thronged with a great number of friends. The oven was full of victuals for the wedding feast and other cooking was proceeding in preparation for the company.

"The vessels were seen to be nearing each other and the excitement became so great through fear that the wedding party would be taken prisoners and carried away that the food cooking in the oven was forgotten. No trouble occurred, however, and Hussey and his party proceeded to the Island unharmed.

"Then came the renewed thought of the wedding feast. An examination showed that the cake was burnt to a coal. Stephen's wife, Martha, on being informed of the catastrophe was greatly disturbed and thought the "very heavens and stars were against them," but soon recovering her mental balance, she expressed thanks that they were all there clear of the privateer, and that there was plenty of plum porridge in the pot under the trees. Before the vessel arrived, however, word was brought to Martha that an Indian who was standing over the porridgepot accidentally let his bottle of rum fall against the side of the pot breaking it in pieces and dividing the debris and the liquor with charming impartiality inside and outside the pot.

"The privateer beat up Sound until abreast of Long Hill on the north side of the Island. There she fell in with an English privateer. An engagement followed with many casualties on each side, but no decisive result. The French vessel then put into Tarpaulin Cove where Bunker was discharged and allowed to return home."

LEGEND OF THE JETHRO COFFIN HOUSE

Benjamin Franklin Folger, a well-known genealogist relates the following story in a communication to the Nantucket Mirror, giving as his authority Catherine Folger, who was a grand-daughter of Mary Coffin, wife of Jethro and the heroine of the occasion. He writes

"If, in reference to the principal actor, it was rather the freak of a momentary impulse, or the result of excitement produced by excessive potations, it was to the woman a most fearful adventure, and which made such an impression upon her mind, as rendered it a subject of frequent recurrence. The scene was the Jethro Coffin house, on Sunset Hill, now known as "The Oldest House." The story is—

"About the year 1693, when Mary Coffin was 23 years old, and the mother of two children, the house they were building, and in which the family had already located themselves, was still unfinished.* Within a stone's throw of this, was the house of Eleazer Folger Jr. Long before the dawn of day, her husband had gone with a boat's crew to the shore, probably to look after whales, leaving his wife in bed on the lower floor, who had taken her two children beside her. John Arthur, son of her widowed sister Priscilla, was at that time an inmate of the family. Immediately after her husband had left, she heard a footstep on the floor above, which she naturally concluded was that of her nephew, and she thereupon called aloud,—“John, be careful, don't fall through the floor.” In a moment down came an Indian through the aperture, and presented himself from the closet to which it led, and stood outright before her. A light was burning, and he deliberately commenced whetting his knife, avowing his intention “to kill her.” She was so terrified, that but for her children, she would have yielded herself in despair, but when he pronounced that “the edge would do,” and had thereupon extinguished the light, she sprang from her bed and ran to the door, out of which she flew, but not without feeling the attempted grasp of the Indian upon her arm, and in a moment she presented herself at Eleazer Folger's door for admittance, and calling for “Help, help! Indian, Indian,” she fell insensible on the floor. The family caught enough, instantly to repair to the house, where the Indian was caught, whose basket was beside the outer door, containing among other matters, a bottle of rum! He was put in prison, from which he afterwards escaped. It was generally considered, that at the worst, the Indian had no other design than that of plunder, and perhaps, nothing beyond what he thought a justifiable surprise, or a piece of fun; but to herself, it was an adventure never to be forgotten, and the chill of horror which the events of that night so naturally produced, was always an accompaniment when she recounted them in after years.”

Mr Macy, whose facilities for knowing were of the best, and whose methods of recording make his memoranda authoritative,

*There is a discrepancy as to dates as the house was built in 1686 for a bridal gift.

left the following statement regarding the deaths of the last surviving Nantucket Indians:*

- 1801 Isaac Tashama died, aged 80;
- 1801 Joshua Chogin an old man;
- 1801 Peter Micah died in Town at the Poorhouse;
- 1817 Mary Abel died;
- 1817 Abigail Derrick died;
- 1818 Elizabeth Mingo died at Shawkemmo;
- 1821 Sarah Tashama died, aged 75; .
- 1822 20th. 1 mo. Abigail Jethro died, the last survivor of the Indian race belonging here.

Mr Macy notes Abram Quarry as living at Shawkemmo. but that he is a half-breed.

Mr Macy made the following memoranda in 1842 of the names of teachers of schools on Nantucket, which he says was "penned down merely for amusement."†

"The first Schoolmaster that ever I heard of was called "Little Draper."‡ He kept a school in a Meeting house, which stood to the westward and not far from Maxcey's Pond. (It was near the middle of the Town at that early period.) It burnt down, and was the first building that was burnt down here that I ever heard of. That was in 1736. The next Schoolmaster was a stranger named—Collins. He appeared here as a stranger, and was careful not to give any information where he came from. He was a man of ability and of good learning. He was here several years and kept a school in an old School house across the street to the eastward of my house.** It was a very old shattered building when I went to school in it, in the year 1768, with diamond cut glass windows. He left the Island suddenly, without giving information to anyone where he was going. He spoke to Benjamin Coffin, Isaac Coffin's father, to take charge of the School while he stepped out; he never was seen afterwards. It was supposed he was a Pirate, and kept secreted from whence he came, to secure himself from being arrested. Benjamin kept the school many years afterwards, as long as he was able to go out to the Schoolhouse. He was an excellent School teacher.

Frederick Folger kept in a school house that stood where Lydia Barker's house now stands. Joseph Marshall kept in a schoolhouse that stood in Upper town a little to the southwards of the house where Edmond Worth formerly lived, or the Nath'l Frost house, so called of late, now owned and occupied by Alex'r Dawin. I went to school there in the year 1768. Edward Tillit Emmet—he was the first that taught French; Wm. Mitchell, Peleg Folger, Wm Coleman, Daniel Coffin, Wm Harris, Jonathan Varney, Jacob Willets, Walter Sawyer, Nathan Comstock, Asa G. Bunker, Silv's Worth, Nathl Barney, Obed Barney, Wm Coffin Jr., Cyrus Pierce, Geo. Mitchell, Andrew M. Macy, ——— Daniels, ——— Snow, ———

*Unpublished M. S.; written probably about 1843.

†Unpublished M. S.

‡Mr. Macy evidently was unaware that the Town Records state that the Town chose Eleazer Folger, schoolmaster, 24th 1 mo. 1716 for £60 for one year.

**The memoranda was written in 1842-3.

Crosby, ——— Wells, James Thompson, Wilson Rawson, Wm Morris, Mark Coffin, Andrew Brock, Oliver C. Bartlett, Wm Brown, Jacob Barney, James Bigelow, Richard L. Coleman, Paul Macy, Reuben Macy, Obed Macy, Daniel P. Macy, Thomas Macy, Peter Macy, Wm Nickels, Obed Ray, Moses Dame, Benj'n Gardner, Uriah Pinkham, Seth F. Swift, Thomas M. Macy, Wm Hughs, Edward M. Gardner, Freeman M. Spofford, Henry A. Morse, Wm W. Wood, Luther Robinson, David Head, ——— Marsh, Jeremiah Killey, Elisha Macy, Wm Marcus, Wm C. Folger, Frederick Gardner, Edward M. Bunker, ——— Laffborough, Abraham Coffin, Edmond Gale, Abraham Macy, Zebdiel Gwinn, Matthew Naylor, John Boadle, Augustus Morse.

Women Teachers

Sophia Bunker, Elizabeth Bunker, Abigail Coffin, Lydia Gardner, Hannah Gardner, Elizabeth Gardner. Anna Swain, Dinah Spooner, Lydia Barney, Katharine Coffin, Anna Joy, Mary Coffin, Elizabeth Austin, Sarah Gale, Charlotte Macy, Phebe Clisby, Elizabeth Clasby, Margaret Worth, Charlotte Clasby, Eunice Easton, Lydia Swain, Sarah Bunker, Lucy Starbuck, Sarah Wood, Elizabeth Coffin, Anna Coffin, Hannah Coffin, Mary Gardner, Emeline Swain, Delia Whippey, Lucretia Paddock, Mary Ann Macy, Eliza Smith, Anna Smith, Mary Worth, Sarah Folger, Eunice Coffin Macy, Lydia Parker, Alice Mitchell, Susan Coffin, Nancy Luce. Eunice Myrick, Eunice Swain, Hepsah Coffin, Eliza Wharton, Mary Hussey, Lydia Macy, Alice Swain, Lydia Bunker, Rachel G. Austin, Judith and Hannah Macy, Mary Easton, Maria Hussey, Margaret Cottle, Mary Burrell, Martha Swain, Eunice Barney, Eliza Barker, Lydia Cleveland, Nabby Coffin, Phebe Coffin, Lucretia F. Macy, Phebe Hussey, Mary Ann Folger, Mary Barker, Rachel Macy, Sarah Barker.*

A reference to the files of the newspapers from 1821 to 1850 will show the name of almost every teacher on the Island within those dates, as they almost invariably advertised.

THE DRAINING OF LILY POND.

Love Swain, wife of George Swain, whose maiden name was Paddock, when about eleven years old, left the Jabez Bunker house where she had been one afternoon to return to her father's house which stood on the hill on the north side of the Lily Pond. She noticed that the water in the Pond was unusually high. It was about sunset at the time. There being no one passing she took a shell and, child-like, dug a little gutter to see the water run, not thinking that any harm could come of it. The Pond at that time was very large. Where Thomas Gardner now lives,† was a rising spot of land, which was surrounded by water where the old folks said there was a Fort for protection against the Indians, in case of an uprising, which was sometimes threatened by them. As it was Gardner's land it was called Gardner Island.

*In January, 1869, the *Inquirer and Mirror* published a list of 159 Nantucket men and women who had gone from the Island to teach schools on the continent.

†1842.

After digging the gutter of sufficient depth to form a running stream, so that she could step across it, she went home, and without thinking to mention the circumstance to anyone, she went to bed. In the morning she was awakened by an outcry made by her father. She laid still and listened, when he got up and looked out of the windows and broke out in strong language to his wife, saying —“O, what a wicked piece of work here is!” “What is it?” his wife asked. He replied. “Some evil-minded person has let the Lily Pond out; it has carried away the sand and made a great gully. The fulling mill is gone and the fences torn up; several small vessels which lay up in the Creek* to winter have been damaged and some boats stove to pieces; and a great deal of damage is done.”

The girl lay still and heard this talk and much more and was greatly alarmed, knowing that she was the author of it. After the first shock was over, she began to reflect upon it. She had said nothing to any one concerning the circumstances and she concluded that she never would.

The matter remained a profound mystery until she arrived at the age of 80 years, when it appeared she was near the close of her life and some of her neighbors were sent for. She then told them as her time was nearly at an end she would relate to them an occurrence that took place more than 70 years before. She then gave them the foregoing information.” The story is from unpublished manuscript left by Obed Macy who says the story was told in substance by Jethro Pinkham who was a neighbor and was present, while Mrs Swain was a woman of unblemished character.

In an appendix Mr Macy gives further information communicated by Charles Gardner, great grandson of George Gardner, who built the house there when it was an island, surrounded by a large pond and which was only conveniently approachable by water carriage. Some distance from the shore was a large rock on which the boys sat to catch pond fish. The rock is now (1842) about 40 rods from the marsh. A large rock was found in front of the house and is now used for a door stone. Mr. Gardner’s story regarding the fort is that it was protection against the Spaniards, but there is no record of any attack by people of that nation unless it was in the West Indies by privateers. In the fort the people, upon an alarm, deposited their money, silver plate and other valuables.

*Since called “Barzillai’s Creek.”

CHAPTER XV

ANTI-SLAVERY

The Society of Friends, at an early period, put itself on record as opposed to human slavery. On the 26th of the 9th month, 1716, the Nantucket Society, at its Monthly Meeting, recorded as its opinion that it is "not agreeable to Truth for friends to purchase slaves & Keep them Term of liffe." This action was voluntarily taken, at a time when such bondage was quite the rule, and many honored members of their own Society participated in it. The action taken by the Meeting was an entering wedge, necessarily so inserted as not to disrupt their organization, but clearly intended to lead up to more definite action later.

On the 23d of the 12th month, 1729-30, the Records say:

"our frd Elihu Coleman offered a small piece of Manuscript to this meeting which was read & approv'd in & by this meeting & ordered to be carried to ye Quarterly Meeting at Rhode island which was a testimony against making slaves of men etc.

In his communication Mr Coleman shows very clearly that the way of what we now style an abolitionist was by no means so smooth sailing, argumentatively, as might be supposed. He writes— "And some now though may think it hard to have this practice spoken against, that has been carried on so long pretty much in silence. I may let such know, that I have found it hard to write against it; yet nevertheless, believing it my duty so to do, I have written according to my understanding thereof. And although I have written but little, and in a very plain way, yet I hope that those remarks I have made thereon, may serve as a text for some to preach to themselves upon. I am not unthoughtful of the ferment or stir that such discourse as this may make among some, who (like Demetrius of old) may say, by this craft we have our wealth, which caused the people to cry out with one voice, "great is Diana of the Ephesians," whom all Asia and the world worship. * * * * *I have often considered how earnestly some men will search into the etymology or original of some things that may be but small, and in the meantime omit the greater. Now in my judgment every thing ought to be looked upon according to the importance, weight, or value of the thing; for to be very zealous in a small thing, and to pass lightly over a greater, that zeal may be more properly called superstition, than good zeal, which should be grounded on knowledge. Now I would have all to consider of this practice of making slaves of negroes, or others that we can get the mastery over, to see upon what foundation it stands, or to see what the original of it was, whether or no pride and idleness was not the first rise of it, that they might go with

white hands, and that their wives might (Jezebel-like) paint and adorn themselves, and their sons and daughters be brought up in idleness, which may be very well termed the mother of all vice; for it is generally the richest sort of people that have them, for the poor are not able to get them. * * * * *

"But some may object, as I myself have heard them, that there was a mark set upon Cain, and they do believe, that these negroes are the posterity of Cain; * * * but if we do but observe, and read in the genealogy of Cain, we may find that they were all drowned in the old world, and that Canaan was of the line of Seth.

"Christ forbids his followers to meddle with the tares, lest they hurt the wheat, therefore none can have any plea for making them slaves, for their being ignorant or wicked; for if that plea would do, I do believe they need not go so far for slaves as now they do.

"Now although the Turks make slaves of those they catch that are not of their religion, yet (as history relates) as soon as any embraces the Mohametan religion, they are no longer kept slaves, but are quickly set free, and for the most part put to some place of preferment; so zealous are they for proselytes and their own religion. Now if many among those called Christians would but consider how far they fall short of the Turks in this particular, it would be well; for they tell the negroes, that they must believe in Christ, and receive the Christian faith, and that they must receive the Sacrament, and be baptized, and so they do; but still they keep them slaves for all this."*

It is easy to see that in his day and generation Elihu Coleman's conception of the duty of society in relation to slavery was especially noteworthy. The principles of the Society of Friends did not permit the stirring up of unnecessary strife. As he intimates those who owned slaves could quote from the Scriptures they all revered an apparent justification for their acts, and to lead his friends to see the light as he saw it was the work which he successfully accomplished. His appeal was convincing and as shown, the Society of Friends put itself definitely on record on the subject as early as February, 1730 (NS).†

Early in the year 1822, the General Court of Massachusetts had before it a proposition to admit to the Commonwealth free negroes and mulattoes. The subject was referred to a committee. In its report the committee said—"The Committee fortunately have it in their power to relate the circumstances leading to the

*"A Testimony against that anti-Christian Practice of making Slaves of Men." Written by Elihu Coleman, who was a minister of the Society of Friends, in 1729-30 and published in 1733.

†The will of William Gayer in 1710, devises property to Africa "a negro, once my servant." Stephen Hussey in 1716 devised to his wife his negro woman, Sarah; to his son Silvanus the negro boy Mark; and to his daughter, Theodate, h's negro girl, Dorothy. James Coffin, Esq. in 1720, left his negro servant, Hagar, to his daughter Mary Gardner, during her life time—then to go to his son John. Shubael Coffin in his will, 1737, devised his servant Bristol, to be free at the age of 30. In his will dated 1739 Samuel Barker, of Falmouth, mentioned four slaves living on Nantucket. Daniel Folger's inventory in 1748 included an Indian servant. In the estate of Thomas Brock in 1750, a negro woman is appraised at £120 old tenor or about £30 lawful money. Nathaniel Starbuck Jr. in 1742 devises to his wife, among other things "all my Indian men and their debts." The inventory of Daniel Hussey in 1754, enumerates "Indian boy James."

first act of emancipation in this Commonwealth in consequence of the verdict of a jury.

These circumstances were obtained from a venerable and most respectable gentleman, now living in New Bedford, and still an active member of that religious Society which has truly merited the respect and gratitude of all good men for its unequalled labours in the most christian, salutary and memorable work undertaken by man. This gentleman,* while living in Nantucket, confident that no law of the Colony justified slavery, received on board a vessel called the Friendship, at that time engaged in the whale fishery, and commanded by Elisha Folger, a young man by the



THE ELIHU COLEMAN HOUSE

name of "Boston," held as a slave by the heirs of Wm. Swain, and at the termination of the voyage, paid the young man his proportion of the proceeds. This circumstance took place between the years 1769 and 1770. In the meantime his reputed master, John Swain, brought an action against the Captain of the vessel, in the Court of Common Pleas at Nantucket, for the recovery of his slave; but the jury returned a verdict in favour of the defendant—and the slave, called Prince Boston, was manumitted by the magistrates. Swain appealed from this judgment to the Supreme Court at Boston—Mr. Rotch thought it advisable to retain John Adams

*William Rotch. The report was presented to the House January 16, 1882, as a matter referred to it from the General Court of 1821, is signed by Theodore Lyman Jr., and accepted by the House Jan. 19, 1822. In the report the Committee says that the case of Prince Boston led "to the first act of emancipation in this Commonwealth in consequence of the verdict of a jury."

as his counsel in the case, but Swain, discouraged by the feelings of the people and the circumstances of the country, never presented the appeal. After that period all the slaves on the Island of Nantucket obtained their freedom. It adds greatly to the satisfaction which this event inspires, to be assured that Prince Boston was a respectable industrious man, and conducted himself with such prudence and economy as to be possessed at an early period in his life of one hundred pounds sterling in the English funds.”*

The Records of the Town afford additional evidence of the feelings of other members of the Society of Friends concerning this unjustifiable traffic in human beings. John and Mary Thurston of Newport, Rhode Island, died possessed of certain slaves, under the laws. Among the heirs to the estate were Hezekiah and Mary Starbuck of Nantucket. It would appear that the Thurstons must have died intestate, so that the estate would be divided according to law. In that case the Nantucket heirs would be entitled to whatever the law designated. They apprehended that slaves would be allotted to them. In that expectation they accepted what might be awarded them, but had publicly recorded by the Town Clerk manumission for the slaves. The Record reads: —

To all Christian People to whom this may Come; whereas there are now living certain Negroes, who have been Considered as the Property and belonging to the Estate of John and Mary Thirston, late of Newport in the County of Newport and State of Rhode Island, deceased; know ye that we Hezekiah & Mary Starbuck of Sherbourn in the County of Nantucket & Commonwealth of Massachusetts being Lawful Heirs to part of the Estate of the aforesaid John and Mary Thirston and therefore part of the sd Negroes may be liable by a Custom of the aforesaid State of Rhode Island to be by us or our Heirs subject to a State of Slavery, but believing it to be contrary to true Christianity and the Divine Injunction of the author thereof to hold any Person or Persons as our Property or continue them in a State whereby they may be Subjected to Slavery after our Decease. In Consideration whereof we do for ourselves, our Heirs, Executors and Administrators and assigns Manumit, Release and Discharge such part of each of the aforesaid Negroes from a State of Slavery as we or our Heirs would by Custom or Law hold, and hereby Declare them to be henceforth Amply and fully Free and we do for ourselves, our Heirs Executors Administrators and assigns Warrant Secure and Defend the said Negroes from all Claims of Right Title or Property in them or any of them of any Person whatsoever, So Claiming or pretending to Claim from by or under us. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands this Twenty Eight Day of the Sixth month Anno 1783.

HEZEKIAH STARBUCK

MARY STARBUCK SEALS

In presence of us

JOB COGGESHALL

THOMAS STARBUCK

*Nantucket Inquirer, Feb. 14. 1822.

Not far from the year 1820, a runaway slave named Arthur Cooper found his way to Nantucket. His claimants resided in Alexandria, Va. According to report he had a small family in 1822. In that year his reputed owners ascertained his whereabouts, and determined to secure him and return him to slavery. Under the Fugitive Slave law it was allowed alleged owners to invade the North to recover what the law determined was their property. Accordingly the agent and a deputy marshal visited Nantucket, intending to carry the man away with them. Cooper and his family were living in that section of the Town known as Guinea. The knowledge of the visit of the agent and his deputy very quickly spread and by the time they arrived at Cooper's residence a large assemblage was there, men respecters of the law but not admitting any property rights in man. Among them were Hon. Walter Folger, Sylvanus Macy, Francis G. Macy, and other prominent citizens. To delay the Deputy Marshall was a matter of prime importance in carrying out plans hastily formulated. Miss Anna Gardner, whose father, grandfather and other relatives were present, gives the following narration of the proceedings.*

"Some time was occupied in front of the house by reading the Deputy's warrant of arrest and by the talk of Judge Folger to the crowd. The latter held that the laws of Massachusetts did not recognize any persons as slaves, and that, as a magistrate, he should be compelled to arrest the agent and Deputy Marshal should they persist in molesting the fugitives. During this prolonged delay my father and Uncle Thomas† stepped quietly around to the back window, and beckoning to the trembling victims, indicated that they were prepared to help them escape. Disguised in my father's coat and Uncle Thomas' broad-brimmed Quaker hat, Arthur Cooper had reached our back door before the wrangle in front of

*Address at the Bi Centennial Celebration in Nantucket July 1895. Tradition says that among those who assembled when the United States Marshall had gone to Cooper's residence to take him into custody was Sylvanus Macy, one of the magistrates. Mr. Macy was not by any means in sympathy with Marshall Bass, but his duties as a Town Justice compelled him to uphold the law. The only thing he could do was to delay the execution, and enable the hunted man to escape. Tradition says that he demanded to see the Marshall's warrant. Bass had left it at his lodging house and Macy would not allow any action to be taken until it was produced. When it had been procured it was handed to Mr. Macy, who deliberately read it over, word after word, from beginning to end, using all the time he could in the operation. Having finished the reading he turned deliberately round to the door of the house where the fugitives had taken refuge, and, rapping upon it, said "I-don't-see-but-the-writ-is-all-right-Mary-and-I-guess-thee'll-have-to-open-thy-door-and-go-with-the-officer. But the fugitives had long before escaped by the back door and were successfully hidden. Macy then turned to Bass and in the same suave, easy tone told him that as a people they were a very quiet, law abiding community, but there were a large number of men there who had passed a large part of their time on the ocean, and were very impulsive and inclined to be a little reckless. If anything **should** happen, and as this proceeding was very distasteful to them it was liable to happen, there was no military force on the Island which could be made available for quelling a riot. He did not think it quite prudent for Mr. Bass to stay on the island longer than was really necessary and in a friendly manner recommended him to leave by the earliest conveyance. The next morning Bass and his deputies left, but without the intended prisoners they came in quest of.

†Thomas M. Macy.)

the house had so far subsided that the officers dare enter on their nefarious quest. When they did so, behold, vacancy! They were defeated, balked. The fugitives had fled!"*

The fugitives remained under cover at Oliver C. Gardner's for some six weeks. Arrangements had been made that if they were threatened with molestation or their hiding place was discovered, they could at once flee to neighboring houses, but they were not further troubled. Cooper lived and died in the little home where he was discovered by the officers.

In 1841, an Antislavery Convention was held at Nantucket. The meetings lasted three days and evenings and were well attended. The people, as a whole, for a long time had been opposed to slavery, not perhaps in the denunciating way of William Lloyd Garrison, but in the way indicated by the Arthur Cooper episode. There doubtless were many who were opposed to anti-slavery. Nantucket had a very considerable trade with the Southern ports and, as in all communities, there was some difference in opinion. There was some disturbance attending the Convention. In her review of the gathering Miss Gardner says: "The mob spirit was in our midst, instigated by men of property and standing" * * * *. "Driven out from every church and public hall in the Town by a hooting mob, the abolitionists were compelled to accept the offer kindly tendered them to hold their meetings in the "big shop," owned by George and Reuben Coffin." But such an explanation is grossly unjust to the community or even to the participants in the disorders.

It was at one of these meetings, held in the Athenaeum, that Frederick Douglass made his debut as a public speaker. Miss Gardner thus describes the event.†

"When asked in the meeting to give his experience as a slave, Douglass complied with fear and trembling, never before having been called out before an audience of white people. It was at that time a great novelty to listen to the story of a man who had just escaped from the jaws of slavery, but they were not prepared to hear that story told in a manner so thrillingly eloquent by one who had never been to school or had a day's teaching in his life. Their surprise was great and they listened with rapt attention * * * * * Garrison, seeing his opportunity to promote the cause, * * * * * arose, and after a few characteristically excellent remarks he appealed to his audience with the query, "Have we been listening to a thing, a chattel personal, or to a man?" "A man! a man!" shouted the audience with one accord. "Shall such a man be held a slave in a Christian land?" "No!" "No!" again shouted the audience, in a voice that seemed to make the rafters ring. Raising his tones to their fullest power, he again exclaimed.

*The only notice that the local newspaper took of the affair was a brief editorial mention some time afterwards. A modern newspaper would have made much of it, but it must be remembered that the local journals of the day did not exist to publish local news—the presumption was that the community knew that; its duty was to let its constituency know what was going on in the outside world.

†Bi-Centennial Address, 1895.

"Shall such a man ever be sent back to bondage from the free soil of old Massachusetts?" With a tremendous roar the whole assembly sprang to their feet and continued shouting: "No!" "No!" "No!" and Garrison's voice was drowned in enthusiastic responses."

Miss Gardner's story of the reception of Mr. Douglass and her statement of the abolitionists at their Convention in Nantucket being "driven out from every church and public hall in the Town by a howling mob" seem hardly compatible, and yet they are doubtless true excepting perhaps the "howling" part. When the



BRANT POINT IN 1850

From South Tower

unquestionable general sentiment of the people of those days on the question of slavery is considered, it is realized that there must have been an undercurrent there which caused an otherwise unexplainable reaction. Once understood the disturbances are easily accounted for.

Among the speakers was Stephen S. Foster, a man whose enthusiasm for abolition made him entirely incapable of judging of the motives of others, or of rendering them even the scantiest consideration. It is evident that his course at the Convention was resented by many, some of whom had been abolitionists of years

standing, among whom were Nathaniel Barney and Peter Macy. It would seem that Messrs. Barney and Macy addressed a letter to him in the fall of 1842, asking him for a statement vindicating his use of his "strong language of denunciation of the American church and clergy—which I employed at the late Anti-Slavery Convention on your Island, and which was the occasion of the disgraceful mob, which disturbed and broke up that meeting." In a booklet of 68 pages, which he entitles "The Brotherhood of Thieves, or a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy," Foster replies. He says "In the remarks which I propose to make, it will not be my object to vindicate myself in the opinion of the public. Indeed, to tell the truth, I place a very low estimate on the good opinions of my countrymen—quite as low, I think, as they do on mine." There is the gist of the whole difficulty. He admits that the public has with "lawless violence" broken up a majority of the meetings he has attended during the past nine months. He says—"The remarks which I made at your Convention, were of a most grave and startling character." * * * "I said at your meeting, among other things, that the American church and clergy, as a body, were thieves, adulterers, man-stealers, pirates, and murderers—that the Methodist Episcopal Church was more corrupt and profligate than any house of ill fame in the city of New York—that the Southern ministers of that body were desirous of perpetuating Slavery for the purpose of supplying themselves with concubines from among its hapless victims"—and that many of our clergymen were guilty of enormities that would disgrace an Algerine pirate! !"

Mr. Foster elaborates equally offensively on his statement and includes in his denunciation the Baptist, Episcopal, Unitarian, Universalist, Free Will Baptist and Friend's Societies.

There was the cause of the trouble and not Abolitionism; is it to be wondered at under the circumstances that such a speaker was barred the churches, or that in a public hall resentment should be shown?"*

The course of the Islanders as a whole has been consistent. They have always been found, by a large majority, on the side of justice and humanity. The leaven of personal freedom permeated their body with the declaration of the Friends' Monthly meeting in 1716, was accelerated in its movement and intensified by the statement of Elihu Coleman in 1729-30, and has never since faltered.

*According to report the lecturers found refuge as a last resort in the building known as the "Big Shop," where was found a forum for all sorts of opinions by all sorts of people. An interesting description of the "Old Shop" is to be found in a paper by Arthur H. Gardner Esq. in the Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association for 1916.

CHAPTER XVI

NANTUCKET'S NEWSPAPERS—LAND SCHEMES

The stories of the beginning of newspaper life in a community are unusually realizations of the Scriptural allegation than "many be called but few are chosen." It can hardly be called a "survival of the fittest," for it frequently happens that the survivor is really no improvement over some of its predecessors, but it seems rather to have struck the phsycological moment when the people were ready for it.

In some respects there is a marked contrast between what are called the country, or weekly, newspapers of today and those of a hundred years ago. Those who examine the newspapers published in small communities in the early part of the last century, can hardly fail to notice two things: First—the amount of space given to purely literary matters, as well as the excellence of the selections; and second, the exceeding paucity, amounting almost to elimination, of purely local news. The theory seems to have been that almost everybody in town knew the local news; what is the use to publish it then, and so but little of it appears. The local historian has to go outside for his facts on that account, and it not only takes more time to collect them but there is more danger of their being distorted.

Nantucket's first newspaper was the Nantucket Gazette published by Tannatt & Tupper, the first number of which is dated May 6, 1816. It was a small, four page paper, four columns wide and twenty inches long. By its advertising columns we learn that Francis & Burdick "have taken the Woollen Factory belonging to Obed Mitchell adjoining the New North Wharf with the intention of operating it." The first marriages recorded are Samuel B. Folger to Miss Nancy F. Hiller, by Rev. Mr. Gurney; Capt. Charles E. Coleman to Miss Sarah Swain and George Smith to Miss Mary Alley, by Rev. Mr. Swift; and William Peckham, of Rhode Island, to Miss Dorcas Gardner at the Friends' Meetinghouse. The only death recorded is that of Mrs. Deborah Willis, who died May 4, aged 55 years. In this issue also appeared a communication from William Coffin on the robbery of the Nantucket Bank twenty-one years before. The little pamphlet published in vindication of several eminent Nantucket citizens was about ready for publication. The paper was Federal Republican politically.

In October Mr. Tupper retired and Mr. Tannatt carried on the publication alone for a brief time. The editor had adversely criticized the way the Great Point light was operated and he was arrested for libel. That may not have been the cause of his downfall, but in the spring of 1817 the affairs of the Gazette were wound up.

June 28, 1817, Mr. Tannatt commenced the publication of the Nantucket Weekly Magazine, a paper smaller even than its predecessor. The second issue had a vigorous communication from Samuel H. Jenks, signed "Quidam," and arraigning the Town for its failure to observe the public statutes regarding schools. With the issue of January 3, 1818, the Magazine gave up the ghost.

It was a bit over three years before anyone else attempted to launch a journalistic bark on the troubled seas of newspaperdom. Then Joseph C. Melcher, with that abiding faith which makes editorial optimism heroic, introduced the Nantucket Inquirer, the first number of which bears the date of Saturday, June 23, 1821. This seemed to be the psychological time, the people were prepared for it and from that day Nantucket has always had the Inquirer and occasionally the market has been shared by other aspirants. Mr. Melcher's idea of what a newspaper of the day should be is contained in his Salutatory. He said—"The first page of the Inquirer will be appropriated to religious intelligence and moral extracts, adapted to the tastes and capacities of people of a serious disposition. The second page will contain the latest Foreign and Domestic Intelligence, Literary Communications, and interesting extracts from the mail papers. The third page will present the shipping intelligence and the latest advertisements of our commercial friends. The fourth page will be devoted to poetry, miscellaneous collections and the continuing advertisements." An ambitious program but the weekly papers of that day, as family papers, suffer little in comparison with those of today.* From the first issue of the Inquirer Nantucket has never been without its newspaper.

Sixteen months after Mr. Melcher began the publication of the Inquirer he resigned the editorship in favor of Samuel Haynes Jenks, still continuing as publisher. Mr. Jenks was an able and vigorous writer and quickly took his stand on the leading questions of the day. The paper had a troubled life at first. Mr. Jenks retired temporarily from the editorship with the last issue of 1824, William Coffin Jr. taking his place. In a few months, however, he was again at the helm. This time he continued until November 10, 1827, when John Thornton took charge, the mechanical supervision being under Thomas J. Worth. Mr. Thorn-

*The Gazette was printed in a building which stood at the corner of State (name changed subsequently to Main) and Water streets. Nov. 12, 1822 Mr. Tannatt was publishing the Hampden Patriot, Mr. Melcher subsequently removed to the Vineyard having in the meantime published the New England Gazette in New Bedford.

ton soon joined the ranks of his predecessors, and in October, 1830 Charles Bunker wielded the editorial scepter.* Mr. Bunker sceptered about two years and in September, 1832, he stepped down and out, and again Mr. Jenks was called in.† He continued in charge at this time for over ten years, until April 7, 1841, the paper during that time appearing as a semi-weekly.

In succession there followed, in editorial management, William Alfred Jenks, son of the former editor, to December 1, 1841, the *Inquirer* appearing with a weekly and a semi-weekly edition; December 4, 1841, Hiram B. Dennis; September, 1843, John Morrissey; May, 1845 Andrew W. Macy and Edward W. Cobb;‡ July, 1855, Mr. Morrissey again; October 1858, Alexander P. Moore, who discontinued the semi-weekly edition, until November 6, 1860; August 28, 1861, William H. Beekman, with Edward M. Gardner as editor; April 1, 1865, consolidated with the *Mirror*.

Up to 1840 the only local journalistic rival that the *Inquirer* had was the short lived *Journal* which began life September 14, 1826 and capitulated to the *Inquirer* (with its capital I) June 1, 1827. In 1840, the Democrats of the Town, with the design of having an organ of their own, started the *Islander*, putting Charles C. Hazewell, a Boston young man, in charge.** It naturally followed that little love was lost between the rival papers. Mr. Jenks usually referred to his contemporary as the I-Slander.

The *Islander's* existence was not a prolonged one; in March, 1843, the struggle was over. The remains were assembled by Woodbury Bradford, Thomas Cross and Alexander B. Robinson who began the publication of *The Weekly Telegraph* in June, 1844, soon after beginning the publication of the *Daily Telegraph*, Nantucket's first daily. The *Inquirer*, not to be outdone in the journalistic field, started a daily edition soon after. As might be expected both papers were eventually in the market for a purchaser, and in 1845, Edward W. Cobb bought the entire outfit of them both and continued the publication of the *Inquirer* for the next ten years.

Mr. Cobb's troubles were only begun. In June, 1845, John Morrissey, a former editor of the *Inquirer*, began the publica-

*Under Mr. Jenks the motto borne by the *Inquirer* was "Quid autem si vox libera non sit, liberum esse?" (translated freely "what is liberty without freedom of speech?"); Mr. Bunker changed the motto adopting the sentiment from the Massachusetts Bill of Rights—"The Liberty of the Press is essential to the security of Freedom." Mr. Worth subsequently moved to Moosesville, Iowa, and published a paper there.

†September 14, 1826, during Mr. Jenk's previous reign, some of the people not liking his politics started the *Nantucket Journal*, putting William H. Bigelow in charge. Mr. Bigelow insisted on spelling *Inquirer* with a capital E. whereupon Mr. Jenks remarked "He'll find himself ill at Es putting out other peoples Is."

‡In July, 1844, a daily edition was started which continued up to some time in 1846.

**Hazewell had a remarkable memory. For many years, later in life, he was connected with the *Boston Traveler*, which, every Saturday, published a page review of the news of the week and on the last day of the year a summary of the year's news. It is said that these summaries were written by Mr. Hazewell entirely from memory.

tion of the Weekly Mirror and in December of the same year Mr. Jenks launched The Warder on the troubled seas of Nantucket journalism and politics. The Warder, although the only newspaper to escape the baptism of the Great Fire, did not live beyond the latter part of 1846.* The Mirror was sold by Mr. Morrissey in June, 1849, to Samuel B. Hussey and Henry D. Robinson, who carried it on very successfully, and in 1865 being then owned and published by Roland B. Hussey, son of Samuel, it was consolidated with the Inquirer. As the "Inquirer and Mirror" the publication



COLONIAL FRONTS

has since continued and it is recognized as one of the most successful country weeklies in the southeastern part of the State.

In August 1874, Isaac H. Folger, a veteran of the Civil War, began the publication of the Island Review, which had an existence of four years as a semi-weekly, a weekly and a daily. S. Heath Rich became identified with Mr. Folger subsequently, and in the fall of 1878, Messrs Folger and Rich bought the Brockton Advance and discontinued the Review.

*Mr. Jenks flourished in a period when the greater part of the preparation of copy was attended to in the editorial sanctum. Many of the editors of his day brightened the pages of their papers by their own witticisms. Marriage notices where names could be punned upon or made to serve a double meaning were their delight. Here is an instance of many appearing in the local paper and ascribed to the pen of Mr. Jenks.

Married in this town — Mr. Barnabas Bourne to Miss Lydia B. Long.

"Said the bridegroom in haste to his bride elect,
Don't Lydia B Long, for the torch of Love burns;
But the damsel more wary and circumspect asked
If this was the Bourne whence no trav'ler returns."

Entirely undismayed by the abundance of flotsam and jetsam along the shores of the sea of Nantucket journalism, Arthur H. Gardner in 1878 began the publication of the *Nantucket Journal*, not a revival of the *Journal* of 1826 but a new venture ab initio. The first number was issued September 25, 1878; the last November 23, 1899. Mr. Gardner was elected to the General Court and doubtless found the duties of a local editor and a State legislator incompatible.

Since the days of the *Journal* the *Inquirer* and *Mirror* has had the field practically to itself, other attempts proving merely sporadic affairs. During the latter part of its life the *Journal* had, for the summer of 1889 a daily bantling called the "*Sconset Visitor*," and the year before the "*Sconset Pump*" trickled its stream from the *Inquirer* and *Mirror* office, but neither was a financial success.

In amateur journalism "*The Magnet*" printed by S. Heath Rich in 1873, and "*The Sherburne News*" published later in the same decade by Fred V. Fuller, had brief existences.

LAND SCHEMES

Several schemes have been devised to interest those unfortunate* people who were forced to dwell on the main land, in Nantucket real estate. So far, however, the profit has seemed to have rested mainly with surveyors, draughtsmen and agents who received their fees and commissions in cash. And yet the plans have been wondrously fair to look upon! Mr. Worth gives the following story of some of these unsuccessful speculations.†

The first was started in 1873, at the north shore, under the title of the "*Nantucket Bluffs*." About the same time Dr. Franklin A. Ellis and Charles H. Robinson bought a tract in Siasconset, south of the "*Gully*." Both schemes proved successful and the tracts, though small in area, sold readily and were quickly built upon. The success seemed encouraging, and soon after S. B. Tourtelot, of Worcester, bought a large section at Maddeket, had it surveyed and a very handsome map made of it nicely laid out in 2,000 lots, with all the elaboration of an attractive city. The only things which seemed to be needing were purchasers and buildings, and they have never been supplied.

In 1873, the *Surfside Land Company* bought a tract between Weeweeder Pond and Tom Nevers Head and entered on an elab-

*It is related of Gov. Ames, who married a most estimable Nantucket lady, that when he came to the Island for the ceremony, he was accosted by a native, who asked him, without knowing who he was, if he had come down to the wedding. "Whose wedding?" inquired Mr. Ames. "Why Anna Ray's" was the reply. "She's a Coffin, you know; but he is nothing but an off-islander."

†*Lands and Landowners* p. 214. In the decade between 1860 and 1870 houses were sold as low as \$150 and in some cases it paid to buy them and ship them in sections to the main land, there to be re-erected.

orate scheme for projecting a beautiful city by the sea. The tract had a beach frontage of three miles and a width of one mile and was bonded for \$200,000. In 1881 the Nantucket Central Railroad had been built to that point, a hotel, bought abroad and imported in sections had been set up there, the Coffin Family held its first (and only) Reunion with a large number of visitors present and a dinner at the Hotel and all seemed propitious for a boom. It never came—the railroad has not even two streaks of rust to mark its right of way, the Hotel long ago fell to pieces and the only thing to now remind those who did not invest money there is the notice of the Tax Collector advertising lots for sale on which taxes remain unpaid.

In 1874, Lete & Wooding, of New Haven, Conn., bought a tract at Quaise, and divided it into 500 house lots, but they were subsequently sold in bulk for non-payment of taxes.

W. & J. A. Veazie of Boston purchased in 1875 land at the South Shore, between Hummock and Long Ponds, called it "Nauticon," divided it into 1700 lots. They sold a few but no one ever seemed to have courage enough to build and the beautiful settlement that was to rise never got beyond the dream.

In 1876, Henry Coffin and others opened up a section of the Cliffs under the name of Sherburne Bluffs. There were 28 lots some of which were built upon.

In 1880, some small tracts on Brant Point and on the hill at Clifton Springs, were sold and improved. Other ventures were—1882, Wauwinnet; 1883, Flagg's lots Siasconset; 1883, Coatue Land Co. near Wauwinnet; 1884, Thomas Gray and —Round, south of Siasconset; 1885, Sankaty Heights; 1886, Swift Lot, Brant Point; 1886, Sassachacha; 1886, Lincoln Heights (at Cliff); 1887, Aurora Heights, Siasconset; 1888, Dionis City, west of Capaum Pond; 1889, Monomoy Heights; 1895, Low Beach (south of Siasconset). In 1901, a New Bedford man as a tea advertising dodge bought 80 acres of land on the east side of Miacomet pond, divided it into 2,300 lots christened it Miacomet Park and advertised to give a lot with every pound of tea sold, providing the purchaser paid \$2.00 for the deed. About 40 deeds were recorded by the Registrar.

A few years later Otis Emerson Dunham, not having the graphic lesson taught by the experience of Mr. Tourtelot before his mind, or thinking perchance he would have the success his predecessor sought vainly for, opened up the Maddeket territory again under the attractive name of Maddeket Terraces. He sold a few lots, but purchasers did not seem to have courage to build, and quite a number of the lots have been advertised for non-payment of taxes. It may be said that the Town's Assessors have been very conservative in their valuations, when one considers the glowing commendations of the boomers.

The latest scheme is that of the Nantucket Land Co., started in 1916, which bought about 400 acres of land with Tom Nevers' Head as a *piece de resistance*. The Company has erected a small hotel, or Lodge as they call it, and some buildings have been put up. The site seems excellent and prospects good.

CHAPTER XVII

REPRESENTATIVES IN THE GENERAL COURT

Under the jurisdiction of New York the Island of Nantucket had no representation in the Colonial law making body. Immediately after the assumption of jurisdiction by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, before, in fact, the Islanders were acquainted fully with their jurisdictional status, they received a precept to choose a Representative to the Great and General Court.*

The first man, apparently, to be chosen by the Town as its Representative, (Deputy, as he was called,) was James Coffin, who was elected at a Town Meeting held probably March 5, 1696-7.

His successors have been:

1696, 1698, 1700, 1704† James Coffin	1706, Richard Gardner
1707-1709, to 1716 inclusive James Coffin	1717, 1718, Joseph Coffin
1719, 1720, 1721 George Bunker	1722, Jeremiah Gardner
1723 to 1732 inclusive, George Bunker	1733, No election
1734 to 1740 inclusive George Bunker	1741, No election at the regular time in May. In July the Town chose Capt. Josiah Coffin.
1742-1743 George Bunker‡	1744, John Bunker
1745. No election	1746, No election
1747 to 1765 inclusive, Abishaï Folger	1766, Stephen Hussey
1767, Timothy Folger	1768 to 1774 inclusive Stephen Hussey **

*John Gardner 1692-3 (Legislative p. 213.)

†Not chosen regularly.

‡The Town Records say he was elected "by a great majority." One is left to put his own construction on the record.

**Mr. Hussey's election to the General Court put him in good favor (See next page)

During the Revolution Nantucket elected no Representative. As has been abundantly shown it was entirely impracticable to do so.

1783, Alexander Coffin Peleg Coffin, Jr. Stephen Hussey	1784 Alexander Coffin Peleg Coffin, Jr. Stephen Paddack
1785, Timothy Folger	1786-7 George Hussey
1788,	1789, Peleg Coffin, Jr. Alexander Gardner
1790, Alexander Gardner	1791, Micajah Coffin Alexander Gardner
1792 to 1807 inclusive, Micajah Coffin	1808, Micajah Coffin Walter Folger, Jr. Uriah Swain
1809, George Cannon Micajah Coffin Shubael Coffin Jedediah Fitch Micajah Gardner Archelus Hammond Martin Tyler Morton Uriah Swain Daniel Whitney	1810, George Cannon Micajah Coffin Shubael Coffin Jedediah Fitch Obed Folger George Gardner 2d Micajah Gardner Archelus Hammond Daniel Whitney
1811, George Cannon Micajah Coffin Schubael Coffin Jedediah Fitch Obed Folger Micajah Gardner Archelus Hammond Coffin Whippey	1812, George Cannon* Micajah Coffin Shubael Coffin Simeon Coleman Jedediah Fitch Obed Folger Micajah Gardner Archelus Hammond Coffin Whippey
1813, Gilbert Coffin	1814, Micajah Gardner†
1815, Micajah Gardner†	1816, Thaddeus Coffin
1817-18, Micajah Gardner,	1819, Jonathan Jenkin's Barney

with the Provincial Congress. He was appointed on the local Committee on Correspondence and several times consulted by the Colonial authorities on local affairs.

*The Town Records show no report of an election of Representatives in 1812. There is outside evidence of a disturbance at the meeting.

†In 1814 and 1815 there were riotous proceedings because of illegal acts by the Selectmen and in both cases the General Court declared the elections vacated.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1820, William Coffin, | 1821, Barker Burnell
Francis Gardner Macy
Jethro Mitchell |
| 1822, Barker Burnell, | 1823, Hezekiah Barnard
Gideon Folger |
| 1824-25 Francis Gardner Macy | 1826-27, Hezekiah Barnard |
| 1828, Peter Chase, | 1829, Hezekiah Barnard
Jared Coffin
Geo. Washington Gardner
James Mitchell
Seth Pinkham |
| 1830, Isaac Folger,
Geo. Washington Gardner
Seth Pinkham | 1831, Hezekiah Barnard
David Baxter
Isaac Folger |
| 1832. David Baxter
John Coffin Briggs
Isaac Folger | 1833, David Baxter
John Coffin Briggs
Jared Coffin,
Isaac Folger
David Joy
George Myrick
Seth Pinkham |
| 1834, Frederick Arthur,
David Baxter
John Coffin Briggs
Jared Coffin
William Redwood East-
on
George Myrick
Seth Pinkham
Seth Freeman Swift | 1835, David Baxter
John Coffin Briggs
George Marshall Bunker
Thaddeus Coffin
William Redwood East-
on
Roland Hussey
William Jenkins
Seth Pinkham
William Watson |
| 1836, Frederick Arthur
John Coffin Briggs
George Marshall Bunk-
er
William Redwood East-
on
Benjamin Gardner
Samuel Haynes Jenks
William Jenkins
Seth Pinkham
William Watson | 1837, Frederick Arthur
John Coffin Briggs
George Marshall Bunker
Jared Coffin
Benjamin Gardner
William Jenkins
George Bruce Upton
William Watson |

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1838, George Marshall Bunker
William Redwood Easton
William Seabury French
William Watson
Daniel Whitney</p> | <p>1839, George Bradburn
Isaac Brayton,
John Coffin Briggs
Samuel Haynes Jenks
Frederick Cartwright
Macy
Josiah Swain</p> |
| <p>1840, George Bradburn
John Coffin Briggs
Benjamin Gardner
Samuel Haynes Jenks
David Joy
William Bunker Mitchell</p> | <p>1841, George Bradburn
John Coffin Briggs
Benjamin Gardner
George Bruce Upton</p> |
| <p>1842, Obed Barney
Charles Gardner Coggeshall
George Gill Folger
David Joy</p> | <p>1843, David Baker
Obed Barney
Hiram Bennet Dennis
George Gill Folger</p> |
| <p>1844, David Baker
George Gill Folger
Daniel Jones Jr
Charles Wood</p> | <p>1845, David Baker
George Harris
William Coffin Starbuck
Charles Wood</p> |
| <p>1846, George Harris
Justin Lawrence</p> | <p>1847, None sent</p> |
| <p>1848, David Baker
William Barney,
Justin Lawrence
Joseph Mitchell</p> | <p>1849, William Barney
Joseph Mitchell,
John Morissey
William Coffin Starbuck</p> |
| <p>1850, William Barney
Edward Wyer Cobb
Reuben Meader
Joseph Mitchell</p> | <p>1851, James Harkey Briggs
Reuben Meader
Obed Swain</p> |
| <p>1852, James Harkey Briggs
Henry Clay Worth</p> | <p>1853, George Howland Folger
Reuben Meader
Josiah Swain</p> |
| <p>1854, Edward Hammond
Josiah Swain
David Wood</p> | <p>1855, Charles Hussey Brock
William Cushman Bunker
John Elkins
Edward Hammond</p> |

1856, Edward Hammond John Morissey John Hussey Shaw	1857, Edward Hammond John Morissey John Hussey Shaw William Wyer Wood
1858, Joseph Mitchell Peleg Ray, Charles Wood	1859, James Franklin Cobb Peleg Ray
1860, John Thompson Charles Wood	1861, Elisha Smith Alfred Swain
1862, Andrew Jackson Morton Elisha Smith	1863, Charles Frederic Brown Andrew Jackson Morton
1864, Reuben Pinkham Folger Elisha Smith	1865, Reuben Pinkham Folger Joseph Mitchell 2d
1866, Isaac Hussey Folger Joseph Mitchell 2d	1867, William Henry Waitt Andrew Whitney
1868, William Henry Waitt	1869, Isaiah Freeman Robin- son
1870, Reuben Pinkham Folger	1871, Robert Folger Gardner Andrew Pinkham
1872 Robert Folger Gardner	1873-74 Edward McCleave
1875-76, Joseph Mitchell 2d	1877, Charles Bunker Swain
1878-81, Henry Paddack	1882-83 Josiah Freeman
1884-87, John William Hallett	1888, Henry Riddell
1889-90, Anthony Smalley	1891-92 Arthur Hinton Gard- ner
1893-94, Anthony Smalley	1895-97, John Jackson Gardner
1898, Rollin Morris Allen	1899, David Barnard Andrews
1900-04, Arthur Hinton Gard- ner*	1905-6, William Chase Dun- ham
1907-09, Ellenwood Bunker Coleman	1910-13, Benjamin Sharp.
1914-17, Edward H. Perry	1918— Arthur W Jones,

Nantucket has been represented in the State Senate as fol-

*Matthew Mayhew is credited with being the Nantucket Senator in 1788 according to Dr. Sharp's list published in the Proceedings of the Nant. Hist. Assocn. for 1911 (p. 30). It would seem as if this was an error.

lows since the Revolution: Peleg Coffin Jr. 1785 to 1787 inclusive 1790 to 1796 inclusive.*

Isaac Coffin 1800 1802-7 inc	George Gorham Hussey 1808
Walter Folger Jr 1809-1814 incl	Thaddeus Coffin 1815
George Myrick 1821.	Walter Folger Jr 1822
Barker Burnell 1823	Barker Burnell 1825 to 1833
Jethro Mitchell 1823	incl.
David Joy 1834	Samuel Haynes Jenks 1835
David Joy 1837	Barker Burnell 1838
George Bruce Upton 1839-40 1843	Obed Barney 1844
William Mitchell 1845	Barker Burnell Jr 1846
John Elkins 1849	William Coffin Starbuck 1850
William Barney 1851-2	Joseph Mitchell 1854.
William Barney 1856	

Four Nantucket citizens have served on the Governor's Council—David Joy in 1838; William Mitchell in 1848-9; John Morissey in 1858; and Alfred Macy in 1872-3-4.

Twice Nantucket has furnished the State with its Treasurer and Receiver General—Peleg Coffin Jr. from 1797 to 1801 inclusive and Hezekiah Barnard, 1832 to 1837 inclusive.

Joseph Mitchell was State Auditor in 1855.

Four of our citizens have served the Congressional District as Representatives in the National Congress: Peleg Coffin Jr in 1793-4-5; Gideon Gardner in 1809-10-11-12; Walter Folger Jr in 1817-18-19-20; and Barker Burnell in 1841-2-3-4.

*In 1903 the General Court passed an act making the Cliff bathing beach a public reservation.

CHAPTER XVIII

SIASCONSET--MISCELLANEOUS

There seems to be a tendency on the part of humanity to view what one is doing himself as work, and frequently what the other fellow is doing as sport. The regular hunter pursues his game, not as a diversion, but as a business, from which comes his livelihood. The fisherman fails to see any real fun in his daily toil, excepting that derived from living from day to day. So with what constitutes a summer pleasure resort. The south and the west look to New England as a summer recreation ground; New Englanders throng to their beaches and mountains; those living at the beaches and mountains seek some more retired spot, out of the line of general travel. Thus Nantucket becomes a refreshing and cooling-off place for the whole country, but when the particular and aristocratic Nantucketer sought his summer resort he found it at Siasconset. Like the sequence of Swift—

“So, naturalists observe, a flea
Has smaller fleas that on him prey;
And these have other fleas to bite 'em;
And so proceed ad infinitum.”

J. Hector St John de Crevecoeur in his “Letters from an American Farmer” published in 1793 says of Siasconset, “Several dwellings had been erected on this wild shore, for the purpose of sheltering the fishermen in the season of fishing; I found them all empty, except that particular one, to which I had been directed. It was, like the others, built on the highest part of the shore, in the face of the great ocean * * *. What rendered this house still more worthy of notice in my eyes, was, that it had been built on the ruins of one of the ancient huts, erected by the first settlers, for observing the appearance of the whales. Here lived a single family without a neighbour; I had never before seen a spot better calculated to cherish contemplative ideas; perfectly unconnected with the great world, and far removed from its perturbations. * * * * *

The family that occupied this house lived entirely by fishing, for the plough has not dared yet to disturb the parched surface of the neighbouring plain; and to what purpose could this operation be performed!”

A few years later, in 1792, it was beginning to be recognized as a health resort, and the tranquility of body and mind which impressed themselves upon St John began to have an outreaching in-

fluence, and Zaccheus Macy, writing at the later date, in his description of the Island, previously quoted, says "At the south-east part * * * is a high bluff head of land, called Tom Never's Head; and about two miles to the northward stands our famous fishing stage houses, where our sick people go for their health, called Siasconset."

Essential progress was made from the time noted by St John to the days of Obed Macy, who is quite enthusiastic for an unexcitable, sober-minded Friend over the conditions. Mr Macy says*—



'SCONSET BANK

"The houses, with few exceptions, are occupied only in the warm season. As a summer resort, no place in the United States presents greater attractions for the invalid than Siasconset. "It is not, indeed, the focus of fashionable life. But the fine bracing air, the excellent water, and the unique customs and "laws"† of the place are admirably adapted to refresh and invigorate both mind and body. At Siasconset, all are on a level, or rather on an equal elevation. Useless forms and ceremonies are laid aside, and the little commu-

*Page 260.

†The essential law of the village is said to be "help yourself or go without," democratic enough to suit the most pronounced communist.

nity, for the time being, indulge in a reciprocity of good feeling and interchange of civilities, which can be found in no place but one situated precisely like Siasconset, and no other such place exists in the known world."

A little later, in 1882, Mr. Godfrey* wrote— "The village has about a hundred dwellings, a schoolhouse, a grocery, an ice-cream saloon, two hotels—the Atlantic and Ocean View,— also private boarding houses, and is a cool, clean, healthy, quiet place in which to get rested after a hard winter's work. * * * A number of pretty cottages have been erected by summer residents during the past few years; more are in contemplation, and when the railroad reaches the village (which is promised this season), it will be more than



THE SIASCONSET PUMP

ever resorted to by Islander and stranger alike as a delightful spot at which to recuperate." The railroad has come and gone but the fame of 'Sconset remains undimmed.

A few years later, in 1901, A Judd Northrup, a summer visitor, testified, and said of it—"Its spirit, its simple pleasures, its ever resounding surf, the battle on "the rips," the glamour of the moors at sunset,—these and a hundred other things remain as of yore. Nature still holds sturdily to her grandeur and her glory. A new generation of lovers of quaint 'Sconset has arisen, and still the old lovers come back during the dreamy days of summer, all gathering out of air and sky, moor and ocean, health and rest and joy as of old."

*E. K. Godfrey in "Island of Nantucket." p. 286.

Of late years many prominent actors have made their summer homes in this delightful and restful spot, where, entirely away from the restrictions of their profession, they find in Siasconset that peace and content of body and mind that qualify them for the next season's draught upon their vitality. So many are there of them that they form what is known as the "Actors' Colony." There



CASINO AT SIASCONSET

are in the village fine golf grounds and a convenient Casino with lawn tennis Courts and other attractions and the summer population of Nantucket's suburb is an important factor in the Island development.

The spirit of the village is as it was——years ago when Rev —— Leonard, Pastor of the First Congregational Society, penned the following poem on

"The Laws Of Sconset"

"Wide in the East on Nancy's Isle,
Where wars the wild surf louder,
Ascends to view the happy vill,
For freedom famed and choudre.*

Fresh from the wave they take the cod,
To feast the soul that wants it;
Its air is pure, its water good,
Its name is Siasconset.

*Modernly spelled chowder. There is no pastor named Leonard recorded of the First Cong'l church. The name may have been Leonard Frost of the Methodist church.

Old Saturn's reign is here begun,*
 The Orient of the nations;
 Here kings and compliments are done,
 And all your Boston fashions.

The song, the jest, the smile serene
 Amuse the friend that haunts it;
 Here old Simplicity is seen
 In ancient dress at 'Sconset.

Its pump the lymph oblivious† pours,
 To drown despite and treason;
 Its purer air at once restores
 To liberty and reason.‡

When erring virtue asks excuse,
 'T is free good-nature grants it,
 And that which else would be abuse
 Is winked by laws of 'Sconset;

And should your fault incur a grudge,
 Our courts** you must attend, sir;
 Your speaker's conscience; reason, judge;
 Your jury is a friend, sir.

This court guards well our dearest rights,
 And when the county owns it,
 Lawyers will starve with all their wits,
 And curse the laws of 'Sconset.

Hygeia†† here her reign resumes,
 The hyp'd and crazy healing;
 Restores old wounds, dispels the glooms,
 And brings the callous, feeling.

Then let religious maniacs prate,
 And on the treaty bounce it;
 Here invalids in church and state
 Are all made whole at 'Sconset.

The mind with priestcraft long beguiled
 May choose with freedom handy,

*The Golden Age of ancient poets, which they prophesied should come again when the Goddess of Justice (Astraea) returned to the earth.

†Allusion to the ancient river Lethe, whose waters were said to make oblivious all things that were past. The well at Siasconset is accordingly celebrated for a salubrious quality in its water. The use of it so corrects the viscious humors of the body that it really produces in the mind the disposition here suggested.

‡The flux and reflux of the tide operates as a continual ventilation to the place.

**The legislature which has favored us with this useful code of laws is composed of conscience, reason and philanthropy. No bribes prevent a strict administration of justice. The happy era is not far distant, in which this court, we hope, will give laws to the universe. At that time priests and lawyers will be but "drones of the church and harpies of the state."

††The daughter of Aesculapius, and the Goddess of health.

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

Good Moses with the spirit filled,
Or Thomas Paine with brandy.*

And thus will I, though pope and sect
With bulls and zeal denounce it;
My reason's mine to think and act
Like thee, friend Siasconset!

The souls of once too rude a form
Receive a softer moulding;
Here Jacobins forget to storm,
And wives leave off their scolding.

The wight in town, who swells with pride,†
Or like Clesippus‡ vaunts it,
The paltry coxcomb lays aside
And wears the man at 'Sconset.

Should party zeal the bosom rile,
'Tis here nor felt nor seen, sir,**
For choudre will correct the bile,
And dissipate the spleen sir.

Then when with B-K the wild heart swells,
Some genius bids denounce it;
For no revenge or malice dwells
With thee, O Siasconset!

Now let the fair one share her part,
Sweet village in thy candor;
Safe to disclose her feeling heart,
Nor fear the scorpion slander.††

Thus the fond maid shall find excuse,
If first she make the onset;
Her soul's elect her hand may choose
By laws of Siasconset.

Should polygons‡‡ and Catspaws*** ask
My judgment of the vi'lence,
This law I'll claim, to wear the mask,
And answer them in silence.

Thrice happy vill, extend thy reign
Till every nation owns it;
Thus shall the world its glory gain
Beneath thy laws, O 'Sconset!

*All sectarian principles are viewed here (like the offal of the fish) as the refuse of the village. They are all cast down the bank together.

†The influence of these laws is quite unfriendly to every species of nobility, not only at Congress, but also at Nantucket.

‡See Entick's account of the heathen gods, etc.

**Such is the common veneration for the municipality of Siasconset, that all prejudices and animosities among the visitants are always left within the gate of the Town.

††Though these laws in this respect are quite friendly to the fair sex, yet we would not excite in any lady an expectation of making more than one half of the marriage contract.

‡‡In mathematics, figures of many sizes.

***In the fable moralized, tools of party.

**PUBLIC FRIENDS BELONGING TO NANTUCKET SINCE THE
SOCIETY WAS ORGANIZED:**

Mary Starbuck, wife of Nathaniel.
 Priscilla Coleman, wife of John, mother of Elihu and Nathaniel.
 Nathaniel Coleman.
 Elihu Coleman.
 Priscilla Bunker, wife of Samuel.
 Joseph Mitchell—removed up country.
 Benjamin Worth—removed "Down East."
 Elizabeth Worth, wife of Richard, daughter of Walter Folger.
 Dorcas Brown, wife of William.
 Mary Mitchell, wife of Joseph—belonged in Rhode Island but
 resident of Nantucket.
 Tristram Burrell, removed to "Nine Partners," R. I.
 Mary Allen, wife of Walter—removed to North Providence.
 Lucretia Mott, wife of James—moved to Philadelphia.
 Dorcas Pickham — removed to Providence.
 Elizabeth Barker, wife of Josiah.
 Judith Coffin, wife of Mark.
 Judith Jones, daughter of Silas.
 Rachel Thornton.
 Sarah Upton.
 George Mitchell.
 Mary Macy, wife of Samuel.
 Benjamin Mitchell—moved to Nine Partners.
 Charles Coffin, son of Alpheus—moved to Kennebeck.
 Lydia Hussey, wife of Cyrus.*

WHAT IS MEANT BY COWS' COMMONS.

The tenure of land in Nantucket is somewhat peculiar as applied to what are known as the Commons. and as originally applied to nearly all the land purchased under the original grants. Mr William H. Macy, for many years Register of Deeds, gives the following explanation of what is implied by Cows Commons.†

"An elaborate article on this theme would possess little interest to the general reader, but a few words may not be amiss, to give an outline of the meaning of the term "sheep common" and "cow common."

As might be supposed, a sheep common as used by the early settlers, signified as much land as would furnish commonage or pasturage for a sheep. Its original equivalent seems to have been an acre and a half of land. In the olden time all the land, except such pieces as were set aside for homesteads, and designated as "house-lot land," was held in common by the twenty-seven original

*This list is from Obed Macy's unpublished manuscript and is complete only up to 1843.

†Godfrey's Nantucket Guide, p. 86.

proprietors. Estimating the whole extent of available land, in round numbers, at about 29,000 acres, each man's share would be 720 commons for sheep. The product of $720 \times 27 = 19,440$, which represents the whole number of sheep commons at the outset. When at a later period certain large tracts of land were laid out to form "divisions," and designated by names such as "Squam," "Southeast Quarter," "Smooth Hummocks," etc., each division was divided into twenty-seven shares as nearly equal in size as the nature of the case would admit,—quality and quantity considered. When these divisions were laid out the number of proprietors was no longer twenty-seven, as it was constantly increasing by inheritance as well as by bargain and sale, and few individuals could claim a whole share in any one of the divisions: but each share was supposed to contain 720 undivided parts, and each land owner owned the same fractional interest in one of those shares as in a full share of all the common lands. Lots were drawn to determine in what particular share of the new division each man's interest should fall. The whole might contain one acre, or it might contain fifty acres according to the extent of the division laid out; but 720 was the constant denominator, and a man who owned, say forty-five sheep commons of the original land, or more correct $45/19.440$ of the common land, would also be the owner of $45/720$. undivided, of a certain share in "Southeast Quarter;" of a certain share in Squam; and so on in the several divisions as they were successively laid out. All the land of the Island, excepting house-lot land was owned in this manner, whether used for planting or stocking purposes,—the several proprietors of each share holding it in common and undivided, and buying and selling only undivided fractional interests. The lands so laid out in divisions were known by the name of "dividend lands."

The proprietors formed themselves into an organization which still exists, under the name of "The Proprietors of the Common and Undivided Lands of Nantucket;" hold meetings and keep records of their own distinct from the records of deeds.

For more than a hundred and fifty years, down into the beginning of the present century, * all the land of the Island—aside from the house-lot land—was thus owned in common, and the proprietors steadily refused to set off any one person's interest to him in severalty. But these fetters were soon broken by Obed Mitchell and a few others, who being large proprietors, desired to obtain a title in severalty to the district known as Plainfield, lying north of the village of Siasconset and containing some two thousand acres. Failing in their efforts at the Proprietors' meetings, they carried the case to the courts, and after several years of litigation they gained their point, and obtained possession of Plainfield. After this, others followed their example, petitioning to have

*The suit seems to have been begun late in 1810 or early in 1811.

their interests set off at certain specified localities; and all the "set-offs" by the organization at regular meetings called in legal form have been and are still considered as giving good and sufficient title.

In 1821, several tracts were laid out and apportioned under the names of Smooth Hummocks, Trott's Hills, Head of the Plains, and others, and these are often spoken of as the "new divisions."

By the great set-off to Obed Mitchell and others, the number of sheep commons has been reduced from 19,440 to 17,172; and although there are still twenty-seven shares in each division as before, the constant denominator was changed from 720 to 636. The owner of one-twentieth part of an original share of land—provided no part of his interest had been sold—would own (or rather his heirs would own) today* thirty-six sheep commons in the common and undivided lands, with thirty-six sheep commons (meaning thirty-six undivided 720th parts) of a certain share in each of the old divisions as Squam, Southeast Quarter, etc. as also thirty-six sheep commons (meaning thirty-six undivided 636th parts) in some certain share of each of the new divisions, as Smooth Hummocks, Trott's Hills, etc. It was possible to buy and sell these interests in the "dividend lands" separate from the interest in the common land, and thus a proprietor who bought out all his co-tenants would own an entire share, defined by certain specific boundary lines.

A sheep common, then, signified $1/19.440$ of all the common land on the Island. The original idea was an acre and a half of land, but as the term is now used, it indicates nothing definite either in area or value, but means simply a certain undivided fractional part of a very uncertain something else, until the whole circumstances of each particular case are investigated.

As soon as a division was laid out and drawn in shares, the Proprietors, as an organization, ceased to have any control over it. If the owner of any portion of a share desired to hold his part in severalty, he must make formal application to the judicial courts, which would appoint commissioners to set off his portion; and many good titles have thus been secured. But in many cases, where an undivided interest has remained in the same family for three or four generations, it has become so subdivided and split up by inheritance, that it is practically impossible for a would-be purchaser to find all the present owners, and secure a perfect title by deed. The organization before mentioned still controls all matters relating to the common and undivided lands outside of the divisions. Whenever any stockholder or member has asked for a piece of land, specifying how much he wanted and in what locality, it has been customary, if his petition was granted, for the Proprietor's agents, or

*1882.

"lot layers," to set off the land to him, for which he was charged a certain number of sheep commons,— the valuation being estimated by the agents, subject to the approval of the meeting, "quality and quantity considered," as the old records have it. The number of sheep commons thus charged to the petitioner was subtracted from his former interest—account being kept with each proprietor; and of course the whole number of the commons or capital stock, so to speak, was reduced to the same extent. By this gradual process of cancellation or absorption, the whole number of sheep commons is now (1882) brought down to a few hundred, while the quantity of common land remaining is somewhere between one thousand and two thousand acres. The greater part of the remaining commons are now in a few hands, while a small number of them have been quite lost sight of by the process of infinitesimal subdivision caused by death and inheritance."*

Obed Macy records the following names of ponds, etc. on Nantucket:†

Beginning at Coatue Pond, near the west end of Coatue Point.

The Gauls a little to the northward of the bottom of the Chord of the Bay, on Great Point.

The Glades, adjoining the north side of Croskata; Croskata Pond a little to the northward of the Head of the Harbor, so-called.

Squam Pond in Squam and near the east end of the Island.

Sesachacha Pond, adjoining the south side of Squam and called Quidnet.

Wequatenay, a neck of land at the east end of the Island, between Sesachacha Pond and the shore.

Sesachacha, a large tract of land at the east end of the Island on the south side of the Pond.

Kanookpacha, a large swamp a mile to the eastward of Sesachacha.

Sankota Head, on the east end of the Island near which it is called Pee Dee.

Siasconset, next south of Sankota.

Tom Never's Head and Pond in the south east part of the Island.

Wigwam Pond, Toochema Pond, Forked Ponds, Maddequecham Pond, Nobbadeer Pond, Weeweeder Pond, Miacomet Pond, Mioxes Pond, Sheep Pond, Hummock Pond, all on the south and following in that order from Tom Never's Pond.

Long Pond on the west end of the Island.

*According to Worth (Nantucket Land and Land owners p. 193) in 1689 the rating made 2 horse commons, 40 cow commons and 100 sheep commons of equal value; in 1706 the ratio was 2 cow commons to 16 sheep commons.

†Unpublished M. S.

Capaum Pond and Sheep Pond on the north side of the Island.

Maxcey's Pond, Washing Pond, No Bottom Pond in upper Town.

Reed Pond, north side of Island.

Monomoy, or the Salt Meadows, by Newtown Creeks.

Great Frog, or Paddock Pond near where the Pest House stood on the south side of the harbor.

Shimmo, Shawkemo, Quaise or Masquetuck, Pinny's Point, Jo Shinny's Point, Quaise Point are all on the south side of the harbor.

Then comes Podpis and Podpis Harbor, Pookoomo Head, a high bluff on the north side of Podpis Harbor.

Mill Pond at Podpis and Poat (or Whale) Ponds, three small ponds to the southward of Shawkemo.

Gibbs' Pond and Swamp, to the southward of Podpis, which is the largest swamp on the Island, containing nearly 300 acres. It is said that in this swamp John Gibbs, an Indian concealed himself from King Philip when that warrior sought him in 1665.

Toupoughcher Swamp, famous for peat, two miles east of the town.

Popquashit,* a tract of land to the southward of the rope walks, where Daniel Folger lived (grandfather to Obed Macy).

Maddeket Harbor where Thomas Macy first landed.

Lily Pond, toward the N. W. part of the Town, to the southward of which is Egypt.

Wesco is the middle of the lower part of the Town.

Bochocheko at and near where Jethro ——— lived. The name took its rise from a Dutch vessel cast away at the east end of the Island.

'Uncle Orphy's Pond, in the upper town.

Okorwaw a tract of land to the eastward of Gibbs' Swamp.

Fulling Mill Pond at Shawkemmo.

Corn Pond at the southern part of Newtown.

About a quarter of a mile to the northeast of the eastern part of Gibbs' Swamp is a deposit of iron ore some of which has been dug and smelted and found to be good.

Sesachacha—a small fishing village at the east end of the Island, between Siasconset and the Head of the Harbor.

Pee Dee is on the shore a little to the southward of Sechacha.

Thannook pacha smalp is on the road near Sechacha. No Bottom Pond in upper town. Myokesis Pond and Swamp, south side of Island.

*Mr. Macy's spelling has been followed throughout.

BREVITIES

IT IS STATED—

That the first woman voter at any public election in the United States was Mrs. Louisa A. Swain, a native of Nantucket, but then a resident of Wyoming.

That the curing of raisins was introduced into California by Miss Jemima Austin, daughter of Isaac Austin, of Nantucket and a graduate of the Nantucket High School.

That the only place on the North American Continent where the Scotch heather grows wild is on the Island of Nantucket. Every precaution has to be taken to keep it from being ruthlessly destroyed by the thoughtless visitors.

That the first steel-headed whaling lances were made by Hezekiah Cartwright of Nantucket.

That the American flag was first displayed in a South American Pacific port from the mast head of a Nantucket whaleship.

That over 300 islands in the Pacific Ocean were discovered by Nantucket whalers.

That Walter Folger Jr. of Nantucket, discovered the process of annealing wire.

That the first man to kill a sperm whale in the Pacific Ocean was Archelus Hammond, of Nantucket, then mate of the English whale-ship Amelia of London. Capt. Hammond sailed from France on the Cyrus, which was captured by an English frigate and he was obliged to enter the English service.

That the first man to bring a cargo of sperm oil from the Pacific Ocean was Capt. David Starbuck who was commander of the Harmony, one of the William Rotch fleet then sailing from Dunkirk, France.

CHAPTER XIX

GENEALOGY

A study of the First Purchasers (as the original twenty owners of Nantucket were called) shows them to have been men of marked ability in the communities in which they dwelt.*

THOMAS MACY,

whom traditions all seem to unite in according the credit of being the first permanent English settler, is said to have come from Chilmark, Co Witshire, England, to Newbury. He was made a free-man September 6, 1639.†. He was as appears from the records one of the original settlers of Salisbury.‡ He and Robert Pike were two of the seven selectmen "to order all the affairs of the town of Salisbury (excepting giving out of lands)" elected on the 4th of the 3d mo. 1643, for six months. He was again chosen one of the Selector Prudential men on the 7th 12 mo. 1652. He was Deputy to the General Court in 1654. The General Court prior to 1658 had enacted a law forbidding preaching by any save regularly licensed and ordained ministers. A division of the town of Salisbury in May, 1658, seemed to make it more convenient that those in the new town should worship by themselves and Joseph Peasely officiated for them. Evidently Mr. Macy was instrumental in this breach of discipline which took away material support for the old meeting and the Court issued a summons for them to appear October 26 to answer for "disorderly practices."**

*It is a little singular if the early settlers fled to Nantucket to enjoy religious freedom that the only churches known upon the Island until early in the 18th century were Indian churches. Thomas Macy had preached some, Edward Starbuck had been punished for Anabaptism and yet so far as is known neither of them lived to see an English church in Nantucket.

†Savage's General Dict.

‡Macy's Genealogy, p. 11.

**Mass. Archives, Vol. 10, p. 92.

Mr. Sylvanus Macy in his Macy Genealogy says (p.11) that his distinguished progenitor was a Baptist and "would frequently on the Sabbath exhort the people." When Macy and Peasely were fined it was because Peasely was not duly licensed and the Puritans were averse to dividing congregations and not because of unorthodox doctrines. The evidence does not really show that Mr. Macy did any preaching, but rather that he actively encouraged Peasely.

Patronymica Britannica spells the name Macey and traces it to Macie near Avranches in Normandy; also an old Norman form of Matthew.

Not only did he seem to be a forceful man, frequently called on for public service in Salisbury, but he was also a well to-do citizen. Obed Macy says (p. 13) that he was the owner of 1000 acres of land, "a good house and considerable stock."* It is not recorded that he lost any of these. In a letter to the Governor at New York under date of May 9, 1676, he mentions Thomas Mayhew as "my honored cousin." In the original scheme for the settlement of Nantucket that relationship may have had some bearing.

Thomas Macy married Sarah Hopcott, who was born in Chilmark, England, in 1612.† While the record does not seem to show the date of the marriage it probably occurred in 1643. The children were all born in Salisbury and were. Sarah born July 9, 1644; died 1645. Sarah, born August 1, 1646; died at Nantucket, 1701. Mary, born December 4. 1648; died at Nantucket, 1729. Bethiah, born about 1650, died at Nantucket 1732. Thomas, born September 22, 1653; died at Nantucket, December 3, 1675. John, born July 14, 1655; died at Nantucket, October 14, 1691. Francis born about 1657; died at Salisbury 1658.

TRISTRAM COFFIN

As already stated Tristram Coffin appears to have been the Moses sent out to view the promised land and see what opportunities it offered for new settlers. He was, as Mr. Barney says,‡ the most prominent and influential of the First Purchasers. He was born in Brixton, County Devonshire, England, the son of Peter Coffin and Joanna Thember, in 1605. He married Dionis daughter of Robert Stevens, also of Brixton probably in 1630. They came to America with five children in 1642, accompanied by his mother and two sisters, Eunice and Mary. "The family," according to Sylvanus J. Macy,** "is one of those which have always used arms in this country, though unable to prove a right to them, inherited from ancestors ranking among the gentry of England. In Prince's 'Worthies of Devonshire' may be read an account of the family of the name of Coffin which claims to have been seated at Portledge, in the Parish of Alwington, in the northern part of that county, since the time of the Norman conquest.†† The family sent off branches into different parts of Devonshire, and it is highly prob-

*Mr. Macy's own statement regarding his not appearing at Court is that he neither had a horse nor could procure one, so he wrote a letter.

†Macy Genealogy, p. 67.

‡Unpublished M. S. of Nathaniel Barney.

**N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register 1870.

††Allen Coffin Esq. in his Coffin Family, (p. 9) seems to trace the family back as early as about 1110. Mr. Coffin says, however, (p. 17) "While many have searched for the pedigree of our ancestor, Tristram Coffyn, among the records of Devonshire, no one has yet been able to trace his pedigree beyond that of his grandfather, Nicholas Coffyn."

able that the Coffins of this country are descended from some such branch, but the connection has not yet been proved.

"Smith's M. S. Promptuarium Armorum contains a drawing of the arms borne by "Sir William Coffin of Portledge in Devon of ye Privy Cha. to K. H. 8"—Vert, five cross—crosslets argent; between four plates,—Heraldic Journal, vol III—These are the arms used by the family in this country."

Tristram Coffin and his family made a brief stay at Salisbury, removing the same year to Pentucket.* According to Mr. Coffin ("The Coffin Family" p 23) he was the first person to plough land in Pentucket, using a plough of his own construction. In 1648-9 he removed to Newbury, thence, in 1654-5, to Salisbury. In 1644 he was allowed to keep an ordinary, sell wine and keep a ferry on Newbury side, and George Carr on Salisbury side of Carr's Island.† December 26, 1647 he received a renewal of his permit "to keep an ordinary and retayle wine" and maintain the ferry.‡ In September, 1653, his wife, Dionis, was complained of for selling beer at the ordinary for three pence per quart. The complaint was brought under the law of 1645, which provided that "Every person licensed to keep an ordinary, shall always be provided with good wholesome beer of four bushels of malt to the hogshead, which he shall not sell above two pence the ale quart, on penalty of forty shillings the first offence and for the second offence shall lose his license."** Dionis, however, as a defence, proved that she put six bushels of malt into the hogshead and the Court considered the defence a valid one and discharged the defendant.†† It may fairly be presumed that Tristram Coffin was not necessarily actuated by a sentiment of persecution or of religious restriction in changing his abode, and yet he seems to have been the pioneer in the movement for the purchase of Nantucket.

He and Dionis had as children‡‡—Peter, born in England in 1631, who married Abigail, daughter of Edward and Katharine Starbuck; Tristram Jr., born in England in 1632, married in Newbury March 2, 1652 Judith Somerby, widow of Henry and daughter of Edmund and Sarah Greenleaf; Elizabeth, born in England in 1634-5 probably, married in Newbury November 13, 1651. Capt. Stephen Greenleaf son of Edmund; James, born in England, August 12, 1640, who married Mary, daughter of John and Abigail Severance; John and Deborah, who died in infancy; Mary, born in Haverhill February 20. 1645, married in 1662 Nathaniel Starbuck, son of Edward and Katherine Starbuck; Lieut John Coffin born in

*Haverhill.

†Coffin's History of Newbury, p. 43. It would seem by the record that Mr. Coffin's sojourn in Pentucket must have been quite brief.

‡General Statutes.

**Hist. of Newbury, p. 49.

††Hist. of Newbury, p. 57.

‡‡His mother, Joan Coffin, does not appear to have resided on Nantucket. It is said that she died in Boston in May 1661 (The Coffin Family p. 31).

Haverhill October 30, 1647, married Deborah daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Starbuck) Austin; Stephen, born in Newbury May 10, 1652, married Mary, daughter of George and Jane (Godfrey) Bunker. An examination of the record of marriages, particularly of the children of Tristram Coffin, will perhaps account for many of the group of First Purchasers.*

EDWARD STARBUCK

Probably the next in importance among the so-called First Purchasers will by general agreement be admitted to be Edward Starbuck. Although not of the original ten he accompanied Tristram Coffin on his first voyage to the Island and was also a companion of Thomas Macy when he left Salisbury to make a new home at Nantucket. When the original ten selected ten others as partners, Thomas Macy selected him.

He was born in 1604, a native of Derbyshire, England.† He married Katharine‡ Reynolds of Wales, and migrated to America about 1635, settling at Dover, now in New Hampshire but then a part of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The first mention made of him on the record is in 1643 when he is recorded to have received "a grant of forty acres of land on each side of the Fresh River at Cutchechoe * * * and also one platt of Marsh above Cutchechoe great Marsh, that the brook that runs out of the river runs through, first discovered by Richard Walderne, Edward Colcord, Edward Starbuck and William Furber."** Various other grants were made to him and he is recorded several times as called on to be one of the "lot-layers." He was Representative in the General Court in 1643 and 1646, was an Elder in the church and in other ways enjoyed the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens.††

In 1644 an act was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay banishing from the Colony all who should either openly or privately oppose the baptism of infants.‡‡ While the punishment

*The name Coffin seems to be from the Hebrew, signifying a small basket or it may be synonymous with Coffey. *Patronymica Britannica* traces it to Colvin or Colvinus who held lands under Edward the Confessor.

†The name Starbuck is Scandinavian and signifies a person of imposing appearance, great or grand bearing bokki meaning "vis grandis corpore et animo." Ferguson gives it Starbocki, from Star, great "vir imperiosus." It is not improbable that the family was of Danish origin and settled in England in the days of what is historically known as the Danish Invasion. *Patronymica Britannica* says in "O. Norse bokk; means "vir grandis, corpore et animo." Hence **Starbocki** from **Stor**, great." *vir imperiosus*."

‡Some authorities state the given name to be Eunice, but the more commonly accepted version is Katharine.

**N. E. Hist. & Geneal. Register, vol. viii, p. 68, Alonzo H. Quint.

††On the 20th, 2 mo. 1644 it was ordered that Mr. Edward Starbuck, Richard Walderne & Wm. Furber be wearesmen for Cotcheco fall & river during their lives or so long as inhabitants. N. E. Hist. & Geneal. Register, vol. iv, p. 31.

‡‡Beginnings of New England, John Fiske, p. 195.

meted out to some of the offenders was severe, banishment was not always inflicted.

Edward Starbuck was one of those who subscribed to the proscribed doctrine and the record of the General Court, under date of October 18, 1648, says: "This Court, being informed of great misdemener committed by Edward Starbucke, of Douer, with p'fession of Anabaptisme, for which he is to be p'ceeded agaynst at the next Court of Assistants, if evidence can be p'pared by that time, & it beinge very farre for wittneses to travill to Boston at that season of the yeare, it is therefore ordered by this Court that the secritary shall give commission to Capt. Thomas Wiggan & Mr. Edw. Smith to send for such p'rsons as they shall haue notice of which are able to testifie in the s'd cause & to take theire testimonie uppon oath & certifie the same to the secritary so soone as may be, that further p'ceedings may be therein if the cause shall so require."*

There seems to be no indication from the record that the complaint was prosecuted, notwithstanding the severe penalty contemplated by the law. The action of the Court did not seem to affect his standing in his community for he continued to be called upon to lay out land.

In Edward Starbuck's case, while what it would seem he considered his theological rights were interfered with, there does not appear that his removal to Nantucket was in any sense a result of such interference. It would not be unreasonable to think, however, that in making the change he was entirely satisfied to remove from the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony but he resided at Hampton eleven years nearly after he had committed an offence against the Orthodox opinions of the Court. As has been stated, he accompanied Tristram Coffin on his voyage of discovery and Thomas Macy on his voyage of settlement. It is stated that he returned to Salisbury and vicinity in 1660 and then went back permanently to Nantucket accompanied by eight or ten families.†

*On Oct. 18, 1649 the General Court drew up and sent to the authorities of the Plymouth Colony a letter expressing the hope they once entertained that the Anabaptists in that Colony would be turned "again into the right way." The Court expresses also that the leniency of the Plymouth authorities results in increase of the erring. "Lett it not, wee pray you, seeme presumption in vs to minde you heerof, nor that wee earnestly intreate you to take care as well of the suppressing of errors, as of maintenance of truth, God equally requiring the p'formance of both at the hands of Christian magistrat, but rather that you will consider our interest is concerned therein. The infeccon of such disease, being so neue vs, are likely to spread into our jurisdiccon. * * * by faith, by neighborhood, by fellowship in our sufferings as exiles, and by other Christian bonds, and wee hope neither Sathan nor any of his instruments shall, by this or any other errors, disvnite vs, and that wee shall neuer have cawse to repent vs of our so neere conjunction with yow, but that wee shall both so a equally and zealously vphold all the truths of God revealed, that wee may render a comfortable accompt to Him that to **Him that bath** sett vs in our places, and betrusted vs with the keeping of both tables."

†Macy's Hist. p. 17. Mr. Macy gives no authority for this statement which seems to rest largely on tradition. The Town Records do not seem to confirm the statement, neither do they disprove it. It is likely that some of the First Purchasers returned with him or came soon after.

"His influence over the Indians was so great," says Nathaniel Barney, "that if at any time a suspicion or alarm arose among the early settlers, he was always in requisition to explain the apparent cause thereof, and to suggest a palliation for their rude and inexplicable action, which served to allay the fears of the more timid."*

His wife doubtless died in Dover; at what time is not recorded. He died on the 4th of the 12th month 1690. Their children were—Nathaniel, who married Mary Coffin, daughter of Tristram and from whom all American Starbucks descend; Jethro, who was killed at the age of twelve years by being run over by a cart; Sarah, who married first, William Story, second Joseph Austin, third Humphrey Varney (as his second wife); Dorcas, who married William Gayer; Abigail, who married Peter Coffin, son of Tristram; and Esther, who was the first wife of Humphrey Varney.

RICHARD SWAIN

according to Savage† embarked in London on the Truelove September 17, 1635, for America. Savage says that in April, perhaps, he had sent his wife Elizabeth† in the Planter, his sons William and Francis in the Rebecca and daughter Elizabeth in the Susan & Ellen, under the care of various friends. He was then 34 years old. He was settled in Rowley in 1639; was made a freeman March 13, 1639; had liberty, with others, to plant in Hampton in 1638; and in the following year was authorized to settle small causes in Hampton. The date of the death of his first wife does not appear to be given, but in 1658 or 1659 he married Jane, widow of George Bunker. Soon after he and his wife removed to Nantucket, bringing the Bunker children with them. These were Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Look; William, who married Mary Macy, daughter of Thomas Sen'r; Mary, who married Stephen Coffin, son of Tristram Sen'r; Ann, who married Joseph Coleman, son of Thomas Sen'r; Martha, who married Stephen Hussey, son of Christopher. He had by his first wife a son John, who married Mary, the daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Wyer. He probably came to Nantucket at or about the same time that his father did.

*Unpublished M. S. There is a tradition that at one time an uprising among the Indians seemed imminent. They appeared to be gathering in hostile groups and as they greatly outnumbered the whites it was a serious affair. In this juncture Edward Starbuck went unhesitatingly among them and soon succeeded in quieting them. The deed of Coattue to him by the Sachems as a "free and voluntary" gift shows their esteem for him.

†Genealogical Dictionary. Mr. Barney says "the name of his first wife is not known" (unpublished M. S.). This, according to *Patronymica Britannica* is a Scandinavian personal name of great antiquity, introduced into England under Danish rule and originally applied to a pastoral servant.

Richard Swain's second wife (Jane) died October 31. 1662; he died in 1682.

WILLIAM BUNKER

the son of George and Jane (Godfrey) Bunker was of Huguenot* origin and was born in 1649. He came to Nantucket with his step-father Richard Swain. He settled at the east end of the Island. There is an interesting tradition concerning him. His residence was quite isolated from his fellow islanders. Early one night, after the family had gone to bed, the house was surrounded by Frenchmen in search of plunder. A vessel had been sighted in the afternoon a short distance from the shore, but as that was not an uncommon circumstance so especial attention had been paid to it. In the evening the large oven was heated with a blazing fire and the light from it served as a beacon to the marauders. England and France at that period were at war with each other. Late in the evening the toothsome rye and indian bread, pumpkin pies and other culinary nicities were taken from the oven and were left smoking and odorously hot when the family retired. Suddenly a door was lifted from its hinges and in walked the undesired and unwelcome visitors.

"Nothing could be more grateful to the wretches than the contents of that oven spread in profusion around them, and, 'nothing loth,' they purloined the whole batch. Nor did they stop here; they took beds and bedding, clothing, and, indeed, everything which their rapacity demanded, and then added to their insolence, by demanding that the good farmer himself should go on board their craft which they had left near the shore, and pilot her into the Vineyard Sound. He had no alternative but to go, and after an absence of a few days, he returned to his distressed family. His wife was a woman of indomitable perseverance, and she sustained herself throughout the loneliness of that memorable night, and after surveying their rifled tenement, cast around her that she might repair the ravages as best she could. Her friends did not forget her necessity, and she had cause to remember their kindness, even though she was heard to say, that the 'loss of her twenty pair of sheets was never wholly repaired.' "†

The children of William and Mary Bunker were; Daniel; George who married Deborah Coffin, daughter of James Sen'r; John; Jonathan, who married Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of James Senr; Peleg, who married Susanna Coffin, daughter of Stephen Sen'r; Jabez, who married Hannah Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel Sen'r; Thomas, who married Priscilla Arthur, granddaughter of John Gardner; Benjamin, who married Deborah Paddack, at Yar-

*The name originally was Bon Coeur synonymous with Good heart or Great heart. Patronymica Britannica.

†Unpublished M. S. of Nathaniel Barney

mouth; Mary, who married Tristram Coffin (of the Vineyard); Abigail, who married Nathaniel Paddack; Jane, who married Shubael Pinkham, son of Richard; Christian, who married (1) Robert Wilson, (2) Isaac Coleman.

JOHN SWAIN

the son of Richard, seems to have been the only child by the first wife who came to Nantucket, and it is quite likely that he accompanied his father to the Island. At first his residence was at the west end of the Island. The record shows under date of February 15, 1667 that "John Swain had his house lot layed out by the Lot layers aforesaid being sixty Rod square bounded on the South with the first Lot of Richard Swain and on the North with the highway that leads into the Longwoods, on the East and West by the common, more or Less, as it is laid out." The section laid out at that time to the First Purchasers seems to have been west of the Wesco lots. Subsequently he removed to the east side of the Island. It was his dwelling house that Thomas Story refers to as being raised on the occasion of his visit to Swain on the 17th of the 5 mo. 1704 and that date probably indicates very nearly the time when John Swain settled at Polpis.

The children of John and Mary Swain were; Mary, who married Joseph Nason; John, who married Experience Folger; Stephen; Sarah, who married Joseph Norton; Joseph, who married Mary Sibley, of Salem; Elizabeth, who married Joseph Sevolle; Benjamin, who married Mary Taylor; Hannah, who married Joseph Tallman; Patience, who married Samuel Gardner. He died in 1715. His son John, born September 1, 1664, was the first male English child born on Nantucket.

THOMAS BARNARD

never removed to Nantucket although one of the original ten purchasers. He was one of the early settlers of Amesbury. He was one of the signatories to articles of agreement between the inhabitants of the "Old Town" and the "New Town" in May 1654* in company with Thomas Macy, John Severance and others.† He transferred

*Hoyt's "Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury," p. 13.

†A careful study of the lives of the First Purchasers, their business relations and intermarriages will explain matters connected with the original purchase and with subsequent civil complications.

one-half of his share to his brother Robert, and his son Nathaniel represented him on the Island in the other half share. Nathaniel, who married Mary Barnard, daughter of his uncle Robert.* He was highly esteemed among the early inhabitants, and died in Nantucket in 1718. His children were—Mary, who married John Folger; Hannah; John, who married Sarah Macy; Nathaniel, who married (1) Elizabeth, widow of Peter Coffin 2d and daughter of Nathaniel Starbuck, Sen'r, (2) Dorcas Manning, (3) Judith Folger; Stephen, who married ————Hopcott; Sarah, who married ————Carrier;† Eleanor, who married Ebenezer Coffin, son of James Sen'r; Benjamin, who married Judith Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel Sen'r; Ebenezer, who married Mary Worth, widow of John Worth and daughter of Stephen Hussey; Abigail, who married Abraham Chase of Martha's Vineyard.

ROBERT BARNARD,

who purchased a half share of his brother Thomas, came to the Island at an early period. The Town Records show that on the 5th 12 mo. 1663, "John Bishop, Mr. Coffin, Robert Barnard and Peter Folger are appointed to view and consider of Land in order to the Laying out thereof for cornfields or other use." He married Joanna Harvey. His only son John married Bethiah, daughter of Peter Folger, February 26, 1668. On the 6th of June, 1669, they were returning from the Vineyard where they had been in pursuit of furniture, in company with Eleazer Folger Sen'r, Isaac Coleman, son of Thomas, and an Indian, when the canoe upset and all perished except Eleazer Folger. He clung to the boat till in crossing a shoal where he could touch bottom he succeeded in uprighting it. With a plough-share which was fastened to it, he managed to free it from water. His sufferings and fatigue had been such that sleep now overcame him, and on waking he found the canoe had drifted on to Norris Island. It was then that he realized how great had been his preservation, and that he alone was left to tell the story of the sufferings through which he and his unfortunate companions had passed.‡

Robert Barnard died on Nantucket in 1682. His wife Joanna died March 31, 1705.

CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY,

probably came from Dorking, County Surrey, England, in the William & Francis, June 5, 1632. He came with the family of Stephen

*Unpublished M. S. of Nathaniel Barney.

†Mr. Barney says he was "an Eastern man."

‡Unpublished M. S. There is a tradition that at one time an up-

Batchelder, whose daughter, Theodate, he married in Lynn, where he originally settled and where their son Stephen was born, the second child to be born in that town* In 1639 he removed with his family to Hampton. He also is said to have participated in the settlement of Haverhill. His daughter Huldah married John Smith. Christopher Hussey was a sea-faring man and was cast away and died on the coast of Florida, March 6, 1686. He never came to Nantucket. He also incurred the displeasure of the General Court by petitioning, with others, for a mitigation of the sentence of Capt. Robert Pike for seeming to uphold speaking in public without a license. He was a deputy for Hampton in 1658.

THOMAS MAYHEW

never was a resident of Nantucket and no detailed biography of him seems needed. Briefly he came to America in the Griffin in 1633, settling at Watertown where he was an active and honored citizen until his removal to Martha's Vineyard in 1647. Both he and his son Thomas were preachers to the Indians there. He died in 1681.

PETER COFFIN

was the son of Tristram and married Abigail daughter of Edward Starbuck. He was born in England in 1631. He was made a freeman at Dover in 1666. He was a very prominent citizen of New Hampshire, attaining the rank of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. His sojourn in Nantucket was brief and met with considerable opposition from the John Gardner faction during the so-called "Insurrection."

STEPHEN GREENLEAF

never removed to Nantucket. He married, November 13, 1651, Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of Tristram Sen'r. He married subsequently Esther Swett, daughter of Nathaniel Weare or Wyer and widow of Capt Benjamin Swett. He sold his share to his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Starbuck.

*Savage's Genealogical Dictionary; also unpublished M. S. of Nath'l Barney.

WILLIAM PILE

did not come to Nantucket. He sold his share to Reuben Swain and William Bunker and his sisters.*

ROBERT PIKE

If any one of the twenty original purchasers had reason to remove outside the Massachusetts Bay Colony that man was Robert Pike; and yet he never removed to Nantucket nor without the Massachusetts jurisdiction. He was one of the original settlers of Salisbury and was on terms of intimate friendship with Thomas Macy. The New England Historic Genealogical Register represents him as opposed to the election of Sir Harry Vane as Governor and as going on foot from Newbury with Thomas Coleman and eight others to qualify themselves to vote by taking the freeman's oath, so as to vote for Winthrop. He was a very prominent man in his community. He seems to have been a trial justice, was Deputy from Salisbury for several terms an Assistant six terms, a Captain and Major of militia and held other positions of trust and responsibility. He made trouble for himself by declaring that the General Court exceeded its authority in forbidding public speaking by any not duly licensed and was disfranchised. He was also prohibited "settling small causes," pleading in Court any cause but his own, and put under bonds for his good behavior.

May 10, 1661, at a meeting of the First Purchasers at Salisbury he was appointed to keep the Records at Salisbury and Thomas Macy to keep them at Nantucket.

TRISTRAM COFFIN JR.

was a resident of Newbury and married Judith Somerby, widow of Henry and daughter of Edmund and Sarah Greenleaf. He never was a resident of Nantucket.

JAMES COFFIN

son of Tristram Sen'r. was one of the Associate Proprietors, and was the partner selected by his brother Peter. He became promi-

*Savage says he removed to Nantucket but by July 1663 he had removed again to Dover. There is no mention of him in the Town Records.

nent in the Islands' affairs and is said to have been the first one on Nantucket appointed to a Probate judgeship. He was appointed in 1680. He died July 28, 1720.* Allen Coffin Esq says he came to the Island with the earliest settlers, but removed to Dover, was a member of the church there and there made a freeman May 31, 1671, soon after which he returned to Nantucket where he resided up to the time of his death.† From him descended the Coffins who were loyalists during the Revolution among whom were General John Coffin and Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin.‡

Lucretia Mott also descended from this branch. He had fourteen children; i. Mary, born in Nantucket, April 18, 1665, married (1) Richard Pinkham, of Portsmouth, N. H., (2) James, son of Richard and Sarah Gardner, and died in Nantucket February 1, 1741; ii. James Jun'r, born probably in Dover, N. H., married (1) Love, daughter of Richard and Sarah Gardner, (2) Ruth, daughter of John and Priscilla Gardner—died in Nantucket October 2, 1741; iii. Nathaniel, born in Dover, 1671, married (August 17, 1692) Damaris, daughter of William Gayer—died August 29, 1721; iv John born in Nantucket, married Hope, daughter of Richard Gardner—died July 1, 1747; v. Dinah, born in Nantucket, married (November 20, 1690); vi. Nathaniel Starbuck, Jr. —died August 1, 1750; vii. Deborah, born in Nantucket, married (October 10, 1695) George, son of William Bunker—died October 8, 1767; viii Ebenezer, born in Nantucket March 30, 1678, married (December 12, 1700) Eleanor, daughter of Nathaniel Barnard—died October 17, 1730; ix. Joseph, born in Nantucket, February 4, 1680, married Bethia, daughter of John Macy—died July 14, 1719; x. Elizabeth, born in Nantucket, married (1) Jonathan, son of William and Mary Bunker, (2) Thomas Clark—died March 30, 1769; xi Benjamin, born in Nantucket August 28, 1683—lost overboard between Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard; xii. Ruth,, born in Nantucket, married Joseph son of Richard and Mary Gardner—died May 28, 1748; xiii. Abigail, born in Nantucket, married Nathaniel, son of Richard and Sarah Gardner—died March 15, 1709; xiv. Experience, born in Nantucket—died young; xv. Jonathan, born in Nantucket, August 28, 1692, married Hephzibah, daughter of Ebenezer Harker,—died February 5, 1773.

THOMAS COLEMAN

Mr Barney in his unpublished M. S. says it is not known at what time Thomas Coleman came to Nantucket. It is said that he arrived in Boston from England June 3, 1635. According to Coffin's

*"Early Settlers of Nantucket"—Hinchman, p. 28.

†"The Coffin Family," p. 55.

‡Ib. p. 55.

History of Newbury he was three times married—(1) Susanna—who died November 17, 1650; (2) Mary, widow of Edmund Johnson July 11, 1651, who died in Hampton, January 30, 1663; (3) Margery——*. He seems to have resided in Newbury and Hampton until late in life. The Town Records under date of March 4, 1663, say "it was agreed that John Coleman shall have land Layd out on the North side of the Lot of Robert Barnard for the use of the said John Coleman his father Thomas Coleman having given half of his accommodation on the Island half the house lot to be Layd out in the place before mentioned for John Coleman, the aforesaid Thomas Coleman doth Lay down one half of his Lot already layd out." In February 1667 the Record says a house lot was laid out to him "abutting on the long woods." The first time his name appears in the Records in such a way as to show his residence on the Island is on the 23d 3 mo 1672, when it was "Voted by the Town that Thomas Coleman is to keep the cattle upon the playns from comming unto the Nack at Richard Swains for fourteen days for which he is to have eighteen pence a day." He died in 1685, aged 83 years. His children by his first wife, were i. Joseph, born December 2, 1642, married Ann, daughter of George Bunker, Sen'r; Isaac, born February 20, 1647, who was drowned in going from Marthas Vineyard to Nantucket in 1669; ii. John, who married Joanna Folger, daughter of Peter. By the second wife there seems to have been no children. By the third wife there was a son iii. Tobias, who removed with his family from the Island. Joseph had but one son who was drowned in his boyhood.†

NATHANIEL STARBUCK

son of Edward, married Mary, daughter of Tristram Coffin, previously to removing to Nantucket and was the chosen partner of his father-in-law as one of the First Purchasers. Mary, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary was the first English child born on Nantucket. He was a man of marked ability and his wife was a woman of such excellent judgment that as Thomas Story noted in his Journal she was "a wise and discreet woman, well read in Scripture and not attached to any sect, but in great reputation throughout the Island for her knowledge in matters of religion, and an Oracle among them on that account, insomuch that they would not do anything without her advice and consent therein." Their children were—i. Mary who married James, son of Richard Gardner Sen'r;

*Mrs. Hinchman says some authorities give her family name as Ashbourne.

†Mrs. Hinchman in "The Early Settlers of Nantucket" p. 61, records a son Benjamin, born May 1, 1640, and a daughter Joanna, evidently by the third wife.

ii. Elizabeth, who married (1) Peter Coffin Jr. (2) Nathaniel Barnard Jr.; iii. Nathaniel who married Dinah daughter of James Coffin; iv. Jethro, who married Dorcas, daughter of William Gayer; v. Eunice, who married George, son of John Gardner Sen'r; vi. Priscilla, who married John Coleman Jun'r; vii Hepzibeth, who married Thomas Hathaway, of Dartmouth; viii Barnabas, who did not marry; and ix. Anna and x. Paul who died young. He died on the 6th 6 mo 1719.

THOMAS LOOK

was the partner of Richard Swain. He married Elizabeth, daughter of George Bunker. It is not clear at what time he took up his residence in Nantucket. Nathaniel Barney says that "after residing at Nantucket a number of years, he removed to Martha's Vineyard." His children were mostly daughters and four of them were born on Nantucket between 1672 and 1680. His daughter, Experience married her cousin, Stephen Coffin Jun'r, grandson of Tristram.

JOHN SMITH

It does not appear clearly whether John Smith ever resided on Nantucket. He was partner of Thomas Mayhew Sen'r and had land laid out to him on the Island. There are several items in the records of the General Court referring to John Smith but it is difficult to determine whether they refer to this particular John or not.

The foregoing biographical sketches will give an idea of the kind of men the First Purchasers were. They were a sturdy. God-fearing race, everyone of them prominent in the community in which he lived. Many of them had experienced the severity of the Puritan laws, laws made to preserve, as the makers believed, the rights they fled from England to enjoy, and not the presumed rights of peoples in general, for the Puritans were not and did not assume to be religious emancipationists,* and yet of the First Purchasers

*John Fiske in "Beginnings of New England." Mr. Fiske attributes much of the severity against the Quakers to the determination not to allow any interference with the theories and methods they came to America to maintain for themselves and not for humanity at large only so far as new comers coincided with their views.

those who were the severest penalized remained under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and, so far as we know, did not even visit Nantucket. As before noted, knowing how many interests they had in common, the many intermarriages and the intimacies which must have existed among them about the time the purchase was made, and soon after, we can more readily account for their partnership and for subsequent alliances in the civil government of the Island.

The First Purchasers were not unacquainted with each other. They did not live far apart and several of them had been members of the General Court. Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Christopher Hussey, Peter Coffin, Stephen Greenleaf, Thomas Barnard and William Pile were, or had been, residents of Salisbury or Newbury. Peter Coffin was a son of Tristram. Stephen Greenleaf married Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of Tristram. Peter Coffin married Abigail Starbuck, daughter of Edward. Hampton was not far off and the Swains evidently were interested in the projected settlement. Thomas Mayhew owned Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket and had been a resident of the former island at the time he sold Nantucket for about 15 or 16 years. The partners who the original purchases took were similarly neighbors and interested through marriage or acquaintance. Tristram Coffin took as his partner Nathaniel Starbuck, his son-in-law; Thomas Macy took Edward Starbuck whose son Nathaniel married Mary Coffin and daughter Abigail married Peter Coffin, both children of Tristram and Dionis; Richard Swain took Thomas Look, whose daughter, Experience, married her cousin Stephen Coffin, Jr. grandson of Tristram; John Swain took Thomas Coleman who had resided near him in Hampton; Thomas Barnard took his brother Robert; Peter Coffin took his brother James; Christopher Hussey* took Robert Pike, a resident of Salisbury; Thomas Mayhew took John Smith, who had been otherwise associated with him. It was no chance acquaintance then which brought them together.

The principal intricacies met in the genealogy of the descendants of the First Purchasers arise from the persistency of the intermarriages and the duplication of given names. Of course that becomes increasingly troublesome with each succeeding generation. The situation becomes relieved somewhat after 1750 when the use of middle names began and other means were adopted to particularly designate individuals, but progress in that direction was very

*Christopher Hussey and John Bishop had been punished for taking sides with Robert Pike who had espoused the cause of Macy and Peasley.

slow. The Friends Records are a God-send to the worker in that field because they give the details in marriage of the parents of the contracting parties.

What may be, perhaps not inaptly, termed the clannishness of the descendants of the First Purchasers, is illustrated by a little doggerel written by some one who had no fear of tribal displeasure nor any respect for the family pride of those he lampoons.* It appeared in two stanzas, published about 1834 and the irreverent writer thus characterized his victims:

“The Rays and Russels, coopers are,
The knowing Folgers lazy,
A lying Coleman very rare,
And scarce a learned Hussey.

The Coffins noisy, fractious, loud,
The silent Gardners plodding,
The Mitchells good, the Barkers proud,
The Macys eat the pudding.”

As though that was not enough, some super-reckless individual added the following for good measure:

“The Swains are swinish, clownish called,
The Barnards very civil,
The Starbucks they are loud to bawl,
And Pinkhams beat the devil.”†

In a large part of the early history of the Island the rule has been to follow the dates as shown by the Records. Those, after so large a number of the residents had become Friends, followed the custom of the Friends in using numerals to express the months.

*Presumably it was written, or at least the first two stanzas were written by Hart the author of *Miriam Coffin*. It has also been attributed to Phineas Fanning who married Kezia Coffin, daughter of John and Kezia.

†Illustrative of one of the results of the intermarriage among the Islanders is a little story of Prof. Maria Mitchell told by Mrs. Hinckman in her *“Early Settlers of Nantucket (p. 12).”* When connected with Vassar College, someone said to her “Miss Mitchell, I met a cousin of yours the other day.” “Where?” was the natural question, “on Nantucket” was the expected reply. Miss Mitchell quickly said “Oh, very likely; I have five thousand cousins on Nantucket.” At that time that was the Island’s population. Similarly Rev. Dr. Ferdinand C. Ewer humorously once said—“I found that my precious blood was chemically composed of the following old Nantucket elements, for every one of which I am humbly grateful, viz—Silicate of Trott, 2 per cent; Bicarbonate of Burnell, 2 per cent; Protoxide of Swain, 3 per cent; Nitrate of Worth, 3 per cent; Chloride of Cartwright, 11 per cent; Sulphate of Starbuck, 11 per cent; Hydrated Sulphuric Acid of Ewer, 11 per cent; Super phosphate of Coffin, 12 per cent; Hydrated Dentoxide of Gardner, 15 per cent; Aurate of Folger, 20 per cent; Traces of Tobey, Wing and Macy, 1 per cent; total 100 per cent.” *Godpey’s Hand Book*, pp 105-6.

This statement is particularly applicable to the Genealogical portion of the work which relies very much, and with excellent reason, on the Records of the Friends. Naturally the question arises when was the change made in the Friends' Records to make January the first month instead of the eleventh.

According to the Record, as stated by the custodian,*—"There was a Monthly Meeting held the 30th of 1st month 1752, and the next was held the 27th of 4th month, 1752. There is a minute which states 'that an epistle has been received from the Meeting for Sufferings in London, wherein is contained the advice of Friends concerning the reducing the year to New Style according to act of Parliament &c was read in this meeting and ordered to be read in first Day meeting.'" The change was made therefore that year. Dates then prior to 1753 make March the first month and from 1753 January has been the first month. The general rule which has been followed in this work is to follow the record.

The intention of the compiler of this genealogy was to cover only the first 100 years after the settlement of the Island, or to the year 1760.

*Mr. James W. Oliver, of Sharon. In this compilation, as in other portions of the History, the intention has been to follow the record using either the name of the month or the numeral, as there given.

BARNARD

Thomas Barnard, the first apparently of that surname in America, came to this country about 1650. He settled in Salisbury but appears to have been one of those who founded the new town of Amesbury. He never removed to Nantucket. He was brother to Robert who is named among the first ten purchasers and selected by Robert as his partner. His son Nathaniel came to Nantucket and assumed his father's interests. Robert married Joanna Harvey and came to Nantucket in 1663. They had but one son, John, who married, (February 26, 1668) Bethiah Folger, daughter of Peter. He and his wife were drowned, with Isaac Coleman and an Indian, June 6, 1669, when returning with Eleazer Folger in a canoe from Marthas Vineyard, where they had been to purchase some furniture.* Robert and Joanna had one daughter, Mary, who married her cousin Nathaniel, son of Thomas.†

Mr. Worth says of Nathaniel Barnard‡—"He was very prominent in Town and public affairs, having been chosen many times to serve in all the important offices. He was a trader, and the court records show that he was fined in 1709 for selling liquor to the Indians."

Regarding his home Mr. Worth says—"East of the Elihu Coleman house is the Mill-Brook, and a short distance further east, on the south side of the road near a cluster of willow trees, was once a house which was the homestead of Thomas Barnard. Directly across the road lived Nathaniel Barnard. The present road was merely a path for many years later. The house lot of Thomas Barnard on which the house of Nathaniel was located, was about 1000 feet square, and southwest of it was the lot of Robert Barnard. These lots extended northeast and southwest, and comprised twenty acres each. The house of Robert cannot be exactly located, neither can the bounds of the lots be identified. But the high land between the Mill-Brook swamp and the Indian boundary line was substantially comprised within the two Barnard lots."††

NATHANIEL [1]

The children of Nathaniel and Mary were—

- i Mary, born February 24, 1667; married John Folger, son of Peter and Mary.
- ii Hannah, born July 19, 1669; probably never married.
- iii John, born February 24, 1670; married Sarah Macy, daughter of John and Deborah.

*Unpublished M. S.

†Mary died 17th 1 mo 1717-8. Nathaniel Sr. died 3d 4m. 1718. Jane (or Joanna), wife of Robert, died March 31, 1705.

‡Nantucket Lands and Land Owners, p. 61.

**Ibid, p. 62.

††Patronymica Britannica calls the name a "well-known personal name" probably of occupational origin.

- iv **Nathaniel**, born November 24, 1672; died 28th 2 mo. 1718; married—first (1706) Dorcas Barnard; Second (1st 12 mo 1709) Judith Folger, daughter of Stephen and Mary Coffin.
- v **Stephen**, born February 16, 1674; married——Hapcott
- vi **Sarah**, born March 23, 1677; married——Carrier, “an Eastern man.”
- vii **Eleanor**, born June 18. 1679; married (December 12. 1700) Ebenezer Coffin, son of James and Mary.
- viii **Benjamin** married (3d 11mo. 1711) Judith Gardner daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail. She died 17th 9 mo. 1765.
- ix **Ebenezer** married (24th 3mo. 1722) Mary widow of Jonathan Worth and daughter of Stephen and Martha Hussey.
- x **Abigail** married Abraham Chase of Martha’s Vineyard.*

JOHN [2] (Nathaniel [1])

born February 24, 1670; married Sarah Macy, daughter of John and Deborah. Their children were:

- i **Jemima**, born 14th. 9 mo, 1699; married (6th 10 mo. 1720) Elihu Coleman, son of John and Priscilla.
- ii **Robert**, born 14th 11 mo. 1702; married (1st. 6 mo. 1726) Hepzibah Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Experience.
- iii **Matthew**, born 7th 9 mo. 1705; married (29th 10 mo. 1726) Mary Tebbets, daughter of Ephraim and Rose.
- iv **Samuel**, born 3d. 7 mo. 1707.
- v **Hannah**, born 7th 7mo 1711; died in 1784, probably unmarried. John’s will was probated June 8. 1748.

NATHANIEL [2] (Nathaniel [1])

born November 24, 1672: died 28th 2 mo. 1718; married——first (1706) Dorcas Barnard: second (1st. 12 mo. 1709) Judith Folger,

*All of the name of Barnard in Nantucket descend from Nathaniel and Mary. In his will, which was executed April 7, 1718, and probated June 11, 1718, Nathaniel devises land in Wesco, received from his father-in-law, Robert Barnard, to “my grandson Nathaniel Barnard.” Nathaniel Senior was one of the seven men designated under the Dongan patent to form the first Board of Trustees. His estate inventoried £2460.

widow of Peter and daughter of Stephen and Mary Coffin.* It would seem by the Probate Records (vol 1 p 54) that Nathaniel Jr and Nathaniel Sr. must have died very nearly at the same time as the Records show that an inventory of his (Nathaniel Jr's) estate taken January 27, 1719, totaled £405,7.6, while the estate of his father totaled, as reported December 28, 1728, £2460. The Friends' Records show that the Junior Nathaniel died 28th 2 mo 1718 and the Town Records show that the Senior Nathaniel "departed this life in great peace" 3d. 4 mo of the same year. Mary, wife of the elder Nathaniel, died 17th 1 mo 1717-18. The children of Nathaniel Jr were—by his first wife:

- i **Dorcas**, born 9th 10 mo. 1707, who married (8th 7 mo. 1726) Jacob Barney of Newport† R. I.

By his second wife:

- ii **Elizabeth**, born 11th 7 mo. 1710, who married (3d 11 mo. 1728) Barnabas Coleman, son of John and Priscilla.
- iii **Peter**, born 5th 1 mo. 1713; married (10th 11 mo 1733-34) Anna Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Dinah.
- iv **Nathaniel**, born 2d 2 mo. 1717; died 1743.
- v **Eunice**, born 7th 6 mo. 1714.

STEPHEN [2] (Nathaniel [1])

born February 16, 1674: married (——) Hapcott——. They had—

- i **Thomas** born,———; married (2d 10 mo. 1735) Sarah Hoag, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah. He removed from the Island 26th. 10 mo. 1772.

BENJAMIN [2] (Nathaniel [1])

married (3d 11mo 1711) Judith Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail. Their children were:

- i **Timothy**, born 3d 8 mo 1712; married (2d. 1 mo. 173 ½) Mary Bunker, daughter of Peleg and Susanna.
- ii **Abigail**, born 12th 5mo. 1714; married (3d 11mo 1731) Robert Macy, son of Thomas and Deborah.

*His widow Judith married (31st 6mo. 1722) Stephen Wilcox (or Wilcock). She died in 1760.

†This marriage is the only one on record where the event is recorded in the full form adopted by the Friends and signed by all the witnesses.

- iii **Ruth** born 2d 7 mo. 1717; married first (30th 11 mo 1734-5) Peter Clark son of Thomas and Mary; second (28th 3 mo. 1758) Joseph Jenkins son of Matthew and Mary.
 - iv **Francis**, born 6th 8 mo. 1718; married (14th. 11mo. 1741) Elizabeth Macy daughter of Thomas and Deborah.
 - v **John**, born—11mo 1720; probably married (July 20, 1744) Mary Ellis.
 - vi **Abishai**, born 2d 12 mo 1722; married (15th 10 mo 1743) Hannah Coffin, daughter of Peter and Hope.
 - vii **Nathaniel**, born ——— 1727.
 - viii **Mary**, born 18th 8 mo. 1729; married (12th 10 mo. 1751) Christopher Starbuck, son of Tristram and Deborah. Benjamin died 8th mo 1739;* his wife died 17th 9 mo. 1765.
-

EBENEZER [2] (Nathaniel [1])

married (24th 3mo. 1722) Mary Worth, widow of Jonathan and daughter of Stephen and Martha Hussey. He died 4th 5 mo. 1767; she died 8th, 1mo. 1771. Their children were—

- i **Stephen**, born 14th, 6 mo. 1723; married, first (3d 11 mo. 1744) Eunice Starbuck, daughter of William and Anna; second (25th 2mo 1754) Phebe Swain, daughter of George and Love.
 - ii **William**, born 23d 9 mo. 1724; married (5d 11mo. 1743) Mary Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam.
 - iii **Jemima**, born 19th 1 mo. 1726; married (8th 1 mo 1743-4) Tristram Coffin, son of Peter and Hope.
 - iv **Lydia**, born 2d 12 mo. 1730; married (20th 10 mo 1750) Jonathan Folger son of Jonathan and Margaret.
 - v **Martha**, born 18th 2 mo. 1733; died 30th 9 mo. 1733.
-

ROBERT [3] (John [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 14th. 11mo. 1702; married (1st, 6 mo. 1726) Hepzibah Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Experience; he died 10th 7 mo. 1765; she died 28th 9 mo. 1782. Their children were—

*There would appear to be an error in this date which is taken from the Friends' Records, for the Records of the Probate Court show that his widow was appointed administratrix of his estate February 7, 1734-5. The estate inventoried £2610, 8, 8¼.

- i **Anna**, born probably in 1727; died young.
- ii **Eunice**, born 26th 6 mo. 1728; married—first (14th 11 mo. 1747) Jonathan Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary; second (10th 7mo. 1760) Samuel Ray, son of Samuel and Mary; third (1769) Jonathan Gardner, son of Barnabas and Mary.
- iii **Elizabeth**, born 23d 8 mo. 1731.
- iv **Jonathan**, born 28th 1 mo. 1734; married (8th 1 mo 1756) Mary Coffin, daughter of Tristram and Mary.
- v **Hepzibah**, born 24th 2 mo. 1736; married (16th 1 mo. 1755) Richard Mitchell son of Richard and Mary.
- vi **Sarah**, born 10th 4 mo 1738; married (1781) William Ellis, son of John and Dinah.
- vii **Nathaniel**, born 19th 5 mo. 1740; died 26th 7 mo. 1768.
- viii **Matthew**, born 4th. 7 mo. 1742; married (2d 1 mo. 1766) Deborah Coffin, daughter of David and Mary.
- ix **Anna**, born 29th, 1 mo. 1745; married (28th, 5 mo. 1767) Reuben Macy son of Francis and Judith.
- x **Robert**, born 24th 10 mo. 1748; married (December 18, 1766) Margaret Whitney.
- xi **Abishai**, born 25th 8 mo. 1751; removed from the Island 26th. 9 mo. 1785; married (3d. 4 mo. 1772) Susanna Paddack, daughter of Stephen and Eunice.
- xii **Shubael**, born 8th, 5 mo. 1754.

MATTHEW [3] (John [2] Nathaniel [1])

married (29th 10 mo. 1726) Mary Tebbets, daughter of Ephraim and Rose; he died 5th 8 mo. 1788; she died 4th 4 mo. 1785.

Their children were—

- i **Benjamin**, born ——— 1728; married (2d. 12 mo. 1748) Judith Folger, daughter of Barzillai and Phebe; He died 28th 8 mo. 1779.
- ii **Shubael**, born 13th, 1 mo. 1730; married—first (2d, 1 mo. 1748-9) Susanna Gardner, daughter of Ebenezer and Judith; second (28th, 11 mo. 1765) Ruth Myrick, daughter of James and Bethiah Bunker.
- iii **Joseph**, born 25th, 2 mo. 1732; married (April 15, 1752) Mary Gardner.
- iv **Abigail**, born ——— 1734; probably married (June 6, 1753) Christopher Folger.
- v **Ann**, born 25th, 1 mo. 1737; married (24th, 3 mo. 1757) Joseph Nichols, son of William and Bethiah.

- vi **Rose**, born 18th, 3 mo. 1739; married (2d, 12 mo. 1756) Stephen Hussey, son of Daniel and Sarah.
 - vii **Mary**, born 27th, 1 mo. 1741; married (3d, 12 mo. 1761) Thomas Jenkins, son of Thomas and Judith.
 - viii **John**, born ——— 1745; married (1st, 1 mo. 1767) Mary Russell, daughter of William and Mary.
 - ix **Elizabeth**, born ——— 1747; married (10th 1 mo. 1765) Sheffield Coffin, son of Nathaniel and Mary.
 - x **Matthew**, born ——— 1749; married first (30th, 8 mo. 1774) Elizabeth Swain, daughter of Reuben and Elizabeth; second, (2d, 4 mo. 1783) Avis Folger, daughter of John Slocumb and Martha.
 - xi **Hepzibah**, born ——— 1754; married (23d, 9 mo. 1773) Daniel Paddack, son of Stephen and Eunice.
-

PETER [3] (Nathaniel [2] Nathaniel [1])

married (10th, 11 mo. 1733-4) Anna Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Dinah; he died 27th, 4 mo. 1775; she died 18th, 12 mo. 1785. Their children were—

- i **Christopher**, born 26th, 5 mo. 1737; married (28th, 1 mo. 1762) Judith Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret.
 - ii **Elizabeth**, born 26th, 4 mo. 1739; married (8th, 12 mo. 1757) Alexander Ray, son of Samuel and Mary.
 - iii **Nathaniel**, born 8th, 2 mo. 1741; married (6th, 12 mo. 1764) Margaret Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret.
 - iv **Hezekiah**, born 10th, 2 mo. 1743.
 - v **Judith**, born 7th, 5 mo. 1745; married 9th, 12 mo. 1779) Jonathan Barney, son of Jonathan and Mary.
 - vi **Peter**, born 2d, 3 mo. 1747.
 - vii **Eunice**, born 8th, 12 mo. 1749; married (31st, 10 mo. 1765) Nathaniel Starbuck son of Joseph and Ruth.
 - viii **David**, born 27th, 11 mo. 1752; married (November 1, 1771) Abigail Starbuck daughter of Sylvanus and Mary.
 - ix **Elisha**, born 30th, 1 mo. 1754; married (October 7, 1775) Lydia Starbuck, daughter of Sylvanus and Mary.
 - x **Lydia**, born 17th, 10 mo. 1756.
-

THOMAS, [3] (Stephen [2] Nathaniel [1])

born——; married (2d 10 mo. 1735) Sarah Hoag. daughter of Benjamin and Sarah. Their children were—

- i **Mary**, born probably in 1736; died 1st 7 mo. 1767; married (4th 12 mo. 1753) Jethro Folger, son of Jethro and Mary.
- ii **Hopcot**.
- iii **Stephen**, lost at sea 1772; married (31st. 12 mo 1761) Hephzibah Paddack, daughter of Paul and Anna.
- iv **Benjamin**
- v **Thomas**, married (1st 12 mo. 1768) Ruth Macy, daughter of Zaccheus and Hephzibah.
- vi **Valentine**, married (28th 12 mo. 1769) Anna Coffin, daughter of Peleg and Hephzibah.
- vii **Judith**.

Thomas Senior and his wife removed from the Island 26th 10 mo. 1772; Thomas junior. Valentine and Judith removed in 1773.

TIMOTHY [3] (Benjamin [2] Nathaniel [1])

married (2d, 1 mo. 1731-2) Mary Bunker, daughter of Peleg and Susanna who died 18th, 9 mo. 1750. The Probate Records show that his will, executed in May 1743, was probated September 9, 1748. At the time the will was probated his widow Mary, and five children survived him—

- i **Benjamin**, born probably in 1732, or 1733, who married (9th, 1 mo. 1755) Eunice Fitch, daughter of Beriah and Deborah, and removed from the Island in 1773.
 - ii **Judith**, born September 30, 1735; married (5th, 12 mo. 1754) Benjamin Folger, son of Shubael and Jerusha.
 - iii **Timothy**, born about 1738; removed from the Island 1773; married (8th, 2 mo. 1759) Love Swain, daughter of George and Love.
 - iv **Mary**, born 1742; probably married (February 6, 1766) Benjamin Barnard, son of Matthew and Deborah.
 - v **Susanna**, born 24th, 11 mo. 1744; married (3d, 12 mo. 1767) Seth Coffin, son of David and Ruth.
 - vi **William**, born probably about 1744; married (4th, 6 mo. 1772) Hephzibah Gardner, daughter of Charles and Anna.
-

FRANCIS [3] (Benjamin [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 6th, 8 mo. 1718; married (14th, 11 mo. 1741) Elizabeth

Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah; he died 20th, 4 mo. 1800; she died 1st, 6 mo. 1765. Their children were—

- i **Reuben**, born 24th, 1 mo. 1743; married (December 4, 1767) Phebe Coleman, removed from the Island 26th, 10 mo. 1778.
- ii **Deborah**, born 3d, 6 mo. 1745; died 15th, 8 mo. 1790; married (11th, 6 mo. 1767) Prince Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.
- iii **Francis**, born 4th, 7 mo. 1747; removed from the Island 29th, 8 mo. 1774; married (16th, 3 mo. 1769) Katherine Osborne, daughter of James and Anna.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 13th, 4 mo. 1749; died 27th, 11 mo. 1764.
- v **Nathaniel**, born 27th, 3 mo. 1751; died 10th, 11 mo. 1752.
- vi **Anna**, born 16th, 6 mo. 1755; removed from the Island 19th, 9 mo. 1799; married (9th, 11 mo. 1775) Christopher Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.
- vii **Judith**, born 9th, 3 mo. 1753; removed from the Island 29th, 8 mo. 1785.
- viii **Jemima**, born 21st, 8 mo. 1757; died young.
- ix **Lydia**, born 25th, 12 mo. 1759; removed from the Island 27th, 6 mo. 1785.
- x **Abigail** born 6th, 3 mo. 1762.

ABISHAI [3] (Benjamin [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 2d, 12 mo. 1722, married (15th, 10 mo. 1743) Hannah Coffin, daughter of Peter and Hope. His will was probated December 9, 1790, and he probably died in November of that year; his wife died 14th, 2 mo. 1797. Their children were—

- i **Phebe**, born 11th, 7 mo. 1744.
- ii **Jonathan**, born 11th, 7 mo. 1746; married (21st, 2 mo. 1770) Sarah Joy, daughter of David and Sarah; died 25th, 11 mo. 1775.
- iii **Tristram**, born 17th, 9 mo. 1748.
- iv **Nathaniel**, born 2d, 10 mo. 1752.
- v **Abishai**, born 2d, 8 mo. 1755; married (5th, 9 mo. 1776) Phebe Swain, daughter of Tristram and Anna. Lost at sea 1781.
- vi **Rhoda**, born 26th, 5 mo. 1757.
- vii **Elizabeth**, born 29th, 2 mo. 1759.
- viii **Isaiah**, born 9th, 11 mo. 1763; lost at sea 1781.
- ix **Rebecca**, born 9th, 11 mo. 1767.

STEPHEN [3] (Ebenezer [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 14th, 6 mo. 1723; married—first (3d, 11 mo. 1744) Eunice Starbuck, daughter of William and Anna; second (25th, 2 mo. 1754) Phebe Swain, daughter of George and Love; he died 4th, 2 mo. 1813; his first wife died 26th, 4 mo. 1750, and his second 8th, 1 mo. 1794. His children were—

By Eunice:

- i **Jethro**, born 8th, 7 mo. 1745.*
- ii **Ebenezer**, born 10th, 6 mo. 1747; died 9th, 9 mo. 1830.†

By Phebe:

- iii **George**, born 19th, 11 mo. 1754; lost at sea 1777.
- iv **Stephen**, born 19th, 11 mo. 1756; died 21st, 8 mo. 1759.
- v **Seth**, born 2d, 9 mo. 1760; died 6 mo. 1771.
- vi **Charles**, born 21st, 12 mo. 1762; died 17th, 9 mo. 1763.
- vii **Eunice**, born 1st, 1 mo. 1766.
- viii **Henry**, born 17th, 10 mo. 1769.

WILLIAM [3] (Ebenezer [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 23d, 9 mo. 1724; married (3d, 11 mo. 1743) Mary Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam. He died 11th, 7 mo. 1771; she died 28th, 8 mo. 1777.

- i **Tristram**, removed from the Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773; married (2d, 1 mo. 1766) Margaret Folger, daughter of Reuben and Dinah.
- ii **Miriam**, removed from the Island 28th, 11 mo. 1785; married (31st, 10 mo. 1765) Tristram Macy, son of Nathaniel and Abigail.
- iii **Lydia**, removed from the Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773.
- iv **Paul**, lost at sea; married (9th, 7 mo. 1778) Phebe Macy, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail.
- v **Eunice**, removed from the Island 24th, 4 mo. 1780.
- vi **Obed**, removed from the Island 27th, 12 mo. 1784.
- vii **Mary**, removed from the Island 25th, 10 mo. 1773.
- viii **Phebe**, born 28th, 12 mo. 1763; married (30th, 11 mo. 1780) Gilbert Coffin, son of Micajah and Abigail.

*There is a slight discrepancy between the Town Records and those of the Friends; the Town Records give Jethro's birth as June (4 mo.) 27th 1745 and Ebenezer's as May (3 mo.) 30, 1747.

†Phebe is the only one of the children whose age is recorded in the Friend's Records. In his will, dated April 5, 1771, William calls himself a cooper.

JONATHAN [4] (Robert [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])
born 28th, 1 mo. 1734; married (8th, 1 mo. 1756) Mary Coffin,
daughter of Tristram and Mary. Their children were—

- i William, born 28th, 10 mo. 1756.
 - ii Hepzibah, born 29th, 7 mo. 1758.
 - iii Jonathan, born 17th, 10 mo. 1760.
 - iv Henry, born 4th, 10 mo. 1762; died 14th, 9 mo. 1763.
 - v Libni, born 22d, 3 mo. 1765.
 - vi Andrew, born 4th, 7 mo. 1767.
 - vii Cromwell, born 22d 9 mo. 1769.*
 - viii Tristram, born 17th 8 mo. 1771.
 - ix Thomas, born 4th, 10 mo. 1774.
-

MATTHEW [4] (Robert [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])
born 4th, 7 mo. 1742; married (2d, 1 mo. 1766) Deborah Coffin,
daughter of David and Mary. Their children were—

- i Abigail.
 - ii Timothy.
 - iii Elizabeth.
 - iv Mary.
 - v David.
 - vi Deborah.
-

ABISHAI [4] (Robert [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])
born 25th, 8 mo. 1751; married (3d, 4 mo. 1772) Susanna Pad-
dack, daughter of Stephen and Eunice. Their children were—

- i Eunice.
- ii Anna.
- iii Susanna and iv. Hepzibah. The family removed from the
Island 30th, 5 mo. 1785.

*Cromwell was father of Major Moses J. Barnard of the Voltigeur Regiment, who was cited for conspicuous gallantry in the Mexican War at the battle of Chapultepec. In his official report Gen. Pillow said "To the Voltigeur Regiment belongs the honor of having first planted its colors upon the parapet. The color bearer of the regiment having been shot down, the colors were immediately seized by the gallant and fearless Capt. Barnard who scaled the parapet and unfurled the flag under a terrible fire, from which he received two wounds." (Ex. Doc. 1st Session 30th Cong. p. 402.) In his report Col. T. P. Andrews of the Voltigeurs said "The Voltigeurs had the honor of planting the first flag, which was fairly riddled by shot, on the lower battlements, inside of the main fortifications. Capt. Barnard, after being twice smartly wounded, was the commissioned officer inside the works and planted the flag of his regiment." The citizens of his native town presented him with a sword and the Captain was awarded the brevet rank of Major.

BENJAMIN [4] (Matthew [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])
born 1728; married (2d, 12 mo. 1748) Judith Folger, daughter of
Barzillai and Phebe; he died 28th, 8 mo. 1779; she died 17th, 9
mo. 1765. Their children were—

- i Benjamin, born 24th, 5 mo. 1751; died 28th, 11 mo.
1786; married (7th, 2 mo. 1771) Lydia Swain,
daughter of Tristram and Phebe.
- ii Judith, born, 3d 3 mo. 1754.
- iii Reuben, born 15th, 3 mo. 1756.
- iv Phebe, born 27th, 5 mo. 1758; perhaps married (July
13, 1774) Daniel Killey.
- v Elizabeth, born 30th, 6 mo. 1760.
- vi Obed, born 26th, 8 mo. 1762; probably married (July
28, 1786) Susanna Hussey.

SHUBAEL [4] (Matthew [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])
born 13th, 1 mo. 1730; married—first (2d, 1 mo. 1748-9) Susanna
Gardner, daughter of Ebenezer and Judith; second (28th, 11 mo.
1765) Ruth Myrick, widow of John and daughter of James and
Bethiah Bunker. Their children were—

By Susanna:

- i Eunice, born 7th, 1 mo. 1750; died 12th, 1 mo. 1779;
married (1st, 1 mo. 1767) George Russell, son of
John and Ruth.
- ii Lydia, born 5th, 11 mo. 1751; died 24th, 2 mo. 1772;
married (1st, 3 mo. 1770) Abishai Swain, son of
Tristram and Phebe.
- iii Rose, born 26th, 7 mo. 1756; died 18th, 6 mo. 1775;
married (10th, 12 mo. 1772) Matthew Starbuck, son
of Edward and Damaris.
- iv Shubael, born 15th, 7 mo. 1759; died 21st, 6 mo. 1778.
- v Susannah, born 20th, 12 mo. 1761; married (28th 8
mo. 1788) Latham Bunker, son of Peleg and Lydia.

By Ruth:

- vi Mary, born 14th, 6 mo. 1766; married (28th, 9 mo.
1786) Valentine Swain, son of David and Martha.
- vii Anna, born 23d, 1 mo. 1769; died 22d, 5 mo. 1795;
married (31st, 7 mo. 1794) Hezekiah Barnard, son of
Nathaniel and Margaret.
- viii Sarah, born 12th, 1 mo. 1771; died 20th, 9 mo. 1798.
- ix James, born 7th, 3 mo. 1774. Probably married in
1799 Hepzibah Bunker.

- x **Thomas**, born 26th, 7 mo. 1777; died 23d, 5 mo. 1808;
married (4th, 4 mo. 1799) Alice Freeborn, daughter
of George and Susanna.
- xi **Shubael**, born 19th, 10 mo. 1780.
- xii **Lydia**, born 28th, 4 mo. 1785; removed from the Island
30th, 8 mo. 1804.
-

JOSEPH [4] (Matthew [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 25th, 2 mo. 1732; married (April 15, 1752) Mary Gardner.
By an incomplete entry in the Friend's Records their children appear to have been—

- i **Eunice**, who married (30th, 4 mo. 1778) Joseph Coffin,
son of Peleg and Elizabeth.
- ii **Hannah**, who married (31st, 5 mo. 1781) Gideon Gardner,
son of Hezekiah and Sarah.
- iii **Joseph**.
- iv **Enoch**.
- v **Abigail**, who married (31st, 5 mo. 1770) William Coleman,
son of Barnabas and Rachel.
-

JOHN [4] (Matthew [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 1745; married (1st, 1 mo. 1767) Mary Russell, daughter of
William and Mary.

MATTHEW [4] (Matthew [3] John [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 1749; married (30th, 8 mo. 1774) Elizabeth Swain, daughter
of Reuben and Elizabeth.

CHRISTOPHER [4] (Peter [3] Nathaniel [2] Nathaniel [1])

born 26th, 7 mo. 1737; married (28th, 1 mo. 1762) Judith Swain,
daughter of Caleb and Margaret; he was lost at sea in 1767; she
removed from the Island in 1775. Their children were—

- i **Christopher**, born 27th, 3 mo. 1765.

- ii **Lydia**, born 30th, 11 mo. 1762. Married (2d, 10 mo. 1783) **John Hussey**, son of **Stephen** and **Elizabeth**.
 - iii **Anna**, born 1st, 12 mo. 1766.
-

NATHANIEL [4])Peter [3] Nathaniel [2] Nathaniel [1]
 born 8th, 4 mo. 1741; married (6th 12 mo. 1764) **Margaret Swain**,
 daughter of **Caleb** and **Margaret**; he died 30th. 5 mo. 1718; she
 died 22d, 10 mo. 1811. Their children were—

- i **Hepzibah**, born 7th, 10 mo. 1765; died 27th, 9 mo. 1766.
 - ii **Margaret**, born 25th, 7 mo. 1767; died 25th, 7 mo. 1768.
 - iii **Hezekiah**, born 30th, 4 mo. 1769.
 - iv **Abisha** and v **Christopher**, twins, born 29th, 3 mo. 1771.
 - vi **Margaret**, born 27th, 6 mo. 1774.
 - vii **Eunice**, born 1st, 12 mo. 1776; died 19th, 6 mo. 1777.
 - viii **Samuel**, born 7th, 10 mo. 1782; died abroad 10th, 9 mo. 1805.
-

STEPHEN [4] (Thomas [3] Stephen [2] Nathaniel [1])
 married (31st, 12 mo. 1761) **Hepzibah Paddack**, daughter of **Paul**
 and **Anna**. Their children were—

- i **Ruth**, born 16th, 12 mo. 1766.
 - ii **Hepzibah**, born 30th, 11 mo. 1768.
 - iii **Lucretia**, born 9th, 7 mo. 1771; died 22d, 8 mo. 1776.
-

BENJAMIN [4] (Timothy [3] Benjamin [2] Nathaniel [1])
 born probably in 1732 or 1733; married (9th, 1 mo. 1755) **Eunice**
Fitch, daughter of **Beriah** and **Deborah**. He removed from the
 Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773. Presumably his wife died prior to that
 time as the record says nothing about her going. Their children
 were—

- i **Timothy**, born probably in 1756; removed from the Is-
 land 25th, 4 mo. 1774.
- ii **Mary**, removed from the Island 29th, 1 mo. 1776.
- iii **Lydia**, removed from the Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773.

TIMOTHY [4] (Timothy [3] Benjamin [2] Nathaniel [1])
born probably in 1738; removed from the Island 1773; married
(8th, 2 mo. 1759) Love Swain, daughter of George and Love. Their
children were—

- i **Uriah**, probably born in 1760.
 - ii **Job**, removed from the Island with his father 23d, 9
mo. 1773.
 - iii **Barzillai**.
 - iv **Gilbert**.
-

REUBEN [4] (Francis [3] Benjamin [2] Nathaniel [1])
born 24th, 1 mo. 1743; married (4th, 12 mo. 1767) Phebe Cole-
man. The entire family removed from the Island 26th, 10 mo.
1778. Their children were—

- i **Elizabeth**.
- ii **Lucretia**.
- iii **Phebe**.
- iv **Deborah**.
- v **Mary**.

BUNKER

Savage states* that George Bunker, the first of the name in America, resided at Ipswich. He was the son of William, a French Huguenot, who fled to England to avoid the religious persecution to which he was subjected in France. In its original the name was Bon Coeur; corrupted into Bunker doubtless through the phonetic spelling of the time. George married Jane Godfrey, probably about 1645. He died May 16, 1658, leaving five children: Elizabeth, aged twelve; William, ten; Mary, six; Ann, four; and Martha, eighteen months. The widow married Richard Swain, then of Rowley, and soon after the entire family removed to Nantucket. She died here October 31, 1662, her death being the earliest recorded in the Town Records.

Elizabeth married Thomas Look; William married (April 11, 1669) Mary, daughter of Thomas and Sarah Macy; Mary married (29th, 2 mo. 1714) Tristram Coffin; Ann married Joseph Coleman, son of Thomas; and Martha married (October 8, 1676) Stephen Hussey, son of Christopher and Theodate.

According to H. B. Worth,† William's first house-lot was included in that of his step father, as he was a minor at the time of the allotment. A few years later he was allotted ten acres north of No Bottom Pond. The lot set off to him, according to Mr. Worth, was bounded on the north by the road which is the present West Chester street extended, and which was the first road established, with a westerly boundary by the land of William Worth. After his decease, which occurred June 6, 1712, the Proprietors allotted to his heirs land in lieu of land of theirs taken for a Town House. "This" Mr. Worth says, "indicates that the church, Town House and jail were * * * placed on the hill north from No Bottom Pond." At the west end of this hill was erected the first school-house mentioned in the Records. William Bunker was appointed keeper of the jail in 1686. The children of William and Mary were—

- i George, born April 22, 1671; married (October 10, 1695) Deborah Coffin, daughter of James and Mary.‡
- ii John, born July 23, 1673; married (February 13, 1725-6) Mary Coffin, daughter of James and Ruth.
- iii Jonathan, born February 25, 1675; married Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of James and Mary.
- iv Peleg, born December 15, 1676; married (January 9, 1700) Susanna Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary.

*Genealogical Dictionary.

†Nantucket Land and Land Owners, p. 63.

‡Deborah, widow of George, married (29th 6 mo. 1728) Jonathan Folger, son of John and Mary.

- v **Jabez**, born November 7, 1678; married (November 19, 1706) Hannah Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail.
- vi **Thomas**, born April 18, 1680; probably never married.*
- vii **Benjamin**, born May 28, 1683; married (3d, 8 mo. 1709) Deborah Paddack, of Yarmouth.

GEORGE [3] (William [2] George [1])

born April 22, 1671; married (October 10, 1695) Deborah Coffin, daughter of James and Mary. He died in 1743.† Their children were—

- i **Daniel**, born August 16, 1696; married (November 14, 1717) Priscilla Swain, daughter of John and Experience.
- ii **John**, born December 27, 1697; married (February 13, 1725-6) Mary Coffin, daughter of James and Love.
- iii **Caleb**, born November 2, 1699; married (October 3, 1725) Priscilla Coffin.

JOHN [3] (William [2] George [1])

born July 23, 1673; married (February 13, 1725-6) Mary Coffin, daughter of James and Love. According to the Probate Records he must have died in December, 1760, intestate, leaving a widow and seven children, namely—

- i **Christopher**, married (January 3, 1765) Abigail Worth, daughter of John and Mary.
- ii **Joshua**, married (January 17, 1750) Margaret Brock.
- iii **John**.
- iv **George**, married (January 4, 1763) Phebe Barnard.
- v **Elisha**, married (December 20, 1770) Margaret Gardner.
- vi **Abigail**, married (February 19, 1750) George Coffin, son of Nathan and Lydia.
- vii **Mary**, married, possibly (January 7, 1750) Thomas Carr.

*According to the Probate Records the estate of Thomas was administered on by his brothers George, Peleg and Jabez, in September, 1721. It was inventoried at £802. 13s and by order of the Court was apportioned to Mary and George Bunker, children of Jonathan (deceased); Peleg and Jabez Bunker, children of Benjamin (deceased); Ann Paddack, Jane Wadson (Watson) wife of Robert; Abigail Pinkham, wife of Shubael; and Mary Coffin, wife of Tristram. This would show that he had no immediate family.

†He was for several years Judge of Probate Court.

JONATHAN [3] (William [2] George [1])

born February 25, 1675; married Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of James and Mary.* His will was probated September 13, 1721, and was executed August 16, 1719. His wife survived him. The children named in the will are—†

- i **Zacchariah**, married (September 2, 1728) Desire Gorham.
- ii **Simeon**, married (2d, 11 mo. 1734-5) Huldah Hussey.* daughter of Bachelor and Abigail.
- iii **George**, married (1st, 4 mo. 1738) Abigail Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia.
- iv **James**, married (30th, 3 mo. 1737) Bethiah Jenkins, daughter of Matthew and Mary.
- v **Lydia**, married (March 5, 1717) Nathan Coffin, son of James and Ruth.
- vi **Ruth**, married (November 20, 1718); Richard Coffin, son of John and Hope.
- vii **Patience**, married (14th, 8 mo. 1723) Jonathan Gardner.
- viii **Abigail**, married (9th, 9 mo. 1712) Shubael Pinkham.
- ix **Judith**, married (January 12, 1737-8) Alexander Coffin, son of Ebenezer and Eleanor.

PELEG [3] (William [2] George [1])

born December 15, 1676; died June 1, 1730; married (January 9, 1700) Susanna Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary. Their children were—

- i **Judith**, born September 21, 1701; married (January 1, 1718-9) Bartlett Coffin, son of Peter and Christian.
- ii **Priscilla**, born December 8, 1703; married (April 3, 1721) Joshua Coffin, son of James and Ruth.
- iii **Dinah**, born January 25, 1705; married (April 3, 1721) Elisha Coffin, son of James and Ruth; he died in 1722.
- iv **Mary**, born —————; married (2d, 1 mo, 1731-2) Timothy Barnard, son of Benjamin and Judith.
- v **Jonathan**, born —————; married (6th, 11mo. 1742) Judith Macy, daughter of Richard and Deborah.

*Simeon died at sea in 1751 and his widow married (6th 12mo. 1753). Benjamin Barney, son of Jonathan and Sarah.

†The widow of Jonathan married for her second husband (30th 11 mo. 1723-4) Thomas Clark.

JABEZ [3] (William [2] George [1])

born November 7, 1678; married (November 19, 1706) Hannah Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail. He died July 6, 1750; she died March 25, 1773. Their children were—

- i **Naomi**, born 4th, 11 mo. 1709; died 31st, 5 mo. 1792; married (9th, 9 mo. 1726) Eliphalet Paddack, son of Joseph and Sarah.
- ii **Samuel**, born 5th, 9 mo. 1711; died 3d, 9 mo. 1786; married (7th, 11 mo. 1731-2) Priscilla Coleman, daughter of John and Priscilla.
- iii **Paul**,* born 16th, 8 mo. 1713; died 20th, 8 mo. 1795; married (3d, 1 mo. 1736-7) Hannah Gardner, daughter of Samuel and Patience.
- iv **Silas**,* born 16th, 8 mo. 1713; died 18th, 11 mo. 1714.
- v **Lydia**, born 1717; lived about 18 months.
- vi **Abner**, born 30th, 2 mo. 1719; died 17th, 11 mo. 1780.
- vii **Benjamin**, born 14th, 4 mo. 1721; removed from the Island 29th, 9 mo. 1788; married (9th, 12 mo. 1743-4) Abigail Bunker, widow of George and daughter of Joseph and Lydia Worth.
- viii **Hannah**, born 1st, 1 mo. 1722-3; died 25th, 9 mo. 1806; married (3d, 4 mo. 1766) Benjamin Coffin, son of James and Ruth.
- ix **Peter**, born 8th, 1 mo. 1724-5; lost at sea 1755; married (9th, 1st mo. 1748-9) Judith Gardner, daughter of Jethro and Kezia.
- x **Peleg**, born 19th, 4 mo. 1727; removed from the Island 27th, 11 mo. 1786; married (8th, 12 mo. 1749) Lydia Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia.

BENJAMIN [3] (William [2] George [1])

born May 28, 1683; married (3d 8 mo. 1709) Deborah Paddack of Yarmouth. He died 16th 5 mo. 1721, of small pox. Their children were—

- i **Reuben**, born 4th 4mo. 1710.
- ii **Obed**, born 14th, 2 mo. 1714; married (October 19, 1738) Mary Duanna.
- iii **David**, born 19th 1 mo. 1716; married (14th 6 mo. 1740) Elizabeth Gorham, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth.
- iv **Nathaniel**, born 9th. 9 mo. 1718.

*Twins.

- v **Thomas**, born 1st 5 mo. 1719; married (23d 12 mo. 1741) Anna Swain, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth.*

DANIEL [4] (George, [3] William, [2] George [1])
born August 16. 1696; married (November 14, 1717) Priscilla Swain, daughter of John and Experience. Their children were—

- i **Ruth**, born July 23, 1721; married (April 27. 1738) Uriah Gardner, son of Ebenezer and Eunice.
- ii **Joseph**, born August 25, 1727; married (February 4, 1747) Phebe Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail.
- iii **Deborah**, born February 20, 1729-30; married (March 6, 1746) Ichabod Clark.
- iv **Silvanus**, born February 24, 1732-3; married (October 17, 1754) Hepzibah Swain.

The settlement of his estate in February, 1747, mentions a son [V] Tristram, under 14 years of age.

CALEB [4] (George, [3] William, [2] George [1])
born November 2, 1699; married (October 3, 1725) Priscilla Coffin. In his will, probated July 4. 1777, and executed March 20 of the same year, he names his wife, Priscilla; his daughter [i] Anna (Brock) deceased; his son [ii] William (deceased) born July 14, 1726; and the children of Anna born August 18, 1728, and William. The Town Records give also a son [iii] Caleb born March 31, 1736 who appears to have married (December 18, 1755) Eunice Gardner. It would appear by the record that William married (February 24 1745-6) Mary Russell. Anna was married March 13, 1746.

ZACHARIAH [4] (Jonathan, William, George [1])
born—; married (September 2. 1728). Desire Gorham. Their children were—

*Richard, son of Thomas and Anna, married (15th. 12mo. 1768) Eunice Mitchell daughter of Richard and Mary.

- i **Jonathan**, born April 2, 1729.
 - ii **Shubael**, born August 9. 1731; married (7th 12 mo. 1750) Lydia Paddack, daughter of Daniel and Susanna.
 - iii **James**, born August 21, 1733.
 - iv **Simeon**, born March 21, 1736.
 - v **Elizabeth**, born September 18, 1738; married (July 25 1756) Robert Rider.
 - vi **Desire**, born August 16, 1741; married (May 1, 1766) John Benthall.
 - vii **Zachariah**, born March 11. 1744; married (1st 1 mo. 1767) Judith Folger, daughter of William and Ruth.
 - viii **Francis**, born August 29, 1746.
 - ix **Andrew**, born August 30, 1752.
-

SIMEON, [4] (**Jonathan**, [3] **William**, [2] **George** [1]) married (2d. 11 mo. 1734-5), Huldah Hussey, daughter of Bachelor and Abigail. Their children were—

- i **Bachelor**, born 10th 3 mo. 1738; married (February 11, 1759) Bethiah Hussey, daughter of John and Jedidah.
- ii **Simeon**, born 15th, 7 mo. 1747; married—first (January 27 1766) Mary Swain daughter of _____ second (January 1, 1769) Lydia Hussey.

Simeon senior died at sea in 1751; his widow subsequently married Benjamin Barney, son of Jonathan and Sarah and died 3d 4 mo. 1798. Benjamin Coffin "schoolmaster" was appointed guardian for Simeon, and Bachelor, who was old enough to choose for himself, selected his uncle Richard Coffin. The inventory would indicate that Simeon was a tradesman.

GEORGE [4] (**Jonathan**, [3] **William**, [2] **George** [1]) married (1st 4 mo. 1738) Abigail Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia. They appear to have had but one child, a daughter [i]. **Lydia** born probably in 1739, married (5th 1 mo. 1757) Shubael Folger, son of Shubael and Jerusha.

JAMES [4] (**Jonathan** [3] **William** [2] **George** [1]) married (30th 3 mo. 1737) Bethiah Jenkins, daughter of Matthew and Mary. Their children were—

HISTORY OF NANTUCKET

- i **Matthew**, born 29th 5 mo, 1738; married (5th 1 mo. 1764) Bethiah Coffin, daughter of Zaccheus and Mary.
 - ii **Ruth**, born 27th. 8 mo. 1740; married (February 12 1761), John Myrick.
 - iii **Nathaniel**, born 5th 9 mo. 1742; died abroad; married (probably) (June 24, 1766) Anna Swain.
 - iv **William**, born 16th 1 mo. 1745.
 - v **Elisha**, born 7th 11 mo. 1747; died abroad; probably married (December 20, 1770) Margaret Gardner.
-

JONATHAN [4] (**Peleg**, [3] **William** [2] **George** [1])
 born —; married (6th. 11 mo. 1742) Judith Macy, daughter of Richard and Deborah; he died 20th 10 mo. 1778. Their children were—

- i **Peleg**, born probably 1743; married (7th. 1mo. 1768) Kezia Bunker, daughter of Peter and Judith.
 - ii **Susannah**, removed from the Island 14th 3 mo. 1776; married (8th 12 mo 1763) Paul Coffin, son of Zephaniah and Abigail.
 - iii **Deborah**, removed from the Island 28th 12 mo. 1778; married (8th. 12 mo. 1763) Silas Bunker, son of Samuel and Priscilla.
 - iv **William**, removed from the Island 25th 4 mo. 1774; married (9th 12 mo. 1773) Miriam Bunker, daughter of Abishai and Dinah.
 - v **Hepzibah**, removed from the Island 30th. 11 mo. 1798; married (7th. 1 mo. 1768) Zephaniah Coffin, son of Zephaniah and Abigail.
 - vi **Judith**, removed from the Island 26th 10 mo. 1778.
 - vii **Lydia**, removed from the Island 29th 6 mo. 1779.
 - viii **Jonathan**, removed from the Island 31st 5 mo 1779.
-

SAMUEL [4] (**Jabez**, [3] **William**, [2] **George** [1])
 born 5th 9 mo. 1711; married (17th. 11 mo. 1731-2) Priscilla Coleman, daughter of John and Priscilla; died 3d 9 mo. 1786. She died 11th. 7 mo 1797. Their children were—

- i **Phebe**, born 1st 7 mo. 1732; married (1st 12 mo. 1749) William Clasby, son of William and Abial; died 28th 8 mo. 1750.

- ii **Abishai**, born 21st 5 mo., 1734; married first (29th 10 mo. 1753) Dinah Coffin, daughter of Zephaniah and Miriam; second (8th 12 mo 1757) Hephzibah Allen, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth; died 17th 6 mo. 1761.
- iii **Mary**, born 10th 7 mo 1736; married (30th. 11 mo. 1751-2 Stephen Coffin, son of Zephaniah and Miriam.
- iv **Abigail**, born 22d, 8 mo. 1738; married (7th 2 mo 1760) Francis Coleman, son of Solomon and Deliverance; died 27th 6 mo. 1812.
- v **Charles**, born 9th 5 mo. 1740; married (11th 12 mo 1760) Mary Coffin, daughter of Zephaniah and Abigail; died 27th 5 mo. 1813.
- vi **Silas**, born 28th 9 mo. 1742; married (8th 12 mo. 1763) Deborah Bunker, daughter of Jonathan and Judith; removed from the Island 28th 12 mo. 1778.
- vii **Priscilla**, born 14th. 4 mo. 1745; married (3d 12mo 1761) Abraham Macy, son of Abraham and Anna; removed from the Island 25th 4 mo. 1774.
- viii **Elihu**, born 18th, 3 mo. 1748; married (1st 12 mo. 1768) Phebe Starbuck, daughter of Joseph and Ruth; removed from the Island 7th 5 mo. 1772.
- ix **Elizabeth**, born 4th 6 mo. 1750; married (31st. 12 mo. 1767) Reuben Macy, son of Abraham and Anna; died 22d. 10 mo. 1770.
- x **Rachel**, born 4th 10 mo. 1770: married (28th 12 mo. 1769) Tristram Swain, son of Tristram and Phebe; died 16th. 12 mo. 1831.
- xi **Barnabas**, born 25th 9 mo. 1754; married (2d. 1 mo. 1777) Lydia Gardner, daughter of Peter and Deborah.

PAUL [4] (Jabez [3] William [2] George [1])

born 16th 8 mo. 1713; married (3d. 1 mo 1736-7) Hannah Gardner, daughter of Samuel and Patience; he died 20th 8 mo 1795; she died 15th. 11 mo 1788. Their children were—

- i **Hezekiah**, born 23d 10 mo. 1737;
- ii **Eunice**, born 5th 11 mo. 1743; died 23d 2 mo 1825; married (5th 4 mo. 1798) Jonathan Gorham Fitch, son of Beriah and Deborah.
- iii **Seth**, born 28th 8 mo. 1745; died 1st 9 mo. 1800.
- iv **Phebe**, born 4th 4 mo. 1753; died 8th 3 mo. 1815; married probably (December 27, 1772) Reuben Hussey.

- v **Hepzibah**, born 1st 7 mo. 1757; removed from the Island 29th. 10 mo. 1792; married (28th 10 mo 1779) Joseph Harris, son of David and Martha.
 - vi **Dinah**, born 13th 10 mo. 1759; died 10th 7 mo. 1796; married (30th 5 mo. 1782) Silvanus Macy son of Daniel and Abigail.
-

BENJAMIN [4] (Jabez [3] William [2] George [1])
 born 14th. 4 mo. 1721; married (9th 12 mo 1743-4) Abigail Bunker, widow of George and daughter of Joseph and Lydia Worth. He removed from the Island 29th 9 mo 1788. The record shows they had—

- i **Anna**, who removed from the Island 19th 4 mo. 1776.
 - ii **Barzillai**, who married (2d 1 mo. 1777) Lydia Pinkham, daughter of Daniel and Eunice. He removed from the Island 26th 10 mo 1778.
 - iii **Timothy**, who removed from the Island 16th 8 mo 1798.
 - iv **Elijah**.
-

PETER [4] (Jabez [3] William [2] George [1])
 born 8th. 1 mo. 1724-5; married (9th 1 mo. 1748-9) Judith Gardner, daughter of Jethro and Kezia; he was lost at sea 1755. She died 30th 8 mo 1758. Their children were—

- i **Kezia**, who died 29th 9 mo. 1770; married (7th. 1 mo. 1768) Peleg Bunker, son of Jonathan and Judith.
 - ii **Peter**, who died in 1777.
-

PELEG [4] (Jabez [3] William [2] George [1])
 born 19th 4 mo. 1727; married (8th 12 mo. 1749) Lydia Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia. She died 17th 7 mo 1776 and he removed from the Island 27th 11 mo 1786. Their children were—

- i **Miriam**, born 19th. 7 mo. 1752;
- ii **Latham**, born 22d 10 mo. 1755; married (28th 8 mo. 1788) Susanna Barnard, daughter of Shubael and Susanna.

- iii **Abial**, born 4th. 3 mo. 1760; married (1st 1 mo. 1778) Abishai Pinkham, son of Benjamin and Hephzibah; removed from the Island 26th. 10 mo. 1778.
- iv **Anna**, born 27th 6 mo. 1762; removed from the Island 29th. 4 mo. 1776.
- v **Paul**, born 12th. 11 mo. 1764; removed from the Island 28th. 1 mo. 1782.
- vi **Rufus**, born 6th 2 mo 1766; removed from the Island 31st 1 mo. 1785.
- vii **Way**, born 30th 4 mo 1768; removed from the Island, 27th 11 mo. 1786.
- viii **Prince**, born 1st 8 mo. 1770; removed from the Island 27th. 11 mo. 1786.
- ix **Lydia**, born 18th 7 mo. 1773; removed from the Island 27th, 11 mo. 1786.

OBED [4] (Benjamin [3] William [2] George [1])
 born 14th. 2 mo. 1716; married (October 19. 1738) Mary Duanna.
 Their children were—

- i. **Uriah**, born December 2, 1738; married (November 25, 1759) Susanna Giles.
- ii **Obed**, born April 26, 1741; married (December 16, 1762) Hephzibah Giles.
- iii **Job**, born June 8, 1745; married (November 25, 1767) Hephzibah Hussey.

DAVID [4] (Benjamin [3] William [2] George [1])
 born 19th 1 mo. 1716; married (14th 6 mo. 1740) Elizabeth Gorham, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth. He was lost at sea in 1755;* she died 23d. 6 mo. 1772. Their children were—

- i **Lois**, born 10th 8 mo. 1741; married, first—(February 19, 1761) William Long; second-Benjamin Barney, son of Benjamin and Lydia.
- ii **Eunice**, born 21st 7 mo 1744; removed from the Island 26th. 9 mo. 1785; married (April 2, 1769) Micajah Swain, son of Peleg and Mary.

*His widow married again (6th. 10mo. 1768) William Russell, son of Daniel and Deborah.

- iii **David**, born 16th. 7 mo. 1748; removed from the Island 26th. 3 mo. 1781; probably married (October 11, 1770) Miriam Gardner.
 - iv **Solomon**, born 9 mo. 1750; removed from the Island 30th 11 mo. 1778; probably married (October 27. 1771) Abigail Coffin.
 - v **Alexander**, born 12 mo 1751;
 - vi **Elizabeth**, born 28th 6 mo. 1754; perhaps married (October 29. 1772) Benjamin Cartwright.
-

THOMAS [4] (Benjamin [3] William [2] George [1])
 born 1st, 5 mo. 1719; married (23d, 12 mo. 1741) Anna Swain, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth. He died 13th, 5 mo. 1785; she died 3d, 11 mo. 1780. Their children were—

- i **Richard**, born 27th, 11 mo. 1746; died 12th, 2 mo. 1788; married (15th, 12 mo. 1768) Eunice Mitchell, daughter of Richard and Mary.
 - ii **Bachelor**, appears to have been twice married; first, (February 11, 1759) to Bethiah Hussey;* second, (August 22, 1773) to Abigail Hussey.
 - iii **Thomas**, died young.
 - iv **Deborah**, born probably 1752; perhaps married (January 19, 1769) Eliphalet Smith.
 - v **Eliab**, born probably 1754.
 - vi **Isaiah**, born 15th, 7 mo. 1756.
 - vii **David**.
 - viii **Elizabeth**.
 - ix **Thomas**, married (July 29, 1788) Polly Chadwick.
 - x **Lawton**, born 24th, 12 mo. 1770.
-

JOSEPH [5] (Daniel [4] George [3] William [2] George [1])
 born August 25, 1727; married (4th, 12 mo. 1747) Phebe Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail. He died 28th, 12 mo. 1792; she died 26th, 11 mo. 1804. Their children were—

- i **Priscilla**, born 21st, 9 mo. 1749; probably married (November 8, 1772) Edward Lloyd Whittemore.

*Huldah, daughter of Bachelor and Bethiah and Daniel Coffin, son of Barnabas and Abigail, were married (2d. 9mo. 1784).

- ii **Ebenezer**, bōrn 18th, 8 mo. 1751; probably married (September 7, 1775) Mary Maxey.
 - iii **Daniel**, born 19th, 8 mo. 1753; killed by a whale 30th, 7 mo. 1770.
 - iv **Ruth**, born 11th, 5 mo. 1755; probably married (March 5, 1775) Isaiah Macy Maxey.
 - v **Abigail**, born 11th, 2 mo. 1757; died 3d, 5 mo. 1822.
-

**SHUBAEL [5] (Zachariah [4] Jonathan [3] William [2]
George[1])**

born August 9, 1731; married (7th, 12 mo. 1750) Lydia Paddack, daughter of Daniel and Susanna. Their children were—

- i **Shubael**, born 6th, 2 mo. 1754; removed from the Island 26th, 9 mo. 1785.
- ii **Puella**, born 7th, 5 mo. 1756; removed from the Island 30th, 8 mo. 1779.
- iii **Francis**, born 31st, 7 mo. 1758; removed from the Island 28th, 9 mo. 1778.
- iv **Gilbert**, born 17th, 11 mo. 1762.
- v **Naomi**, born 17th, 6 mo. 1766.
- vi **Nathan**, born 8th, 11 mo. 1768.
- vii **Abiel**, born 29th, 9 mo. 1771.

Shubael, the father removed from the Island 27th, 3 mo. 1780, taking with him Gilbert, Naomi, Nathan and Abiel.

ABISHAI [5] (Samuel [4] Jabez [3] William [2] George [1])
born 21st, 5 mo. 1704; married—first (29th, 10 mo. 1753) Dinah Coffin, daughter of Zephaniah and Miriam; second, (8th, 12 mo. 1757) Hephzibah Allen, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth. He died 17th, 6 mo. 1761; Dinah died 25th, 10 mo. 1756. Their children were—

By Dinah—

- i **Abishai**, born 4th, 2 mo. 1754; died 10th, 1 mo. 1836. Married (5th, 1 mo. 1775) Meriab Swain, daughter of David and Martha.
- ii **Miriam**, born 12th, 12 mo. 1755; removed from the Island 25th, 4 mo. 1774.

By Hephzibah—

- iii **Thaddeus**, born 24th, 6 mo. 1758; removed from the Island 29th, 4 mo. 1776.
-

CHARLES [5] (**Samuel** [4] **Jabez** [3] **William** [2] **George** [1]) born 9th, 5 mo. 1740; married (11th, 12 mo. 1760) **Mary Coffin**, daughter of **Zephaniah** and **Abigail**; he died 25th, 5 mo. 1813; she died 6th, 2 mo. 1819. Their children were—

- i **Zephaniah**, born 1761.
 - ii **Phebe**, born 1763.
 - iii **Dinah**, born 1765.
 - iv **Elizabeth**, born 1767.
 - v **Rachel**, born 1770.
 - vi **Charles** and vii **Mary**, (twins), born 1772.
 - viii **Merab**, born 1775.
 - ix **Barnabas**, born 1778.
 - x **Thaddeus**, born 1780.
-

SILAS [5] (**Samuel** [4] **Jabez** [3] **William** [2] **George** [1]) born 28th, 9 mo. 1742; married (8th, 12 mo. 1763) **Deborah Bunker**, daughter of **Jonathan** and **Judith**; removed from the Island 28th, 12 mo. 1778. Their children were—

- i **Priscilla**.
- ii **Hepzibah**.
- iii **Bethuel**.
- iv **Elihu**.
- v **Phebe**.
- vi **Abraham**.

THE COFFIN FAMILY

Several theories are advanced regarding the origin of the family surname Coffin, or Coffyn as was the earlier spelling. Allen Coffin, Esq., says "Coffin is a word of Hebrew origin, signifying a small basket. Whether the Israelitish hosts were sufficiently enlightened to be in the enjoyment of baskets before the Egyptians, or whether the chosen people of God were especially favored with a knowledge of basketmaking while the rest of the world plodded on with less commodious means of transit, are matters which cannot at this remote period of time be satisfactorily answered.*

Further on Mr. Coffin writes—"From Arthur's 'Derivation of Family Names,' we find that Coffin is in Welsh *Cyffin*, which signifies a boundary, a limit, or a hill; *Cefyn* a ridge of a hill. This authority also says the name has its origin from *Co*, high, exalted, and *fin*, a head, extremity, boundary, but the family surname is probably not indebted to either of these last-named derivations. It is believed by many that, some time before the Norman Conquest of England by William, which took place in 1066, the family of Coffin lived in Normandy, a duchy of France, which the Norsemen had made peculiarly their own by invasion and conquest.†

Still further on Mr. Coffin writes—"Bardsley in his 'English Surnames,' says 'It is to some dealer in earthenware we owe the name of 'Pots,' some worker in metals our 'Hammers' some carpenter our 'Coffins,' once synonymous with 'Coffer.' "‡

Regarding the name, Lower, in *Patronymica Britannica*, says—

"This family possessed Alwington Manor, Co Devon, temp William Conqueror and they still (1860) reside at Portledge in that manor. Colvin or Colvinus held lands in chief (probably the same) under Edward the Confessor." There are some of the opinions—take your choice.

In "Nantucket Land and Land Owners," Mr. Worth says—"Tristram Coffin's house lot was a tract of the usual dimensions, bounded on the north by Cappaum Harbor. He called this region Northam or Cappamet. The spot where his house was placed is marked by a stone monument."**

TRISTRAM COFFIN

If any one man may be considered the patriarch of Nantucket, to whom more than to any other person, the descendants of the old Nantucket families may trace a common origin, that man is Tristram Coffin.

*Life of Tristram Coffyn, p. 3.

†Ibid, pp. 3-4.

‡Ibid, p. 5

**Ibid, p. 64.

Allen Coffin Esq. in his "Life of Tristram Coffyn"* traces the family origin in England back to the days of Norman Conquest, the ancient seat of the name in England, now called Portledge, in the Parish of Ilwington, near Bideford, County of Devon, having been granted to Sir Richard Coffyn, Knight, for valuable services rendered to William the Conqueror. Peter Coffyn, the father of Tristram was doubtless born about 1580 and died in 1627 or 1628. He married Joan Thember (or Thumber) and had two sons and four daughters. Tristram was the elder son; his brother, John, died in Plymouth Fort, England, after having been mortally wounded.†

Tristram was born at Brixton, in 1605, and married Dionis Stevens, daughter of Robert Stevens Esq. of Brixton, about 1630. They came to America about twelve years later. Their first settlement was at Salisbury and they subsequently removed to Haverhill. His name appears as a witness to an Indian deed in Nantucket (Haverhill) in November 1642. He removed to Newbury in 1648-9 and thence to Salisbury in 1654-5. In 1644, he was licensed to keep an ordinary, sell wine and keep a ferry on the Newbury side of Carr's Island. In 1653, his wife was presented to the General Court, charged with selling beer at three pence per quart, but as she proved by witnesses that she made it much stronger and gave quid pro quo, she was discharged.‡

Tristram returned to Salisbury and there made his plans to be one of the purchasers of Nantucket Island. He died in October 1681.**

The children of Tristram and Dionis†† were:

- i Peter, born in England in 1631; married Abigail Starbuck, daughter of Edward and Katharine. Had a brief residence on Nantucket.
- ii Tristram, born in England in 1632. Did not remove to Nantucket. Married widow of Henry Somerby.
- iii Elizabeth, born in England; married Capt. Stephen Greenleaf, son of Edmund and Sarah. Did not remove to Nantucket.

*P. 7. Ib. p. 18. The original Tristram always spelled his name Coffyn.

†Life of Tristram Coffyn, p. 20.

‡The law required four bushels of malt to the hogshead at a price not to exceed two-pence per ale quart. She proved that she used six bushels.

**Mr. Worth says (Lands and Land Owners, p. 64) "Tristram Coffin's house lot was of the usual dimensions, bounded on the north by Cappaum Harbor. He called this region Northam or Cappaumet. The spot where his house was placed is marked by a stone monument."

††Allen Coffin says in the Coffyn Family, page 24, concerning Dionis,—"It is quite remarkable that, while the name of Tristram has been perpetuated through all the generations, and in genealogical researches becomes a source of confusion it occurs so often, the name of Dionis is repeated but once in all the generations down to the present time.

- iv **James**, born in England August 12, 1640; married (December 3, 1663) Mary Severance, daughter of John and Abigail.
- v **John**, born in England; died in infancy.
- vi **Deborah**, born in Haverhill, November 15, 1642, died December 8, of the same year.
- vii **Mary**, born in Haverhill, February, 20, 1645; married (probably in 1662) Nathaniel Starbuck, son of Edward and Katharine.
- viii **John**, born in Haverhill, October 30, 1647; married Deborah Austin, daughter of Joseph and Sarah.
- ix **Stephen**, born in Newbury, May 11, 1652; married Mary Bunker, daughter of George, senior.

PETER [2] (Tristram [1])

Peter's residence on Nantucket began about the time of King Philip's War. He married Abigail Starbuck, daughter of Edward and Katharine. He is reputed to have been the wealthiest of the First Purchasers. He was chosen a magistrate at Nantucket and occupied an important position in the Town affairs, much to the disturbance of John Gardner, Peter Folger and their sympathizers. In Dover he was made a Freeman in 1666; in 1675 he was commissioned a Lieutenant in service in King Philip's War; he was a Representative in the General Court in 1672-73 and '79. He moved to Exeter in 1690, was a Justice and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and an owner of large mill property.* He died at Exeter, March 21, 1715.

The children of **Peter** and **Abigail** were:

- i **Abigail**, born October 20, 1657; married (December 16, 1673) Daniel Davidson, of Ipswich, and Newbury.
- ii **Peter Jr.** born August 20, 1660; married (August 15, 1682) Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary.
- iii **Jethro**, born September 16, 1663; married () Mary Gardner, daughter of John and Priscilla.

*Allen Coffin says, p. 53, the lumber for his son Jethro's house (known as "the oldest house on Nantucket,") was the product of one of his mills. There is a tradition that Peter was to build the house on land which John Gardner, the bride's father was to furnish. When the time came for the marriage ceremony Peter inquired for a deed of the land. He was informed that that little formality had been neglected. He said the ceremony could not be performed until that was done. Gardner was obliged to hustle and execute, sign and transfer the deed to the intended couple after which the marriage was performed. The building is now owned by the Nantucket Historical Association the recent owner Tristram Coffin Esq. of New York and Poughkeepsie, offering excellent terms and contributing liberally to the purchase price.

- iv **Tristram**, born January 18, 1665; married Deborah Colcord.
- v **Robert**, born in 1667, married Joanna Dyer of Exeter. No children.
- vi **Edward**, born February 20, 1669; married Anna Gardner, daughter of John and Priscilla.
- vii **Judith**, born February 4, 1672.
- viii **Parnell**, died in infancy.
- ix **Elizabeth**, born January 27, 1680; married (June 5, 1698) Col. John Gilman, of Exeter, N. H.
- x **Eliphalet**. Never married.

JAMES [2] (Tristram [1])

born in England August 12, 1640; married (December 3, 1663) Mary Severance, daughter of John and Abigail of Salisbury. He died in Nantucket July 28, 1720.

Their children were—

- i **Mary**, born in 1665;* married—first, Richard Pinkham of Portsmouth, who died in Nantucket; and second, James Gardner, son of Richard and Sarah.
- ii **James**, born probably in Dover, N. H.; married, first, Love Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah, and second, (19th, 3 mo. 1692) Ruth Gardner, daughter of John and Priscilla.
- iii **Nathaniel**, born in Dover, 1691; married (August 17, 1692) Demaris Gayer, daughter of William.
- iv **John**, born in Nantucket; married Hope Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah.
- v **Dinah**, born in Nantucket; married (November 20, 1690) Nathaniel Starbuck Jr., son of Nathaniel and Mary.
- vi **Deborah**, born in Nantucket; married (October 10, 1695) George Bunker, son of William and Mary; died October 8, 1767.
- vii **Ebenezer**, born in Nantucket, March 30, 1678; married (December 12, 1700) Eleanor Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary.
- viii **Joseph**, born in Nantucket, February 4, 1679; married Bethiah Macy, daughter of John and Deborah.

*Sylvanus J. Macy in his Genealogy says some of the older children were probably born in Dover, where the father was made a freeman May 31, 1671. Allen Coffin says James filled several important offices in Nantucket, such as Judge of Probate. From him descended the loyalists Gen. John Coffin and Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, also that eminent woman Lucretia (Coffin) Mott. (Page 55).

- ix **Elizabeth**, born in Nantucket; married—first, Jonathan Bunker, son of William and Mary; second, Thomas Clark; died in Nantucket, March 30, 1769.
- x **Benjamin**, born in Nantucket, August 28, 1683; lost overboard between Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.
- xi **Ruth**, born in Nantucket; married Joseph Gardner, son of Richard and Mary, died in Nantucket, May 28, 1748.
- xii **Abigail**, born in Nantucket; married Nathaniel Gardner, son of Richard and Sarah; died in Nantucket, March 15, 1709.*
- xiii **Experience**, born in Nantucket; died young.
- xiv **Jonathan**, born in Nantucket, August 28, 1692; married (24th, 11 mo. 1711) Hephzibah Harker, daughter of Ebenezer.

JOHN [2] (Tristram [1])

born in Haverhill, October 30, 1647; married Deborah Austin, daughter of Joseph and Sarah.

John removed to Edgartown, soon after the death of his father, and from him the Martha's Vineyard Coffins descend. There he was commissioned Lieutenant of Militia. His wife died 4th, 2 mo. 1718. Their children, all of whom were born on Nantucket were—

- i **Lydia**, born June 1, 1669; married—first, John Logan; second, John Draper; third, Thomas Phaxter of Hingham.
- ii **Peter**, born August 5, 1671; married—first, Christian Condry; second, Hope Gardner, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah.
- iii **John Jr.**, born February 10, 1673.
- iv **Love**, born April 23, 1676; never married.
- v **Enoch**, born 1678; married Beulah Eddy about 1700; died in Edgartown.
- vi **Samuel**, born —————; married (1705) Miriam Gardner, daughter of Richard and Mary.
- vii **Hannah**, born —————; married Benjamin Gardner, son of Richard Jr. and Mary; died January 28, 1768.
- viii **Tristram**, born —————; married (1714) Mary Bunker, daughter of William.
- ix **Deborah**, born —————; married (June 18, 1708) Thomas Macy, son of John and Deborah; died September 23, 1760.

*Allen Coffin says, page 56, her interment was the first in Gardner's burial ground.

- x Elizabeth, born —————; never married.
 xi Benjamin, born 8 mo. 23d, 1683.
-

STEPHEN [2] (Tristram [1])

Stephen was about eight years old when his parents removed to Nantucket. He died in Nantucket November 14, 1734. Allen Coffin says.* "For him, to a considerable extent, Tristram reversed the English law of leaving to the oldest son his lands and estates and gave them to his youngest son. Stephen appears to have remained upon his father's estate, and succeeded to the management of the farm and general business cares, and by agreement was to be helpful to his father and mother in their age." He married (probably 1668) Mary Bunker, daughter of George and Jane. The children of Stephen and Mary were all born on Nantucket, and were—

- i Daniel, born —————; lost at sea 4 mo. 1724.
 - ii Dionis, born September 21, 1671; married ()
 Jacob Norton.
 - iii Peter, born November 14, 1673; married in Boston.
 - iv Stephen Jr., born February 20, 1675; married (21st,
 9 mo. 1693) Experience Look.
 - v Judith, born —————; married first, Peter Folger,
 son of Eleazer; second Nathaniel Barnard, son of
 Nathaniel; third, (31st, 6 mo. 1722) Stephen Wilcox.
 Died at Nantucket December 2, 1760.
 - vi Susanna, born —————; married (January 9, 1700)
 Peleg Bunker, son of William and Mary; died June
 11, 1740.
 - vii Mehitable, born —————; married Armstrong Smith,
 son of George and Jane.
 - viii Anna, born —————; married Solomon Gardner,
 son of Richard 2d and Mary; died April 22, 1749.
 - ix Hephzibah, born —————; married Samuel Gard-
 ner, son of James and Mary.
 - x Paul, born April 15, 1695; married Mary Allen, daugh-
 ter of Edward; lost at sea April, 1729.
-

PETER [3] (Peter [2] Tristram [1])

born August 20, 1660; married (August 15, 1682) Elizabeth Star-

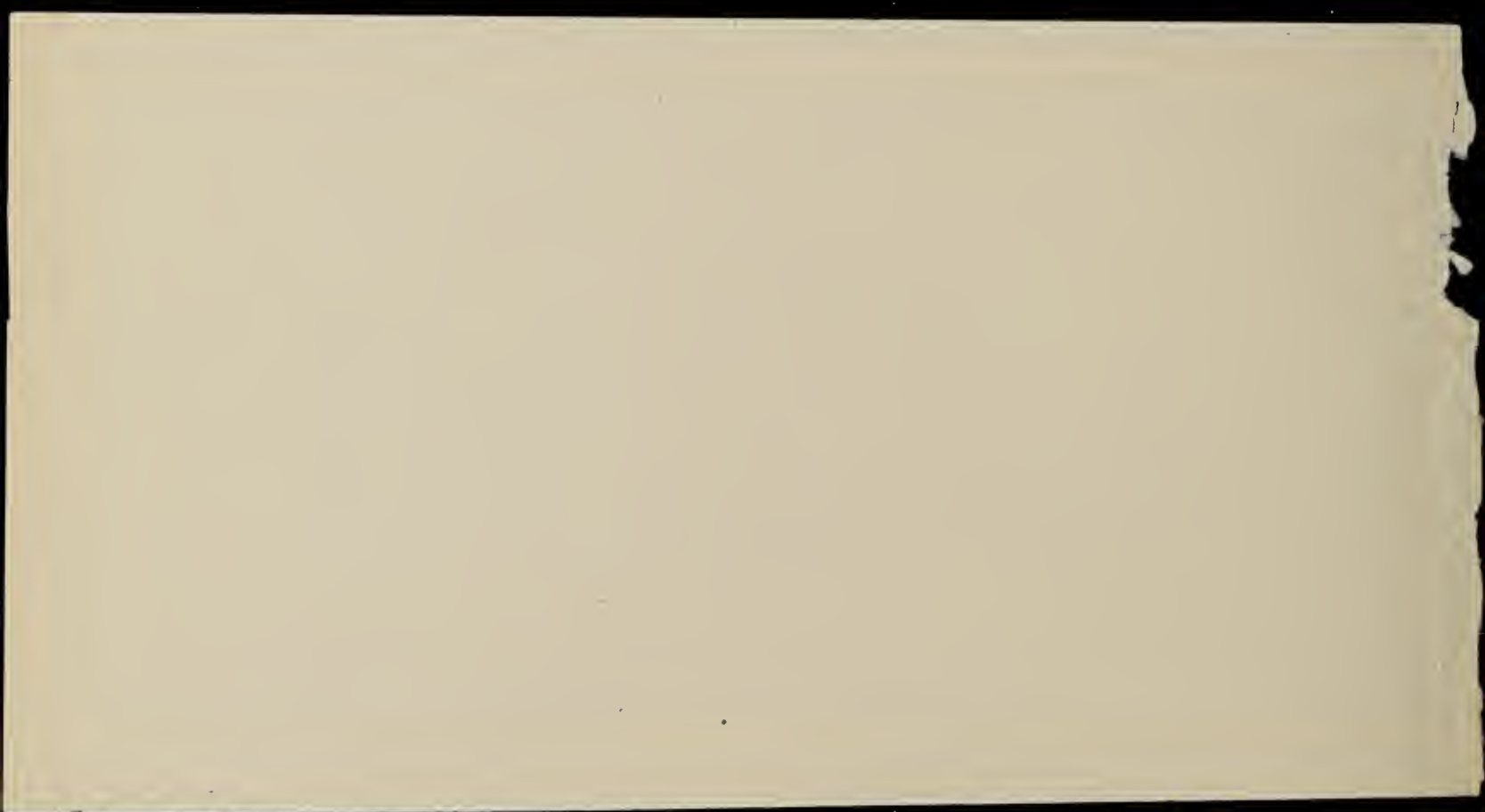
*P. 58. Mr. Coffin's monograph contains much of interest regarding the Coffin family which could not be included in a general history.

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ERRATA

Page 703. Jethro Coffin was born Sept. 16, 1663.

Pages 759, 764, and 862. James Gardner, son of James and Rachel (?) married but once and that was to Susanna Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail. They were married Sept. 1, 1724. He died in 1776 and she died in 1781.



buck, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary. He died in Nantucket in 1699; Their children were—

- i **Abigail**, born July 9, 1683; married at Newbury (1701) Jedidiah Fitch.
- ii **Tristram**, born April 26, 1685; died December 13, 1730; married Hannah Brown, daughter of John and Rachel. No children.
- iii **Nathaniel**, born March 26, 1687.
- iv **Samuel**, born February 26, 1689.
- v **Barnabas**, born February 11, 1690.
- vi **Eunice**, born September 23, 1693; married (29th, 10 mo. 1709) Ebenezer Gardner, son of Nathaniel and Abigail.
- vii **Jemima**, born 19th, 9 mo. 1695; married 29th, 1 mo. 1727) William Swain, son of John and Experience; died March 4, 1770.

JETHRO [3] (Peter [2] Tristram [1])

born September 16, 1683; married Mary Gardner, daughter of John and Priscilla. He died in 1726; she died October 27, 1767. Their children were all born in Nantucket and were—

- i **Margaret**, born June 10, 1689; married—first, Rev. Samuel Terry, of Barrington, Mass.; second, Rev. John Wilson.
- ii **Priscilla**, born December 26, 1691; married (————) John Gardner, son of John and Susanna; died November 23, 1772.
- iii **John**, born April 12, 1694.
- iv **Josiah**, born July 28, 1698; married (October 5, 1720) Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of James and Ruth.
- v **Abigail**, born February 12, 1700; married—first, Nathaniel Woodbury; second, Eliakim, son of John and Experience Swain. She died July 7, 1782.
- vi **Robert**, born April 21, 1704; married (August 30, 1728) Susanna Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Hepsabeth.
- vii **Peter**.
- viii **Edward**.

JAMES [3] (James [2] Tristram [1])

married—first, Love Gardner, daughter of Richard; second, (May

19, 1692) Ruth, daughter of John and Priscilla Gardner; he died on Nantucket August 2, 1741. They had one son—

i Benoni.

By his second wife, Ruth, he had—

- ii **George**, born April 22, 1693; died August 1727. Probably married (November 4, 1717) Ruth Swain.
- iii **Sarah**, born March 9, 1695; married (8th, 8 mo. 1711) Jeremiah Gardner, son of John and Susannah. She died December 1, 1739.
- iv **Nathan**, born November 13, 1696; died December 4, 1768.
- v **Elisha**, born Aug 10, 1699; died 1722; married (April 3, 1721) Dinah Bunker, daughter of Peleg and Susanna.
- vi **Joshua**, born September 16, 1701; died in 1722.
- vii **Elizabeth**, born October 27, 1703; married Josiah Coffin, son of Jethro and Mary; she died in 1774.
- viii **Priscilla**, born June 3, 1708; married (18th, 9 mo. 1723) Abel Gardner, son of Nathaniel and Abigail; died April 27, 1792.
- ix **Mary**, born July 29, 1710; married (February 13, 1725-6) John Bunker, son of George and Deborah; died July 19, 1785.
- x **James**, born June 10, 1713; died April 11, 1784.
- xi **Ruth**, born June 17, 1716; married Cromwell Coffin, son of Ebenezer and Eleanor; died September 30, 1801.
- xii **Benjamin**, born November 16, 1718; married—first, (March 22, 1738-9) Rebecca Coffin, daughter of ————— and second, (3d, 4 mo. 1766) Hannah Bunker, daughter of Jabez and Hannah.

NATHANIEL [3] (James [2] Tristram [1]
 was born in _____ 1671 and died October 29, 1721.
 He married (October 17, 1692) Damaris Gayer, daughter of William and Damaris, who was born October 24, 1673, and died September 6, 1764. Their children were:

- i **Dorcas**, born July 22, 1693; married John Soley of Charlestown; died May 8, 1778.
- ii **Christian**, born April 8, 1695; married—first, John Edwards; second, Timothy Williamson.

- iii **Lydia**, born May 16, 1697; married (16th, 7 mo. 1714) Joseph Chase, son of Isaac and Mary.
- iv **William**, born December 1, 1699; married (September 3, 1722, Anne Holmes, of Boston.*
- v **Charles**, born 1st 1 mo. 1702; married Mary Barrett.
- vi **Benjamin**, born 3d, 4mo. 1705; married—first (5th, 2 mo., 1726) Jedidah Hussey, daughter of Batchelor and Abigail; second, (29th, 4 mo. 1762) Deborah Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah.
- vii **Gayer**, born May 24, 1709; married Rebecca Parker.
- viii **Nathaniel**, born July , 1711; married Mary Sheffield of Newport; died June 10, 1800.
- ix **Catharine**, born June 15, 1715; married (January 8, 1735-6) Bethuel Gardner, son of Joseph and Ruth.

JOHN [3] (James [2] Tristram [1])

He died July 1, 1747; she died October 12, 1750. His wife was Hope the daughter of Richard and Sarah Gardner. Their children were:—

- i **Richard**, born 12th 6 mo. 1694; married (————) Ruth Bunker, daughter of John and Hope.
- ii **Peleg**, born Nov. 16, 1696.
- iii **Judith**, born 8th 5 mo. 1700; married (28th 2 mo 1719-20) Ebenezer Gardner son of Nathaniel and Abigail; died December 24, 1788
- iv **Elias**, born 18th 6 mo. 1702; married (January 15, 1728-9) Love Coffin, daughter of Ebenezer and Eleanor.†
- v **Francis**, born Nov. 13, 1706; married (November 2, 17-27) Theodate Gorham.
- vi **Abigail**, born October 21. 1708, died 1770; married (November 20 1728) Zaccheus Folger, son of John and Mary.

EBENEZER [3] (James [2] Tristram [1])

Ebenezer the fourth son of James senior married (December

*Nathaniel son of William was the father of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin of the English Navy and of General John Coffin of the English Army. The line of descent was Tristram (1) James (2) Nathaniel (3) William (4) Nathaniel (5)

†One of a multitude of cases of intermarriage—their fathers were brothers.

- v **Jedidah**, born 4th 12 mo. 1715; married—first (4th 12 mo. 1733-4) John Hussey, son of Bachelor and Abigail; second (15th 2 mo. 1759) Robert Gardner, son of Benjamin and Hannah.
- vi **Miriam**, born 2d 12 mo. 1717; married (26th 10 mo. 1737) Joseph Chase, son of Isaac and Mary.
- vii **Mary**, born February 9, 1720; married (February 24. 1736-7) Isaac Chase.

JONATHAN [3] (James, [2] Tristram [1])

born August 28. 1692, married (24th 11mo. 1711) Hepzabeth Harker, daughter of Ebenezer and Patience. He died February 5, 1773; she died December 30, 1773. Their children were:

- i **Susanna**, born December 30, 1712; married (August 30 1728) Robert Coffin son of Jethro and Mary.
- ii **Ephraim**, born February 18, 1714;
- iii **Henry**, born March 23, 1716; married Mary Woodbury.
- iv **Daniel**, born February 22, 1718.
- v **Anna**, born March 5, 1720; married (July 24. 1740) Paul son of Nathaniel and Ann Paddack; died July 10. 1802.
- vi **Jonathan**, born May 24, 1723; married (June 2 1743) Priscilla Coffin daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth.
- vii **James**, born ———; married Jemima Swain daughter of ———;
- viii **Joshua**, born ———; married Beulah Gardner daughter of Peter; lost at sea 1780.
- ix **Hepzabeth**, born ———; married (December 25, 1740) Peleg Coffin son of Bartlett and Judith; died May 28, 1785.*
- x **Mary** born ———; married (August 11. 1743) Christopher Hussey son of Silvanus and Hepzabeth.

PETER [3] (John [2] Tristram [1])

born August 5, 1671; died August 27. 1749; married first Christian Conde, and second, Hope Gardner, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah. She died March 21, 1750. Their children were:

*The above is from Sylvanus J. Macy's Genealogy. The Probate Records recording the will of Jonathan in March 1773 mention his "deceased daughter Hepzabeth."

- i **Deborah*** born June 4, 1708; died 1789; married (10th 12 mo 1729) Tristram, Starbuck son of Nathaniel Jr and Dinah.
- ii **John†** born June 4, 1708; married (4th 10 mo. 1740) Kezia Folger, daughter of Daniel and Abigail.
- i **Libni**, born ; died February 6. 1732.
- ii **Parnel** born ; died October 26. 1727; married Robert Coffin, son of Jethro and Mary.
- iii **Sarah**, born ; died 11th 4 mo 1750; married first, (14th 12 mo. 1733-34) Samuel Stanton, son of John and Elizabeth; second (31st 11mo 1744) James Pinkham son of Richard and Mary.
- iv **David**, born October 25, 1718; married (4th 12 mo. 1741) Ruth Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima.† He died 7th 6 mo. 1804.
- v **William**, born 1720; married (4th 10 mo. 1740) Priscilla Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Anna. Removed from the Island in 1773.
- vi **Miriam**, born September 29, 1723; married (13th 11mo. 1742) Richard Pinkham, son of Shubael and Abigail. Removed from the Island June 1779.
- vii **Mary**, born 1724; died October 28, 1777; married (5th 11 mo. 1743) William Barnard, son of Ebenezer and Mary.
- viii **Priscilla**, born 21st 12 mo 1730) died 2d 2 mo 1801; married (February 9, 1748) Christopher Coleman son of Solomon and Deliverance.

TRISTRAM, [3] (John [2] Tristram [1])

married (29th 2 mo. 1714) Mary Bunker, daughter of William and Mary, who died January 29, 1763. Their children were——

- i **David**, born 1718; married (29th. 8 mo 1757) Abigail Folger, daughter of Jonathan and Margaret.
- ii **Samuel**, born 1720; married (6th 7 mo 1744) Elizabeth Gardner, daughter of Jonathan and Patience.
- iii **Tristram**, born 1722; married—first (7th 1 mo. 1744-45) Hephzibah Coffin, daughter of Zephaniah and Miriam; second (29th. 9 mo. 1750), Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Paul and Ann.

*According to Macy, Deborah and John were twins. The Friends' Records also name as the oldest child a daughter, Parnel.

†David seems to have married thrice times; the second time (3d. 1 mo. 1765) to Christian Allen, daughter of Edward and Catharine Heath, widow of Ebenezer Allen, the third time (5th. 1 mo. 1775) to Elizabeth Clasby, daughter of William and Abiel.

- iv **Jonathan**, born 1725; lost at sea 1755; married 4th. 11 mo. 1747) Eunice Barnard daughter of Robert and Hephzabah.*
- v **John**, born 1727; lost at sea 1755; married (12th. 8 mo. 1749) Anna Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima.†
- vi **Richard**, born 1729.
- vii **Timothy**, born 1731.
- viii **Mary**, born 1733; died November 1805; married (8th 1 mo 1756) Jonathan Barnard, son of Robert and Hepzabeth, who died November 1805.
- ix **Matthew**, born 1735; lost at sea 1755.

PETER [3] (Stephen [2] Tristram [1])

born November 14, 1763; married a Boston woman.

They had but one child:—

- i **Daniel**, born _____ married (28th 10 mo. 1737) Elizabeth Stratton daughter of William, born 14th 11 mo. 1712.‡

STEPHEN JR [3] (Stephen [1] Tristram [1])

was born February 20. 1675; married (November 21, 1693) Experience Look, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth. Their children were:—

- i **Shubael**, born 2d 12 mo. 1694; married (December 6, 1717) Priscilla Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel Jr. and Dinah.
- ii **Zephaniah**, born 28th 8mo 1699; married- first (November 10, 1725) Miriam Macy, daughter of John Judith; second, (October 6 1737) Abigail Coleman, daughter of Solomon and Mary.
- iii **Mary**, born 31st 3 mo. 1705.
- iv **Hepzabeth**, born 20th 10 mo. 1708; died 1782; married (August 1 1726) Robert Barnard, son of John and Sarah.

*Jonathan died prior to 1759 and Eunice, his widow, married (10th. 7 mo. 1760) Samuel Ray, son of Samuel and Mary.

†John's widow married (29th. 11 mo. 1764) Jonathan Gardner son of Barnabas and Mary.

‡Daniel died and Elizabeth married for her second husband (28th 8 mo. 1750) Paul Starbuck, son of Nathaniel and Dinah.

- v **Dinah**, born 23d 5 mo. 1713; died September 1, 1793; married 31st 10 mo. 1730) Benjamin, son of Nathaniel and Dinah Starbuck; second, (at Hudson. N. Y.) Abishai Folger, son of Nathan and Sarah Folger.

PAUL [3] (Stephen [2] Tristram [1])

born April 15, 1695, married Mary, daughter of Edward and Ann Allen. He was lost at sea April 1729. Their children were:

- i **Peter**, born February 26 1718; married (10th 2 mo 1738) Deborah Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth.
- ii **Mary**, born December 28 1724; married (in Rhode Island 1741) John Thurston.
- iii **Isaiah** born August 28, 1728.

JOHN [4] (Jethro [3] Peter [2] Tristram [1])

born April 12 1694; died ———; married (———) Lydia Gardner, daughter of Richard and Mary. She died April 18, 1788. Their children were:—

- i **John** married Mary Davis.
- ii **Peter** married—first (December 3, 1747) Susanna Bunker. Second Judith Peckham; died April 12, 1799.
- iii **Parnal**, died in 1770; married—first, Joseph Paddock, son of Eliphalet and Naomi: and, second, John, son of Thomas and Patience Brook.
- iv **Richard**; married (———) Abigail Gardner.
- v **Lydia**, died February 25 1825; married Benjamin Fossdick.
- vi **Jethro**, married (December 11, 1746) Hannah Peckham; died December 29, 1806.
- vii **Kezia** died March 26, 1810; married (February 28 1745) John Gardner, son of Peleg and Hepzabeth.
- viii **Deborah**, born October 25, 1731; married, possibly, (November 2, 1753) Jonathan Myrick; died March 24 1816.

JOSIAH [4] (Jethro [3] Peter [2] Tristram [1])

was born July 28, 1698 and died January 15, 1780. He married

(probably in 1720) Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of James and Ruth. She died in 1774. Their children were:—

- i **Margaret**, born July 9 1721; married—first John Whitney; second Shubael Gardner, son of Joseph and Ruth.
- ii **Priscilla**, born October 19, 1723; died March 27 1796; married Jonathan Coffin son of Jonathan and Hepzabeth.
- iii **Ruth**, born November 4, 1725; died September 10, 1797; married Samuel Calder.
- iv **Mary**, born November 4, 1725; died August 1782; married John Gardner, son of John and Priscilla.
- v **Josiah**, born August 17, 1728; married—first (December 13, 1750) Judith Coffin son of Jethro and Mary; second Mary Woodbury; died August 31, 1811.
- vi **Elizabeth**, born November 8, 1731; died May 21 1792; married Nathaniel Woodbury Jr.
- vii **Edward**, born May 15, 1734; married Parnell Calef, of Boston.
- viii **Andrew**, born August 12, 1736.
- ix **Sarah**, born October 1, 1738; married Robert Calef son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth,
- x **Ann**, born April 11, 1741; died August 12, 1786; married Joseph Clark son of Thomas.
- xi **Abigail**, born June 1, 1743; died November 11, 1803; married Elias Coffin, son of Elias and Love.
- xii **Jennet**, born February 22, 1746; died August 25, 1838; married James Coffin, son of James and Priscilla.
- xiii, xiv, xv. Three other children died young.

ROBERT [4] (Jethro [3] Peter [2] Tristram [1])

born April 21, 1704; died August 8, 1757. He married—first, Parnell Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam, who died October 26, 1727, leaving no children; and second (August 30, 1728) Susanna Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Hepzabeth, who died April 9 1795. Their children were:

- i **Joanna**, born probably in 1729; married (September 12, 1743) Benjamin Stubs; died November 24, 1760.
- ii **Susanna**, born September 7, 1731; married (January 4, 1749) James Whippey, son of James and Patience.
- iii **Catharine**, born July 11, 1733; died September 5, 1882; married (February 8, 1749-50) Paul Folger son of Nathaniel and Priscilla.

- iv **Hepzabeth**, born November 18, 1736; married Joseph Allen.
- v **Margaret**, born September 26, 1738; died October 7, 1805; married Jonathan Coffin son of Nathan and Lydia.
- vi **Mary**, born November 18, 1740; married Coggeshall Rathbone.
- vii **Ephraim**, born January 4, 1743; died July 5, 1810.
- viii **Jethro**, born December 23, 1744; died July 4, 1776.
- ix **Jonathan**, born December 22, 1746; died August 26, 1823.
- x **Robert**, born December 4, 1755; died 1774.

GEORGE [4] (James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

born April 22, 1693; died August 1727; married Ruth Swain, daughter of John and Experience: She died February 8, 1775. Their children were:

- i **Abigail**, born July 12 1719; died June 27 1801; married (December 27 1737) Daniel Smith.
- ii **Eunice**, born August 25, 1721; died January 2, 1776; married (March 6, 1740) Francis Brown, son of George and Sarah.
- iii **Priscilla**, born May 24, 1724; died September 26; 1806; married (November 22, 1744) Jonathan Ramsdell.

NATHAN [4](James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

born November 13, 1696; died December 4, 1768; married Lydia Bunker, daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth, who died December 4. 1785. Their children were:—

- i **Jemima**, born October 1 1721; died April 3. 1805; married (8th 10 mo. 1743) Zaccheus Gardner, son of Barnabas and Mary.
- ii **Elizabeth**,* born April 9, 1724; died May 12, 1805; married (November 6, 1740) Charles Swain son of Eliakim and Elizabeth.

*The Friend's Records give the marriage (9th. 11 mo. 1745) of Elihu Coffin, son of Nathan and Lydia, to Rachel Gardner, daughter of James and Susanna. It would appear that he was born in 1721 or 1722.

- iii Elisha, born February 9, 1726; married first (19th 1 mo 1747) Rachel Gardner, daughter James & Susanna; second (10th 1 mo 1747) Mary Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary.
 - iv George, born May 23, 1728; married (February 19, 1750) Abigail Bunker, daughter of John and Mary.
 - v Simeon, born July 11, 1730; married Jedidah Coffin.
 - vi Jonathan, born September 3, 1732; married Margaret Coffin, daughter of Robert and Susanna.
 - vii Nathan, born December 23, 1734; married Eunice Bunker; died at Easton, N. Y. February 1814.
 - viii Deborah, born February 18, 1736; died November 13, 1804; married (November 19, 1764) Abner Briggs.
 - ix Lydia, born March 20, 1739.
 - x Charles, born October 8, 1742.
-

ELISHA [4] (James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

born August 10, 1699; died 1722; married Dinah Bunker, daughter of Peleg and Susanna, who was born January 25, 1705 and died January 14, 1778. Their children were:

- i Judith, born March 23, 1722; died March 12, 1812; married (January 8 1740-41) Joseph Coffin son of Ebenezer and Eleanor.
-

JOSHUA [4] (James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

born September 16, 1701; died 1722; married (3d 2 mo 1721) Priscilla Bunker, daughter of Peleg and Susannah, who died October 8, 1795. They had

- i Susanna, born August 1, 1721.
-

JAMES [4] (James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

was born June 10. 1713; died April 11. 1784; married (January 16, 1734-5) Priscilla Rawson, who died April 30, 1791. Their children were:

- i Joshua, born October 10, 1737; married Catherine Coffin.

- ii **Margaret**, born probably 1739; died November 13, 1792; married Jethro Hussey, son of George and Elizabeth.
 - iii **Susanna**, born December 14, 1740; died January 15, 1799; married John Pinkham, son of Solomon and Eunice.
 - iv **Abel**, born probably 1742; died 1777 a prisoner of war.
 - v **James**, born March 20. 1744; married Jennet Coffin, daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth.
-

BENJAMIN [4] (James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born November 16, 1718; married—first (March 22. 1738-9) Rebecca Coffin, daughter probably of Bartlett and Judith; Second Hannah Bunker daughter of Jabez and Hannah. Their children were:—

- i **Elisha**, born March 21, 1740.
 - ii **Rebekah**, born February 21, 1741.
 - iii **Benjamin**, born September 1, 1744; married (4th 2 mo 1773) Judith Macy, daughter of Francis and Judith.
 - iv **Lurana**, born September 1, 1746.
 - v **Susanna**, born August 25, 1748.
 - vi **Seth**, born June 25, 1753.
-

BENJAMIN [4] (Nathaniel [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born 3d 4 mo. 1705; married—first (5th 2 mo. 1726) Jedidah Hussey, daughter of Bachelor and Abigail; second (29th 4 mo. 1762) Deborah Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah. Their children were——

By Jedidah—

- i **Reuben**, born 21st. 1 mo. 1726-7; died 23d 9 mo. 1804; married (10th 1 mo. 1747) Mary Joy, daughter of David and Mary.
- ii **Nathaniel**, born 27th 1 mo. 1729; married (6th 1 mo. 1757) Rebekah Coleman, daughter of Barnabas and Rachel.
- iii **William**, born 13th. 11 mo. 1730; removed from the Island 21st. 7 mo. 1775; married (7th 2 mo. 1754) Hephzibah Barney daughter of Benjamin and Lydia.

- iv **Benjamin**, born 26th 9 mo. 1732; removed from the Island 23d 9 mo. 1773; married (7th 2 mo. 1754) Elizabeth Hussey, daughter of Daniel and Sarah.
- v **Micajah**, born 18th. 8 mo. 1734; died 25th. 5 mo. 1827; married (6th 1 mo. 1757) Abigail Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima.
- vi **Abigail**, born 24th 10 mo. 1736; died 31st. 8 mo. 1758; married (27th 2 mo. 1755) Matthew Macy, son of Jabez and Sarah.
- vii **Joseph**, born 25th 12 mo. 1738; died 14th 1 mo. 1740.
- viii **Anna**, born 28th 6 mo. 1740; removed from the Island 25th 10 mo. 1773; married (6th 1 mo 1763) Charles Clasby son of William and Abiel.
- ix **Seth**, born 31st 5 mo. 1742; removed from the Island 23d 9 mo. 1773; married (3d 12 mo. 1767) Lydia Barnard, daughter of William and Lydia.
- x **Paul**, born 25th 11 mo. 1744; married (1st. 2 mo. 1770) Ruth Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Eunice.
- xi **Elihu**, born 4th 10 mo. 1746.
- xii **Isaiah**, born 8th 12 mo. 1748; died 8th 5 mo. 1749.
- xiii **Abraham**, born 5th 9 mo. 1750.
- xiv **Abner**, born 20th 3 mo. 1753.

By Deborah—

- xv **Isaac**, born 1st 9 mo. 1764.
 - xvi **Thomas**, born 5th 9 mo. 1766.
 - xvii **Deborah**, born 25th. 8 mo. 1768.
- Benjamin died 3d. 11 mo. 1780; Jedidah, his first wife, died 6th 8 mo. 1759; Deborah, his second wife, died 28th 11 mo. 1803.

NATHANIEL [4](Nathaniel [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
born July 1711; married Mary Sheffield of Newport; died June 10 1800. Their children were:—

- i **Katharine**, born 30th 7 mo. 1737.
- ii **Nathaniel** born 29th 9 mo 1739; married (10th 2 mo. 1763) Phebe Coffin, daughter of Tristram and Jemima. He married for his second wife (10th 10 mo. 1771) Priscilla Gardner daughter of Thomas and Hannah.
- iii **Sheffield**, born 24th 2 mo. 1741; removed from the Island 31st. 10 mo. 1785; married (10th 1st mo. 1765) Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Matthew and Mary.

- iv **James**, born 13th 9 mo. 1743.
- v **Walter**, born 20th 10 mo. 1748.
- vi **Matthew**, born 20th 5 mo. 1751.
- vii **Elihu**, born 13th 4 mo. 1754.
- viii **Obediah**, born 31st. 10 mo. 1757.
- ix **Lettice**, born 18th 11 mo. 1760; married (30. 1 mo. 1783) Reuben Ray, son of Alexander and Elizabeth.

RICHARD, [4] (**John**, [3] **James** [2] **Tristram** [1])
born 12th 6 mo. 1694; married (November 20 1718) Ruth Bunker, daughter of John and Elizabeth. He died 4th 3 mo. 1768; she died 14th. 1 mo. 1779. Their children were—

- i **Judith**, born 2d 7 mo. 1719; died 15th 5 mo. 1799; married (30th 5 mo. 1738) Francis Macy, son of Thomas and Deborah.
- ii **Christopher**, born 30th 4 mo. 1721; lost at sea 1756.
- iii **Phebe**, born 20th 11 mo. 1723; died 9 th 4 mo. 1756; married (6th 8 mo. 1743) Tristram Swain son of John and Mary.
- iv **Daniel**, born 21st 7 mo. 1725; died 9 th 9 mo. 1745.
- v **Barnabas**, born 11th 8 mo. 1727; died 28th. 5 mo. 1777; married (1st. 1 mo. 1749-50) Abigail Folger, daughter of Daniel and Abigail.
- vi **Abigail**, born 22d. 6 mo. 1729; married (8th 9 mo. 1750) Seth Swain, son of John and Mary.
- vii **Richard**, born 31st, 5 mo. 1731; married (8th 11 mo. 1753) Mary Starbuck, daughter of Paul and Ann.
- viii **Ruth**, born 9th. 2 mo. 1733; married (7th 10 mo. 1749) William Folger, son of Abishai and Sarah.
- ix **Lydia**, born 22d 7 mo. 1735; removed from the Island 7th 5 mo. 1772.*
- x **Margaret**, born 25th 6 mo. 1738; died 6 th 9 mo. 1744.
- xi **Francis**, born 11th 1 mo. 1743; died 14th 5 mo. 1768.
- xii **Silvanus**, born 21st 1 mo. 1745; married (31st 12 mo. 1767) Elizabeth Hussey, daughter of William and Abigail.

ELIAS [4] (**John**, [3] **James**, [2] **Tristram** [1])
born 18th 6 mo. 1702; married (January 15, 1728-9) Love Coffin, daughter of Ebenezer and Eleanor. Their children were:—

*Quite a number of the Coffin families removed to New Garden, North Carolina about the time of the Revolution and after. Like other Nantucket people some of them eventually continued through East Tennessee into Indiana, where they became prominent citizens. From the Coffins have sprung quite a group of professional men. Among them is the well-known emancipationist Levi Coffin and Lucretia (Coffin) Mott.

- i **Jane**, born January 5, 1730-1.
 - ii **Dinah**, born April 6, 1733.
 - iii **Anna**, born August 11, 1735.
 - iv **Merab**, born September 3, 1737; married; probably, (November 20, 1755) John Woodbury.
 - v **Love** born October 27, 1739; probably married (October 12, 1759) Jeremiah Prior.
 - vi **Elias**, born August 8, 1741; married (March 4 1762) Abigail Coffin.
-

FRANCIS [4] (**John**, [3] **James**, [2] **Tristram** [1])
 born November 13. 1706; married (November 2. 1727) Theodate Gorham.* Their children were:—

- i **Peleg** born November 8, 1728; married (6th 2 mo 1749) Elizabeth Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth.
 - ii **William**, born August 5, 1730; married (28th 2 mo. 1754 Jedidah Folger, daughter of John and Rebekah.
 - iii **Judith**, born August 13, 1732; married (6th 10 mo. 1750) Nathaniel Hussey, son of Silvanus and Hephzibah.
-

PRINCE [4] (**Ebenezer**, [3] **James**, [2] **Tristram** [1])
 born 19th 6 mo. 1703; married Mercy Skiffe. They had a daughter—

- i **Mary**, who married (10th 11 mo. 1750) Tristram Folger son of Jethro and Mary.
-

ZACCHEUS [4] (**Joseph** [3] **James** [2] **Tristram** [1])
 born 11th, 1 mo. 1710; married (4th, 9 mo. 1731) Mary Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail. He died 2d, 10 mo. 1797; she died 24th, 12 mo. 1788. Their children were—

- i **Eunice**, born 17th, 8 mo. 1732; removed from the Island 27th, 6 mo. 1785; probably married (October 31, 1751) Stephen Paddack.

*After the death of Francis his widow married (4th. 10 mo. 1735) Reuben Gardner son of Solomon and Anna.

- ii **Joseph**, born 5th, 12 mo. 1733; died 13th, 7 mo. 1786; married (5th, 2 mo. 1756) Eunice Paddock, daughter of Daniel and Susanna.
- iii **Anna**, born 22d, 1 mo. 1736; died 9th, 12 mo. 1780; married (20th, 1 mo. 1757) Silvanus Russell, son of Jonathan and Patience.
- iv **Shubael**, born 29th, 3 mo. 1739; married (6th, 1 mo. 1763) Mary Mitchell, daughter of Richard and Mary.
- v **Hezekiah**, born 20th, 8 mo. 1741; died 8 mo. 1779; married (4th, 2 mo. 1762) Abigail Coleman daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth.
- vi **Bethiah**, born 14th, 11 mo. 1743; died 5th, 6 mo. 1806; married (5th, 1 mo. 1764) Matthew Bunker, son of James and Bethiah.
- vii **Zaccheus**, born 19th, 3 mo. 1751; probably married (March 22, 1770) Thankful Joy.
- viii **Mary**, born 14th, 4 mo. 1754.

HEZEKIAH [4] (Joseph [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born 4th, 8 mo. 1712; died 15th, 11 mo. 1768;* married (3d, 1 mo. 1742) Lydia Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary. She died 7th, 9 mo. 1807. Their children were—

- i **Mary**, born 28th, 9 mo. 1743.
- ii **Andrew**, born 22d, 6 mo. 1745; died 30th, 9 mo. 1752.
- iii **Elijah**, born 21st, 6 mo. 1747; probably married, (June 10, 1770) Abigail Folger.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 12th, 10 mo. 1749; died 12th, 9 mo. 1788; married (2d, 2 mo. 1769) William Ray, son of William and Mary.
- v **Uriah**, born 8th, 10 mo. 1751; removed from the Island 29th, 4 mo. 1776.
- vi **Lydia**, born 4th, 11 mo. 1753; died 14th, 12 mo. 1753.
- vii **Lydia**, born 7th, 7 mo. 1755; died 16th, 5 mo. 1759.
- viii **Abihu**, born 24th, 9 mo. 1757; probably married (March 15, 1783) Elizabeth Wolton.
- ix **Eliel**, born 31st, 12 mo. 1759; married (December 29, 1769) Lydia Fosdick.
- x **Libbeus**, born 22d, 1 mo. 1762; died 23d, 1 mo. 1820.
- xi **Laban**, born 16th, 10 mo. 1764; died 19th, 11 mo. 1853; married (9th, 2 mo. 1797) Jemima Folger, daughter of Benjamin and Judith.

*The Friends Records give the date as 15th, 1 mo. 1768, which is doubtless correct.

HENRY [4] (Jonathan [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born March 23, 1716; married (February 15, 1738-9) Mary Woodbury. Their children were—

- i **Elizabeth**, born May 21, 1744.
 - ii **Henry**, born March 25, 1748. Married (November 30, 1769) Lydia Fosdick.
-

DANIEL [4] (Jonathan [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born February 22, 1718; married (December 28, 1737) Elizabeth Stretton. Their children were—

- i **Judith**, born September 8, 1739. Married (28th, 11 mo. 1765) George Lawrence son of George and Mehitable.
 - ii **Elizabeth**, born March 3, 1741; married (4th, 2 mo. 1762) Jonathan Gorham Fitch, son of Beriah and Deborah.
-

JONATHAN [4] (Jonathan [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born March 24, 1723; married (June 2, 1743) Priscilla Coffin, daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth. Their children were—

- i **Joshua**, born August 7, 1745.
 - ii **Daniel**, born November 28, 1749.
-

BARTLETT [4] (Peter [3] John [2] Tristram [1])
 married (January 1, 1718-9) Judith Bunker, daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth. Their children were—

- i **Peleg**, born December 5, 1719. Married (December 25, 1740) Hephzibah Coffin.
- ii **Rebecca**, born December 7, 1721. Married (March 22, 1738-9) Benjamin Coffin.
- iii **Enoch**, born July 5, 1727. Probably married (May 10, 1745) Love Gardner, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth.
- iv **Christian**, born June 18, 1730.
- v **Judith**, born March 4, 1733.

vi **Bartlett**, born January 17, 1737.

vii **Uriah**, born January 2, 1739.

ABNER [4] (**Peter** [3] **John** [2] **Tristram** [1])
married **Phebe** Butler. Their children were—

i **Timothy**, born May 14, 1734.

ii **Joseph**, born March 23, 1738.

iii **Elizabeth**, born May 2, 1740.

TRISTRAM [4] (**Peter** [3] **John** [2] **Tristram** [1])
married (8th, 1 mo. 1743-4) **Jemima** Barnard, daughter of **Eben-**
ezer and **Mary**. He died 19th, 1 mo. 1763; she died 19th, 7 mo.
1757. Their children were—

i **Phebe**, born probably in 1744; died 22d, 3 mo. 1770;
married (10th, 2 mo. 1763) **Nathaniel** Coffin, son
of **Nathaniel** and **Mary**.

ii **Abishai**, removed from the Island 29th, 8 mo. 1774.

iii **Lydia**.

iv **Jemima**.

v **Miriam**.

vi **Huldah**.

ROBERT [4] (**Peter** [3] **John** [2] **Tristram** [1])
married (17th, 11 mo. 1744) **Jemima** Gardner, daughter of **Sam-**
uel and **Patience**; died September 29, 1791. Their children were—

i **Hepzibah**, born 11th, 11 mo. 1744-5; died 14th, 1 mo.
1801.

ii **Patience**, born 4th, 8 mo. 1749; died 5th, 9 mo. 1827.

iii **Robert**, born 23d, 10 mo. 1760.

iv **Jerusha**, born 1st, 4 mo. 1765.

PETER [4] (**Peter** [3] **John** [2] **Tristram** [1])
born November 3, 1729; married (13th, 10 mo. 1750) **Priscilla**.

Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima. His wife died 4th, 10 mo. 1770. He removed to New Gardner, N. C., with the rest of his family excepting Elizabeth who removed the following year, 30th, 8 mo. 1784, where he died. Their children were—

- i Christopher.
 - ii Joseph.
 - iii Peter.
 - iv Sarah.
 - v Ann.
 - vi Elizabeth.
-

JOHN [4] (Samuel [3] John [2] Tristram [1])
born June 4, 1708; married (4th, 10 mo. 1740) Kezia Folger, daughter of Daniel and Abigail. They had but one child, a daughter—

- i Kezia, who married (April 5, 1777) Phineas Fanning.
-

DAVID [4] (Samuel [3] John [2] Tristram [1])
born October 25, 1718; married (4th, 12 mo. 1741) Ruth Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima. He died 7th, 6 mo. 1804; his wife died 25th, 5 mo. 1763. Their children were—

- i Phebe, born 29th, 12 mo. 1743; died 25th, 1 mo. 1782; married (31st, 12 mo. 1761) David Joy, son of David and Sarah.
- ii Seth, born 17th, 7 mo. 1746; died 31st, 5 mo. 1801; married (3d, 12 mo. 1767) Susanna Barnard, daughter of Timothy and Mary.
- iii Elihu, born 8th, 11 mo. 1748.
- iv David, born 6th, 9 mo. 1750; lost at sea 1783; married (9th, 1 mo. 1772) Elizabeth Swain, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth.
- v Miriam, born 29th, 5 mo. 1752; removed from the Island 25th, 3 mo. 1776.
- vi Obediah, born 12th, 9 mo. 1757; died at sea.
- vii Jemima, born 2d, 2 mo. 1759; died 17th, 8 mo. 1842; married—first—— Morton; second, (4th, 9 mo. 1806) Prince Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.
- viii Gideon, born 7th, 5 mo. 1761.
- ix Ruth, born 19th, 5 mo. 1763; died 2d, 2 mo. 1841.

WILLIAM [4] (Samuel [3] John [2] Tristram [1])

born 1720; married (4th, 10 mo. 1740) Priscilla Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann. They removed from the Island 8th, 4 mo. 1773, taking all their family with them who had not previously gone. Their children were—

- i **Deborah**, born 31st, 1 mo. 1743; married (2d, 1 mo. 1766) Mathew Barnard, son of Robert and Hephzibah.*
- ii **Libni**, born 7th, 8 mo. 1745; removed from the Island 25th, 4 mo. 1771; married (29th, 1 mo. 1767) Hephzibah Starbuck, daughter of Joseph and Ruth.
- iii **William**, born 25th, 7 mo. 1747; removed from the Island 30th, 10 mo. 1772; married (29th, 12 mo. 1768) Lydia Coleman, daughter of Jethro and Lydia.†
- iv **Samuel**, born 8th, 10 mo. 1749; married (29th, 11 mo. 1770) Mary Carr, son of Thomas and Mary.
- v **Barnabas**, born 25th, 10 mo. 1751; married (7th, 1 mo. 1773) Phebe Marshall, daughter of Joseph and Phebe.
- vi **Matthew**, born 13th, 2 mo. 1754.
- vii **Bethuel**, born 9th, 2 mo. 1756.
- viii **Abijah**, born 22d, 5 mo. 1760.
- ix **Priscilla**.

SAMUEL [4] (Tristram [3] John [2] Tristram [1])

born 1720; married (6th, 7 mo. 1744) Elizabeth Gardner, daughter of Jonathan and Patience. Their children were*—

- i **Elihu**, born 9th, 7 mo. 1745.
- ii **Thomas**, born 7th, 11 mo. 1747.
- iii **Simeon**, born 5th, 4 mo. 1750.
- iv **Samuel**, born 7th, 9 mo. 1752; died at sea 12 mo. 1771.
- v **Tristram**, born 5th, 4 mo. 1755.
- vi **Obed**, born 14th, 9 mo. 1757. Married (3d, 1 mo. 1781) Deborah Coleman, daughter of Jethro and Lydia.
- vii **Phebe**, born 10th, 11 mo. 1760.
- viii **Barnabas**, born 7th, 3 mo. 1763; died 1802.
- ix **Miriam**, born 14th, 9 mo. 1765.
- x **Rebecca**, born 29th, 5, 1770.

*In the list of marriages in the Friend's Records the parents of Deborah and William are given as David and Ruth which is clearly a clerical error as David had no children of those names while his brother William did have.

†A note on the Friend's Records says the children were "all born at Martha's Vineyard."

TRISTRAM [4] (Tristram [3] John [2] Tristram [1])
 born in 1722; was twice married—first (7th, 1 mo. 1744-5) to Hephzibah Coffin, daughter of Zephaniah and Mary, who died 30th, 10 mo. 1746; second (29th, 9 mo. 1750) Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Paul and Ann, who died 12th, 4 mo. 1819. Their children were—

By Hephzibah—

- i **Tristram**, born 18th, 6 mo. 1746; married (3d, 3 mo. 1768) Mary Pinkham, daughter of Richard and Miriam.

By Elizabeth—

- ii **Hephzibah**, born 7th, 3 mo. 1752; died 6th, 4 mo. 1819; probably married (October 13, 1774) Nathaniel Barnard.
- iii **Reuben**, born 6th, 7 mo. 1754; married (3d, 2 mo. 1774) Pernal Gardner, daughter of Daniel and Provided.
- iv **Jonathan**, born 25th, 6 mo. 1756; married (2d, 10 mo. 1777) Abigail Austin, daughter of Benjamin and Susanna.
- v **Frederick**, born 2d, 10 mo. 1761; died 17th, 6 mo. 1773.

JONATHAN [4] (Tristram [3] John [2] Tristram [1])
 born in 1725; lost at sea 1755; married (4th, 11 mo. 1747) Eunice Barnard, daughter of Robert and Hephzibah. Their children were—

- i **Hephzibah**, born October 14, 1748.
- ii **Mary**, born August 17, 1750; removed from the Island 28th, 12 mo. 1772; married (4th, 2 mo. 1768) Paul Starbuck, son of Edward and Damaris.
- iii **William**, born 1752.
- iv **Eunice**, born 3 mo. 1755; removed from the Island 30th, 11 mo. 1778; married (13th, 1 mo. 1774) Stephen Coffin, son of Stephen and Mary.

JOHN [4] (Tristram [3] John [2] Tristram [1])
 born 1727; lost at sea 1755; married (12th, 8 mo. 1749) Anna

Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima. She died 3d, 6 mo. 1768. Their children were—

- i **Phebe**, born 9th, 6 mo. 1751; married (30th, 11 mo. 1769) Benjamin Worth, son of Benjamin and Mary.
- ii **John**, born 12th, 4 mo. 1753.
- iii **Anna**, born 9th, 6 mo. 1755.

ZEPHANIAH [4] (**Stephen** [3] **Stephen** [2] **Tristram** [1]) born 28th, 8 mo. 1699; married—first (November 10, 1725) Miriam Macy, daughter of John and Judith; second, (October 6, 1737) Abigail Coleman, daughter of Solomon and Mary. Miriam died 2d, 8 mo. 1736; Abigail, who was born 15th, 8 mo. 1713; died 4th, 8 mo. 1787. The children were—

By Miriam—

- i **Hepzibah**, born 15th, 4 mo. 1726; died 30th, 10 mo. 1746; married (7th, 1 mo. 1744-5) Tristram Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary.
- ii **Stephen**, born 30th, 1 mo. 1730-31; married (30th, 11 mo. 1751-2) Mary Bunker, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla.
- iii **Shubael**, born probably in 1734; removed from the Island 31st, 5 mo. 1779; married first, (9th, 1 mo. 1755) Abigail Paddack, daughter of Eliphalet and Naomi; second, (8th, 11 mo. 1764) Mary Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret.
- iv **Dinah**, born 1736; died 25th, 10 mo. 1756; married (29th, 10 mo. 1753) Abisha Bunker, son of Samuel and Priscilla.

By Abigail—

- v **Mary**, born 27th, 6 mo. 1738; died 6th, 2 mo. 1819; married (11th, 12 mo. 1760) Charles Bunker, son of Samuel and Priscilla.
- vi **Miriam**, born 19th, 2 mo. 1740; died 12th, 2 mo. 1813; married (4th, 10 mo. 1759) Richard Macy, son of Zaccheus and Hephzibah.
- vii **Paul**, born 1 mo. 1742; removed from the Island 14th, 3 mo. 1776; married (8th, 12 mo. 1763) Susanna Bunker, daughter of Jonathan and Judith.
- viii **Zephaniah**, born 1 mo. 1747; removed from the Island 30th, 11 mo. 1778; married (7th, 1 mo. 1768) Hephzibah Bunker, daughter of Jonathan and Judith.

ix **Solomon**, born 1 mo. 1750; married probably (October 18, 1784) **Phebe Gardner**.

x **Abigail**, born 7 mo. 1752; removed from the Island 20th 11 mo. 1780. Married ————— **Bunker**.

PETER [4] (Paul [3] Stephen [2] Tristram [1])

born February 26, 1718; married (10th, 2 mo. 1738) **Deborah Hussey**, daughter of **George** and **Elizabeth**, who died 9th, 2 mo. 1785. Their children were—

i **Mary**, born 23d. 4 mo. 1741; died 14th, 10 mo. 1763.

ii **Elizabeth**, born 25th, 6 mo. 1745; died 27th, 4 mo. 1788.

ELISHA [5] (Nathan [4] James [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

born February 9, 1726; married (10th, 1 mo. 1747) **Mary Gardner**, daughter of **Nathaniel** and **Mary**. Their children were—

i **Rachel**, born 9th, 6 mo. 1749.

ii **Judith**, born 9th, 10 mo. 1751; probably married, (February 28, 1771) **Thomas Brock**.

iii **Elisha**, born 9th, 8 mo. 1758.

iv **Joshua**, born 9th, 8 mo. 1758; died 1781.

v **Nathaniel**, born 11th, 9 mo. 1761; lost at sea.

NATHANIEL [5] (Benjamin [4] Nathaniel [3] James [2] Tristram [1])

born 27th, 1 mo. 1729; married (6th, 1 mo. 1757) **Rebekah Coleman**, daughter of **Barnabas** and **Rachel**, who died 20th, 3 mo. 1777. Their children were—

i **Gilbert**, born 11th, 6 mo. 1757; died 7th, 10 mo. 1758.

ii **Abial**, born 25th, 10 mo. 1759; died 10th, 2 mo. 1832.

iii **Moses**, born 1st, 7 mo. 1762.

iv **Albert**, born 2d, 6 mo. 1764; died 22d, 6 mo. 1765.

v **Clement**, born 20th, 2 mo. 1767.

vi **Rachel**, born 9th, 4 mo. 1769.

vii **Ralph**, born 17th, 1 mo. 1771.

viii **Arnold**, born 14th, 9 mo. 1773; died 11th, 9 mo. 1774.

MICAJAH [5] (Benjamin [4] Nathaniel [3] James [2]
Tristram [1])

born 18th, 8 mo. 1734; died 25th, 5 mo. 1827; married (6th, 1 mo. 1757) Abigail Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima. Their children were—

- i **Isaiah**, born 11th, 9 mo. 1757; died 17th, 4 mo. 1813; married (2d, 3 mo. 1780) Sarah Folger, daughter of Christopher and Abigail.
 - ii **Gilbert**, born 1st, 8 mo. 1759; married (30th, 11 mo. 1780) Phebe Barnard, daughter of William and Mary.
 - iii **Jedidah**, born 5th, 7 mo. 1761; died 11th, 11 mo. 1792; married (29th, 1 mo. 1784) Francis Joy, son of Francis and Phebe.
 - iv **Zenas**, born 3d, 6 mo. 1764; died 8th, 7 mo. 1822.
-

BARNABAS [5] (Richard [4] John [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
born 11th, 8 mo. 1727; died 28th, 5 mo. 1777; married (1st, 1 mo. 1749-50) Abigail Folger, daughter of Daniel and Abigail. Their children were—

- i **Margaret**, born 30th, 1 mo. 1751.
 - ii **Daniel**, born 22d, 3 mo. 1754; married (2d, 9 mo. 1784) Huldah Bunker, daughter of Bachelor and Bethiah.
 - iii **Abial**, born 7th, 12 mo. 1758; married (1st, 3 mo. 1781) Jonathan Barney, son of Benjamin and Huldah.
 - iv **Rebecca**, born 22d 4 mo. 1764.
 - v **Eunice**, born 31st, 7 mo. 1766.
 - vi **Benjamin**, born 5th, 1 mo. 1768.
-

RICHARD [5] (Richard [4] John [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
born 31st, 5 mo. 1731; married (8th, 11 mo. 1753) Mary Starbuck, daughter of Paul and Ann. Their children were—

- i **Phebe**, born 9th, 7 mo. 1754; died 5th, 3 mo. 1807; married (20th 12 mo. 1770) Jonathan Coffin, son of David and Mary.
- ii **Barzillai**, born 8th, 9 mo. 1756; died 1st, 7 mo. 1777.
- iii **Christopher**, born 24th, 7 mo. 1758; probably married (October 16, 1784) Abigail Coleman.

- iv Sarah, born 25th, 11 mo. 1761; died 12th, 6 mo. 1788; married (1st, 11 mo. 1781) Bartlett Coffin, son of Benjamin and Rebecca.
- v Laban, born 15th, 11 mo. 1764; removed from the Island 30th, 9 mo. 1802; married (27th, 4 mo. 1786) Phebe Bunker, daughter of Charles and Mary.
- vi Lydia, born 21st, 10 mo. 1767; married (1st, 12 mo. 1785) Daniel Barney, son of Benjamin and Jemima.
- vii Charles, born 17th, 2 mo. 1769; married (29th, 11 mo. 1792) Miriam Parker, widow of Timothy and daughter of Francis and Naomi Chase.

WILLIAM [5] (Francis [4] John [3] James [2] Tristram [1]) born August 5, 1730; married (February 28, 1754) Jedidah Folger, daughter of John and Rebekah. They had—

- i William, born 16th, 12 mo. 1756.

PELEG [5] (Francis [4] John [3] James [2] Tristram [1]) born November 8, 1728; married (6th, 2 mo. 1749) Elizabeth Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth. Their children were—

- i Matilda, born 4th, 12 mo. 1750; died 4th, 9 mo. 1752.
- ii Francis, born 28th, 10 mo. 1752; removed from the Island 27th, 1 mo. 1820 and died 6th, 6 mo. 1820; married (6th, 8 mo. 1807) Lydia Bunker, daughter of Uriah and Judith.
- iii Jared, born 29th, 3 mo. 1754; married (30th, 4 mo. 1778) Eunice Barnard, daughter of Joseph and Mary.
- iv Peleg, born 3d, 11 mo. 1756; married (28th, 5 mo. 1778) Eunice Barker, daughter of Josiah and Elizabeth.

THOMAS [5] (Micah [4] Joseph [3] James [2] Tristram [1]) born ——— married (29th, 1 mo. 1756) Abigail Russell, daughter of John and Ruth. Their children were—

- i Prince, born 25th, 11 mo. 1756.

- ii **Deborah**, born 25th, 9 mo. 1765; died 17th, 12 mo. 1788.
 - iii **Bartlett**, born 14th, 6 mo. 1767; married (29th, 11 mo. 1787) **Elizabeth Bunker**, daughter of Charles and Mary.
 - iv **Francis**, born 22d, 8 mo. 1771.
-

JOSEPH [5] (Zaccheus [4] Joseph [3] James [2] Tristram [1])
 born 5th 12 mo. 1733; died 13th 7 mo 1786; married (5th, 2 mo. 1756) **Eunice Paddock**, daughter of Daniel and Susanna. They had one child—

- i **Susanna**, born 16th, 12 mo. 1756; married (4th, 8 mo. 1774) **Abishai Swain**, son of Tristram and Phebe.
-

STEPHEN [5] (Zephaniah [4] Stephen [3] Stephen [2] Tristram [1])

born 30th, 1 mo. 1730-31; married (30th, 11 mo. 1751-2) **Mary Bunker**, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla, who died 11th, 10 mo. 1822. Their children were—

- i **Stephen**, born 22d, 11 mo. 1752; removed from the Island 30th, 11 mo. 1778; married (13th, 1 mo. 1774) **Eunice Coffin**, daughter of Jonathan and Eunice.
- ii **Job**, born 29th, 10 mo. 1755; probably married (August 1, 1785) **Mary Ray**.
- iii **Miriam**, born 21st, 1 mo. 1760; died 1787; married 7th, 11 mo. 1782) **Joseph Clasby**, son of John and Ruth.
- iv **Noah**, born 25th, 2 mo. 1762; removed from the Island 28th, 4 mo. 1777.
- v **Eber**, born 20th, 2 mo. 1765; married (3d, 2 mo. 1791) **Hepsibah Fitch**, daughter of Jonathan G. and Elizabeth.
- vi **Alpheus**, born 19th, 3 mo. 1767; probably married August 7, 1787) **Lovey Pitts**.
- vii **Elizabeth**, born 7th, 1 mo. 1771; married (1st, 9 mo. 1791) **Lot Clāsby**, son of John and Ruth.
- viii **Phebe**, born 23d, 1 mo. 1775; married (30th, 7 mo. 1794) **Isaiah Ray**, son of Alexander and Elizabeth.

SHUBAEL [5] (Zephaniah [4] Stephen [3] Stephen [2]
Tristram [1])

born probably in 1734; married—first (9th, 1 mo. 1755) Abigail Paddack, daughter of Eliphalet and Naomi; second, (8th, 11 mo. 1764) Mary Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret. He removed from the Island 31st, 5 mo. 1779. Abigail died 25th, 11 mo. 1761. Their children were—

By Abigail—

- i Eliab, born probably in 1756.
- ii Dinah, born ———.

By Mary—

- iii Ammiel, born 30th, 9 mo. 1765.
- iv Judith, born 27th, 8 mo. 1767.
- v Hepzibah, born ——— 9 mo. 1769.
- vi Solomon, born ——— 11 mo. 1771.
- vii Shubael, born ——— 7 mo. 1774.
- viii Caleb, born 3d, 7 mo. 1778.

The father and his second wife and all the children removed from the Island 31st, 5 mo. 1779.



Prof. Maria Mitchell, one of the greatest of American astronomers was a lineal descendant of Thomas Macy, Peter Folger, Tristram Coffin, Edward Starbuck, and Richard Gardner.

COLEMAN

Thomas Coleman* was the original man of the name to be connected with affairs in Nantucket. Coffin's History of Newbury states that he came from Wittshire, England, in 1635. He first settled in Newbury. According to the Records of the Town of Newbury he was engaged by Richard Saltonstall and others in England and America in November, 1635, "for the keeping of horses and sheep in a general place for the space of three years." His work proved unsatisfactory, and each of the contractors was authorized to provide for his own. In the original purchase of the Island, Thomas Coleman was chosen by John Swain as his partner. At what time he removed to the Island is not clear but evidently it was very early. At a meeting of the Town, March 4, 1663, it was voted that "John Coleman shall have land Lay out on the North side of the lots of Robert Barnard for the use of the said John Coleman, his father Thomas Coleman having given half of his accommodation on the Island half the house lot to be Layd out in the place before mentioned for John Coleman, the aforesaid Thomas Coleman doth Lay down one half of his Lot already Layd out." In October, 1664, the Town chose Richard Swain and Thomas Coleman Surveyors of Highways. It may be assumed then that he was a resident as early at least as 1664. His first wife's name was Susanna ——— and she died November 17, 1650. He married (July 11, 1651) Mary, widow of Edmund Johnson. She died at Hampton, January 30, 1663. He married a third time—to Margery—(Ashbourne according to some authorities).† His children were—by Susanna: **Benjamin**, born May 1, 1640; **Joseph**, born December 2, 1642; **John**, born ——— 1644; **Isaac**, born February 20, 1647;‡ (probably by Mary) **Joanna**, (by the third wife) **Tobias**. Thomas died in 1685, aged 83 years.

Joseph married Ann Bunker, daughter of George, Senior; Isaac was drowned with John Barnard and his wife, June 6, 1669, while coming from the Vineyard in a canoe; John married (probably in 1666) Joanna Folger, daughter of Peter, Senior; Tobias married Lydia Osborne, daughter of Thomas's wife. He had one

*Patronymica Britannica says of the name "An ancient Anglo Saxon personal name, mentioned by Bode, Coleman and Colemannus in Domesday. Probably derived from the occupation of charcoal burning and synonymous with Collier."

†"Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 61. This would seem to be an error as a letter from (Rev.) Thomas Osborne dated Nantucket 25th, 8 mo. 1682, written to George Little (Rev) and quoted by Joshua Coffin in the Historic Genealogical Register for Jan. 1862, in which Osborne, who is a Baptist minister, mentions his own marriage to Margery Coleman, widow of Thomas. Margery, whose maiden name is not given, married—first—Osgood; second, Thomas Rowell; third, Thomas Coleman; fourth, Thomas Osborne—certainly showing a marked preference for Thomas as a name to cling to.

‡Probably the lad who accompanied Tristram Coffin and Edward Starbuck on their first trip to the Island for observation. Savage makes Tobias the oldest son; Nantucket authorities do not agree with him.

daughter **Deborah**, born in Nantucket, May 25, 1676, and removed with his family at an early period to Martha's Vineyard.

Joseph had but one son, who was born November 17, 1673 and was drowned in his boyhood. A daughter **Ann**, born November 10, 1675, who married Edward Allen was his only other child.

The family in Nantucket then may properly be said to have descended from John and Joanna.

Mr. Worth says,* Thomas' house lot "was 1,000 feet square, bounded on the north by the lot of Christopher Hussey, on the east by the Long Woods and on the South by the lot of Capt. Pyke." It was about half a mile southwest from the north head of the Hummock Pond. On his decease the house and lot descended to Tobias. Joseph's lot was located at High Cliff, which Mr. Worth thinks locates it in the section west of the estate of the late Charles O' Connor Esq. John's house lot was a little west of the Elihu Coleman house, comprised ten acres and extended southeast to Robert Barnard's lot.

JOHN [1]

married (probably in 1666) Joanna Folger, daughter of Peter, Senior. The Probate Court Records show that in the settling of John's estate, December 7, 1715, there were eight children:

- i **John**, born August 2, 1667; married (1694) Priscilla Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary.
- ii **Jeremiah**, born probably in 1668; married (20th, 11 mo. 1714-15) Sarah Pratt.
- iii **Thomas**, born October 17, 1669; married Jane Challenge.
- iv **Isaac**, born February 6, 1671; married
- v **Phebe**, born June 15, 1674; married ——— Cathcart.
- vi **Abigail**, married James Tisdale.
- vii **Benjamin**, born January 17, 1676.
- viii **Solomon**; married—first, (1st, 9 mo. 1711) Mary Macy, daughter of John and Deborah, who died 27th, 6 mo. 1715; second, (1718) Deliverance Swett.

JOHN [2] (John [1])

born August 2, 1667; married Priscilla Starbuck, daughter of

*Nantucket Land and Land Owners, p. 66.

Nathaniel and Mary. He died 19th, 1 mo. 1762; she died 14th, 3 mo. of the same year. Their children were—

- i **Persis**, born December 7, 1695, who died young.
- ii **Nathaniel**, born December 20, 1697; married (4th, 10 mo. 1729) Mary Gardner, widow of Nathaniel and daughter of Peter and Judith Folger.
- iii **Elihu**, born February 12, 1699; married (6th, 10 mo. 1720) Jemima Barnard, daughter of John.
- iv **Barnabas**, born April 24, 1704; died in infancy.
- v **Jethro**, born 8th, 7 mo. 1706; married—first, (6th, 11 mo. 1731) Lydia Paddack, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann; second, (31st, 1 mo. 1748) Lydia Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah.
- vi **Barnabas**, born 14th, 9 mo. 1708; married—first, (March 3, 1728) Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Judith; second, (8th, 9 mo. 1733) Rachel Hussey, daughter of Silvanus and Abial.
- vii **Phebe**, born 10th, 4 mo. 1711; married (3d, 10 mo. 1730) Barzillai Folger, son of Nathan and Sarah.
- viii **Priscilla**, born 28th, 9 mo. 1713; married (7th, 11 mo. 1731-2) Samuel Bunker, son of Jabez and Hannah.
- ix **John**, born 20th, 11 mo. 1715; married (9th, 9 mo. 1738) Ruth Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail.
- x **Mary**, born 30th, 3 mo. 1718; married (2d, 10 mo. 1741) William Russell, son of Daniel and Deborah; died 11th, 1 mo. 1767.

JEREMIAH [2] (John [1])

born probably in 1668; married (20th, 11 mo. 1714-15) Sarah Pratt. Their children were—

- i **Peter**, born 6th, 2 mo. 1716; probably married (December 20, 1750) Susanna Upham.
- ii **Lydia**, born February 17, 1717-18; married—first, (28th, 8 mo. 1751) William Starbuck, son of Jethro and Dorcas; second (29th, 10 mo. 1761) Theophilus Pinkham, son of Richard and Mary.
- iii **Silvanus**, born June 2, 1720.
- iv **Johanna**, born September 19, 1722; probably married (March 9, 1750) Eleazer Clark.
- v **Enoch**, born March 24, 1724-5; married (5th, 11 mo. 1748) Mary Myrick, daughter of Andrew and Jedidah.
- vi **Jeremiah**, born October 19, 1729; probably married (February 12, 1756) Anna Russell.

SOLOMON [2] (John [1])

was twice married—first, (1st, 9 mo. 1711) to Mary Macy, daughter of John and Deborah, who died 27th, 6 mo. 1715; second, (20th, 8 mo. 1718) to Deliverance Swett. Their children were—*

By Mary—

- i **Abigail**, born probably in 1712; died 4th, 8 mo. 1787; married (6th, 8 mo. 1737) Zephaniah Coffin, son of Stephen and Experience.

By Deliverance—

- ii **Daniel**, born 12th, 7 mo. 1719; married (December 9, 1741) Elizabeth Mooers.
- iii **Elizabeth**, born 3d, 5 mo. 1722; married (9th 8 mo. 1746) Jonathan Gwinn, son of David and Alice.
- iv **Christopher**, born 30th, 6 mo. 1723; died 4th, 5 mo. 1795; married (9th, 12 mo. 1748) Priscilla Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam.
- v **Peleg**, born 12th, 8 mo. 1725; died 31st, 5 mo. 1808; married (12th, 10 mo. 1751) Mary Worth, widow of Benjamin and daughter of Shubael and Jerusha Folger.
- vi **Hepzibah**, born 20th, 11 mo. 1727; died 2d, 5 mo. 1820.
- vii **George**, born 14th, 3 mo. 1730; married (10th, 11 mo. 1750) Eunice Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary.
- viii **Francis**, born 25th, 6 mo. 1732; married (7th, 2 mo. 1760) Abigail Bunker, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla.
- ix **Solomon**, born 3d, 1 mo. 1735; married (14th, 12 mo. 1755) Mehitable Gardner, daughter of James and Susanna.

NATHANIEL [3] (John [2] John [1])

born December 20, 1697; married (4th, 10 mo. 1728) Mary Gardner, widow of Nathaniel and daughter of Peter and Judith Folger. He died 19th, 3 mo. 1783; she died 3d, 12 mo. 1763. Their children were—

- i **Elizabeth**, born 30th, 6 mo. 1730; married (16th, 9 mo. 1749) Samuel Ray, son of Samuel and Mary.
- ii **John**, born 15th, 8 mo. 1732; married (7th, 2 mo. 1754) Anna Davis, daughter of John and Margaret.
- iii **Benjamin**, born 8th, 1 mo. 1735; lost at sea 1756.

*A clause in Solomon's will (probated in Feb. 1772) provided that none of his heirs "shall ever sell or dispose of my Dwelling House and the Land it stands upon except one to another among themselves."

ELIHU [3] (John [2] John [1])*

born February 12, 1699; married (6th, 10 mo. 1720) Jemima Barnard, daughter of John and Sarah. He died 24th, 1 mo. 1789; she died 25th, 12 mo. 1779. Their children were—

- i **Ruth**, born 9th, 9 mo. 1721; married (4th, 12 mo. 1741) David Coffin, son of Samuel and Miriam.
- ii **William**, born 3d, 6 mo. 1723; married (26th, 2 mo. 1756) Eunice Swain, daughter of John and Mary.
- iii **Eunice**, born 18th, 10 mo. 1724; married (13th, 8 mo. 1743) John Macy, son of John and Judith.
- iv **Phebe**, born 10th, 6 mo. 1726; married (14th, 9 mo. 1745) Seth Folger, son of Shubael and Jerusha.
- v **Anna**, born 24th, 12 mo. 1728; married (12th, 8 mo. 1749) John Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary, who died 1755; and, second, (1764) Jonathan Gardner, son of Barnabas and Mary.
- vi **Priscilla**, born 15th, 8 mo. 1731; married (13th, 10 mo. 1750) Peter Coffin, son of Peter and Hope.
- vii **Mary**, born 25th, 7 mo. 1733; married (3d, 1 mo. 1760) Shubael Pinkham, son of Shubael and Abigail.
- viii **Abigail**, born 21st, 9 mo. 1735; married (6th, 1 mo. 1757) Micajah Coffin, son of Benjamin and Jedidah.

JETHRO [3] (John [2] John [1])

was born 8th 7 mo. 1706; married—first (6th 11 mo. 1731) Lydia Paddack, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann; he removed from the Island in 1779; she died 21st, 1 mo. 1747; married second, (31st, 1 mo. 1748) Lydia Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah. Their children were—

By Lydia Paddack—

- i **Jethro**, born 28th, 8 mo. 1734; lost at sea 1755.
- ii **Paul**, ————; lost at sea 1755.
- iii **Barnabas**, ————; lost at sea 1756.
- iv **Elihu**, ————; married (30th, 12 mo. 1762) Elizabeth Macy, daughter of Jonathan and Lois.
- v **Lydia**, † ————; married (29th, 12 mo. 1768) William Coffin, son of David and Mary.

*Reference to the Chapter on the subject of Slavery will show that Elihu Coleman while yet a young man was one of the earliest advocates of emancipation in America. The home which Elihu built and in which he lived is still standing, an evidence of the thoroughness of its construction and the excellence of the Nantucket timber of which it was built.

†Removed from the Island with her husband in 1779.

By Lydia Macy, his second wife—

- vi Eunice, born — 5 mo. 1749; married (31st, 12 mo. 1767) Christopher Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.
- vii Charles, born 16th, 10 mo. 1750; married (7th, 1 mo. 1773) Katherine Hussey, daughter of William and Abigail.
- viii Simeon, born 22d, 9 mo. 1752; probably married (October 27, 1771) Rebekah Swain.
- ix Jethro, born 1st, 1 mo. 1755.
- x Deborah, born 6th, 1 mo. 1757; married (3d, 1 mo. 1781) Obed Coffin, son of Samuel and Elizabeth.
- xi Anna, born 12th, 4 mo. 1759.

Eunice died 26th, 10 mo. 1772. Lydia and Simeon remained on the Island. With those exceptions the surviving children seem to have removed from the Island in 1779.

BARNABAS [3] (John [2] John [1])

born 14th, 9 mo. 1708; married—first, (3d, 11 mo. 1728) Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Judith; second, (8th, 9 mo. 1733) Rachel Hussey, daughter of Silvanus and Abial. He died 23d, 6 mo. 1781; she died 15th, 11 mo. 1729. Their children were—

By Elizabeth Barnard—

- i Nathaniel, born 11th, 8 mo. 1729; married (28th, 10 mo. 1749) Hephzibah Hussey, daughter of Silvanus and Hephzibah.

By his second wife Rachel Hussey—

- ii Sarah, born 25th, 7 mo. 1734; married (7th, 12 mo. 1753) Timothy Folger, son of Abishai and Sarah.
- iii Abiel, born 16th, 9 mo. 1736; married (6th, 12 mo. 1753) Timothy Folger, son of Abishai and Sarah.
- iv Rebecca, born 10th, 10 mo. 1738; died in infancy.
- v Rebecca, born 28th, 12 mo. 1740; married (6th, 1 mo. 1757) Nathaniel Coffin, son of Benjamin and Jedidah.
- vi Judith, born 28th, 4 mo. 1742; married (9th, 2 mo. 1763) Andrew Worth, son of Christopher and Dinah.
- vii Seth, born 1st, 5 mo. 1744; married (29th, 12 mo. 1768) Deborah Swain, daughter of Reuben and Elizabeth.
- viii Silvanus, born 12th, 5 mo. 1746; married (2d, 6 mo. 1768) Mary Swift, daughter of Benjamin and Wait.

- ix **William**, born 19th, 6 mo. 1748; married (31st, 5 mo. 1770) Abigail Barnard, daughter of Joseph and Mary.
- x **Barnabas**, born 23d, 4 mo. 1751; married (September 7, 1776) Abial Clark.
- xi **Elizabeth**, born 29th, 3 mo. 1755; married (7th, 1 mo. 1773) Abishai Folger, son of Abishai and Dinah.
- xii **Obed**, born 1st, 9 mo. 1757; married (30th, 11 mo. 1780) Elizabeth Swain, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth.
- xiii **Hepzibah**, born 15th, 10 mo. 1759; married (30th, 10 mo. 1777) John Russell, son of John and Ruth.

JOHN [3] (John [2] John [1])

born 20th, 11 mo. 1715; married (9th, 9 mo. 1738) Ruth Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail. No children seem to be recorded.

ENOCH [3] (Jeremiah [2] John [1])

born March 24, 1724-5; married (5th, 11 mo. 1748) Mary Myrick, daughter of Andrew and Jedidah; she died 23d, 11 mo. 1845. Their children were —

- i **Eunice**, born 20th, 9 mo. 1749; probably married (November 8, 1770) Benjamin Whippey.
 - ii **Silvanus**, born 15th, 9 mo. 1751; probably married (July 31, 1774) Huldah Gwin.
 - iii **Abiel**, born 4th, 9 mo. 1755; died 11th, 11 mo. 1759.
 - iv **Lydia**, born 4th, 11 mo. 1755.
 - v **Abigail**, born 3d, 9 mo. 1761.
 - vi **Andrew**, born 30th, 11 mo. 1763; married (3d, 11 mo. 1791) Lydia Folger, daughter of Jonathan and Lydia.
 - vii **Elizabeth**, born 30th, 11 mo. 1763.
 - viii **Job**, born 8th, 6 mo. 1768; married (October 28, 1790) Elizabeth Fosdick.
-

CHRISTOPHER [3] (Solomon [2] John [1])

born 30th, 6 mo. 1723; married (9th, 12 mo. 1748) Priscilla Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam. He died 4th, 5 mo. 1795; she died 2d, 2 mo. 1801. Their children were—

- i **Miriam**, born 30th, 8 mo. 1751; probably married April 7, 1771) David Rand.
 - ii **Stephen**, born 11th, 9 mo. 1754.
 - iii **David**, born 22d, 5 mo. 1758; married (29th, 5 mo. 1781) Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Reuben and Ruth.
 - iv **Phebe**, born 10th, 10 mo. 1760; married (30th, 4 mo. 1782) Peter Joy, son of Reuben and Anna.
 - v **Obadiah**, born 26th, 2 mo. 1763.
 - vi **Christopher**, born 11th, 6 mo. 1765.
 - vii **Thaddens**, born 2d, 11 mo. 1767.
 - viii **Bethuel**, born 29th, 4 mo. 1770.
 - ix **Libni**, born 15th, 2 mo. 1773.
-

PELEG [3] (Solomon [2] John [1])

born 12th, 8 mo. 1725; married (12th, 10 mo. 1751) Mary Worth, widow of Benjamin and daughter of Shubael and Jerusha Folger. He died 31st, 5 mo. 1808; she died 15th, 6 mo. 1815. Their children were—

- i **Lydia**, born 17th, 9 mo. 1753.
 - ii **Anna**, born 20th, 6 mo. 1755. Removed from the Island in 1776.
-

GEORGE [3] (Solomon [2] John [1])

born 14th, 3 mo. 1730; married (10th, 11 mo. 1750) Eunice Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary. Their children were—

- i **Paul**, who died in 1772. Probably born in 1751.
 - ii **Hepzibah**, born 19th, 6 mo. 1753.
 - iii **George**, born 28th, 10 mo. 1755.
 - iv **Eunice**.
 - v **Nathaniel**. Eunice and Nathaniel both died in 1781.
 - vi **Thaddeus**, died in infancy.
 - vii **Eunice**, died in infancy.
 - viii **Judith**, born 8th, 3 mo. 1769.
-

FRANCIS [3] (Solomon [2] John [1])

born 25th, 6 mo. 1732; married (7th, 2 mo. 1760) Abigail Bunker,

daughter of Samuel and Priscilla. He died 6th, 10 mo. 1821; she died 1st, 6 mo. 1812. Their children were—

- i **Priscilla**, born 9th, 11 mo. 1760.
 - ii **Abishai**, born ——— (probably in 1762).
 - iii **Phebe**, born 11th, 10 mo. 1764. Married (October 18, 1783) David Swain.
 - iv **Silas**, born 17th, 3 mo. 1767.
 - v **Elizabeth**, born 3d, 10 mo. 1770.
 - vi **Moses**, born 12th, 11 mo. 1776.
 - vii **Aaron**, born (probably in 1778).
 - viii **Miriam**, born 1st, 7 mo. 1779.
-

SOLOMON [3] (Solomon [2] John [1])

born 3d, 1 mo. 1735; married (14th, 12 mo. 1755) Mehitable Gardner, daughter of James and Susanna. Their children were—

- i **Deborah**, born 13th, 9 mo. 1758.
 - ii **Susanna**, born 15th, 9 mo. 1760. Probably married (February 18, 1781) Joseph Brown.
 - iii **Solomon**, born 28th, 7 mo. 1766; married (August 27, 1790) Hepzibeth Wyer.
 - iv **Gardner**, born 6th, 7 mo. 1768. Married (November 9, 1790) Hepzibeth Ray.
 - v **Sylvia**, born 15th, 1 mo. 1771. Married (August 3, 1790) William Ramsdale, Jr.
 - vi **Lydia**, born 6th, 3 mo. 1775. Married (July 21, 1795) John Marshall.
 - vii **Janet**, born 28th, 6 mo. 1776.
-

DANIEL [3] (Solomon [2] John [1])

born 12th, 7 mo. 1719; married (December 9, 1741) Elizabeth Moores. The Friends Records record the marriage of two daughters—

- i **Abigail**, who married (4th, 2 mo. 1762) Hezekiah Coffin, son of Zaccheus and Mary.
- ii **Elizabeth**, who married (22d, 12 mo. 1768) Ebenezer Pinkham, son of Richard and Miriam.

FOLGER

Savage in his *Genealogical Dictionary* in describing Peter Folger, the first of the name to be connected with Nantucket, says that he came from Norwich, County Norfolk, England in 1635, went early from Watertown to Martha's Vineyard, probably with Thomas Mayhew. He bestowed great pains in teaching the Indians, as successor to Mayhew, and removed about 1663 to the island, where his name has ever since been in high regard.

Nathaniel Barney says of him* "Peter Folger of whom Cotton Mather speaks "as a pious and learned Englishman" has been named as the interpreter for Tristram Coffin Senior when he first visited Nantucket. He was the only child of John Folger, whose wife was Meribah Gibbs, and came from Norwich, England, a widower, in 1636, having his residence at some time thereafter at Martha's Vineyard. Peter married Mary Morrill in 1644, having bought her of Hugh Peters, to whom she owed service, and paid the sum of £20. which he very gallantly declared was the best appropriation of money he had ever made. Their children were two sons and seven daughters, the last of whom, Abiah, was born at Nantucket the 15th of August, 1669. She was the mother of Doct'r Franklin, and her visits to her relatives here were very frequent, even in her old age. During one of her visits particularly she was desirous of a bunch of mint from the garden of her deceased father. The young man whom she enlisted for the service was Thomas Arthur, and on receiving the parcel from his hands she said to the youth—"I saw that mint placed by my father, in that garden, three score years ago."

Peter Folger's houselot was on the road extending from Main street west, and about two miles from the Upper Square. It may be readily identified by a monument erected on the site by the Daughters of the American Revolution, in honor of his daughter, Abiah, the mother of Franklin.

Patronymica Britannica says of the name, giving preference to Foulger as the form, that it signifies "A follower (Anglo Saxon *folgere*), an attendant, a servant, a free-man who had not a house of his own, but who was the retainer of some "heorth-faest" or house-keeper."

PETER AND MARY

The children of Peter and Mary were—

- i Joanna, who married John Coleman, son of Thomas Sr. and Johanna.
- ii Bethiah, who married (February 26, 1668) John Barnard, son of Robert Sr. and Joanna.
- iii Dorcas, who married Joseph, Pratt of Charlestown, (February 12, 1675).

*Unpublished M. S.

- iv **Eleazer**, born 1648, who married (1671) Sarah Gardner, daughter of Richard Sr. and Sarah.
- v **Bethsheba**, who married John* Pope, of Boston.
- vi **Patience**, who married—first, Ebenezer Harker; second, James Gardner, son of Richard and Mary.
- vii **John**, born in 1659, who married Mary Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary.
- viii **Experience**, who married John Swain Jr., son of John and Mary.
- ix **Abiah**, born August 15, 1667;† married probably in 1690, Josiah Franklin, father of Benjamin Franklin.

ELEAZER [2] (Peter [1])

born in 1648 in Edgartown; was married to Sarah Gardner, daughter of Richard Sr. in 1671 and died in 1716. He was a man of marked ability and satisfactorily filled the important positions to which he was called. At the time of his death he was one of the Representatives of the Town in the General Court. The children of Eleazer and Sarah were—

- i **Eleazer**, born July 2, 1672; married—first Bethiah Gardner, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah; second, Mary Marshall, daughter of Joseph.
- ii **Peter**, born August 28, 1674; married Judith Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary; died in 1707.
- iii **Sarah**, born August 24, 1676; married (March 10, 1702-3)‡ Anthony Odar, son of Nicholas Odar of Newport, Isle of Wight, England.
- iv **Mary**, born February 14, 1684; married (27th, 12 mo. 1704-5) John Arthur.
- v **Nathan**, born 1678; married (December 29, 1699) Sarah Church, ** daughter of John and Abigail of Dover.
- vi **Daniel** and vii **Elisha** died young.

JOHN [2] (Peter [1])

was born 1659; died 1732; married Mary Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary. Their children were—††

*William C. Folger gives this name as Joseph.

†The only child of Peter and Mary who was born in Nantucket.

‡As recorded by the Town Clerk.

**She was a sister of Col. Benj. Church, the conqueror of King Philip of Mount Hope.

††William C. Folger (N. E. Hist. General Register vol. 16, p. 272) gives Bethiah as the second child born 24th, 11 mo. 1692; married (9 mo. 1718) Samuel Barker of Falmouth.

- i **Jethro**, born October 17, 1689; married (1st, 12 mo. 1710-11) Mary Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel Jr. and Dinah.
- ii **Nathaniel**, born 18th, 12 mo. 1694; married (November 18, 1718) Priscilla Chase, daughter of Lieut. Isaac Chase of Marthas Vineyard.
- iii **Jonathan**, born 10th, 2 mo. 1696; married—first (6th, 1 mo. 1717) Margaret Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel; second, Deborah Bunker, widow of Benjamin; third, Susanna Paddack, widow of Daniel.
- iv **Richard**, born 14th, 5 mo. 1698; married (March 11, 1722) Sarah Pease, daughter of Joseph of Martha's Vineyard; died September 1782.
- v **Shubael**, born 25th, 8 mo. 1700; married (10th, 12 mo. 1720) Jerusha Clark, daughter of Thomas and Mary; he died August 21, 1776.
- vi **Abigail**, born 8th, 4 mo. 1703; married—first (31st, 6 mo. 1721) Daniel Folger, son of Peter; second, (20th, 8 mo. 1748) Daniel Pinkham, son of Richard.
- vii **Zaccheus**, born 14th, 6 mo. 1706; married (November 20, 1728) Abigail Coffin, daughter of John and Hope. He died 20th, 7 mo. 1779.
- viii **Hannah**, born 20th, 7 mo. 1708; never married.

ELEAZER [3] (Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

died probably in September, 1753, as his will was probated October 1 of that year. He was twice married; first (September 27, 1706) to Bethiah Gardner, who died June 20, 1716; second, (September 25, 1717) to Mary Marshall, daughter of Joseph. The latter survived him. The children were, by Bethiah—

- i **Gideon**, born May 5, 1709; never married.
- ii **Urian**, born November 11, 1711; married Jedidah Pitts, widow of Jonathan. He had no children.
- iii **Eliphaz**, born June 26, 1713; married (7 mo. 1735 o s) Priscilla Gorman, daughter of Thomas; he died January 1, 1794.

Bethiah died June 20, 1716. The children by Mary, who died December 11, 1765, aged 70 years, were—

- iv **Charles**, born June 20, 1718; never married; died February 28, 1784.
- v **Deborah**, born August 5, 1719; married Benjamin Frost, son of John.

- vi **Ruth**, born March 3, 1720-1; died September 16, 1729.
- vii **Bethiah**, born November 8, 1722; married (30th, 10 mo. 1755) James Pinkham, son of Richard and Mary. No children.
- viii **Frederick**, born February 17, 1724-5; married Mary Trott, daughter of Benjamin.*
- ix **Stephen**, born September 19, 1727; married Jane Cook. Died on an English prison-ship in New York in 1782, without children.
- x **Margaret**, born December 2, 1729; married (4th, 10 mo. 1753) Jonathan Swain, son of Richard 3d and died February 2, 1822:
- xi **Sophia**, born August 21, 1731; married (4th, 4 mo. 1765) Matthew Worth, son of William and Mary and died January 31, 1789.
- xii **Mary**, born January 1, 1735-6; married (29th, 1 mo. 1761) William Black, son of Dugal and Persis.
- xiii **Peleg**, born October 13, 1733, is named in the will. He was an Elder among the Friends; did not marry.

PETER [3] (Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

born August 28, 1674, married Judith Coffin, daughter of Stephen Jr. and Experience. He died probably early in June 1707 as his will was probated June 19, of that year.

- i **Keziah**, born February 23, 1699-1700; married first, (November 29, 1716) Jethro Gardner, son of James; second, (1737) Paul Starbuck, son of Nathaniel and Dinah.
- ii **Daniel**, born January 13, 1701-2; married (31st, 6 mo. 1721) Abigail Folger, daughter of John and Mary. Lost at sea 1744.
- iii **Anna**, born May 25, 1703; married (9th, 10 mo. 1720) William Starbuck, son of Jethro and Dorcas.
- iv **Mary**, born August 10, 1705; married first (15th, 7 mo. 1725) Nathaniel Gardner, son of Nathaniel and Abigail; second, (7 mo. 1729) Nathaniel Coleman, son of John and Priscilla.

NATHAN [3] (Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

born in _____ 1678; married (December 29, 1699) Sarah

*Frederick was a schoolmaster. Register of Probate 47 years. Clerk of the Courts and a Justice of the peace.

Church. His will was probated September 5, 1747; his wife died prior to that. Their children were—

- i **Abishai**, born September 27, 1700; married first (November 6 1727) Sarah Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard; second (7 mo. 1735), Dinah Starbuck, widow of Benjamin.
- ii **Leah**, born December 14, 1701; married first (May 26. 1724) Richard Gardner 3d; second, Seth Paddack, son of Joseph.
- iii **Esther**, born November 3, 1704; never married.
- iv **Timothy**, born September 24, 1706; married (December 5, 1733) Anna Chase.
- v **Peter**, born June 24, 1708; married (April 23, 1731) Christian Swain, daughter of John. He died in 1762.*
- vi **Barzillai**, born January 4, 1710-11; married (December 3, 1730) Phebe Coleman, daughter of John and Priscilla.
- vii **Judith**, born December 18, 1712; married (January 22, 1728-9) Thomas Jenkins, son of Matthew. (They were the parents of Seth and Thomas Jenkins, founders of Hudson, N. Y.)

JETHRO [3] (John [2] Peter [1])

born 17th 8 mo 1689; married (1st 12 mo. 1710-11) Mary Starbuck daughter of Nathaniel Jr. He died, April 19, 1772; She died July 22, 1763. Their children were—

- i **Jedidah**, born 22d 5 mo 1711; married (16th 1 mo. 1730) Robert Gardner son of Benjamin and Hannah; she died 2d 10 mo 1757.
- ii **John**, born 1714; married (13th 10 mo. 1733) Rebecca Baker daughter of John and Hannah of Barnstable. Died abroad.†
- iii **Anna**, born 1720; married (2d 1 mo. 1738) James Mitchell of Rhode Island.

*In his will, probated in March 1763 and dated November 15, 1762, he mentions his wife Christian, sons, Owen, Peter and Reuben, and daughters Anna, Mary, Ruth, Lydia, Rachel and Eunice, Anna married (6th, 10 mo. 1750) Eliphalet Gardner, son of James and Susanna. Peter's widow married (28th, 2 mo. 1770) Peter Jenkins, son of Matthew and Mary.

The Friends Records note the marriages of two children of Timothy and Anna—Anna, who married (2d, 2 mo. 1738) Peleg Coggeshall, son of Calef and Mercy; and Benjamin who married (3d 12th mo. 1761) Phebe Worth, daughter of Christopher and Dinah.

†Jedidah, daughter of John and Rebecca, married (28th 2nd mo. 1754) William Coffin, son of Francis and Theodate.

- iv **Lydia**, born 1722; married (3d 1 mo. 1742) Hezekiah Coffin. son of Joseph and Bethiah; she died 4th 9 mo 1807.
- v **Eunice**, born 1724; married (10th 11 mo. 1750) George Coleman, son of Solomon and Deliverance; died 9th. 4 mo. 1782.
- vi **Tristram**, born 1727; married (10th. 11mo. 1750) Mary Coffin daughter of Prince and Mercy who died in 1776; Second Mary Folger, widow of Nathaniel, daughter of Timothy Wyer; he died 2d 2 mo. 1785.
- vii **Hepzibah** born 1729; married (3d 1 mo. 1747) Jonathan Swain son of Richard and Elizabeth; died 18th 1 mo. 1750.
- viii **Jethro**, born 1731; married (4th 12 mo. 1753) Mary Barnard daughter of Thomas and Sarah who died July 1, 1767; second (1st 12 mo 1768) Anna Swain daughter of John 3d and Mary; he died May 22, 1796; she died Feb 14, 1801.

NATHANIEL [3] (John [2] Peter [1])

born February 18, 1694, married (November 18, 1718) Priscilla Chase, daughter of Isaac of Tisbury. He died 15th, 4 mo. 1775; she died 30th 12 mo 1753.

Their children were:

- i **Elizabeth**, born 1719; married Paul Pease (August 8, 1737). died November 1795.
- ii **Rebecca**, born September 10, 1721; married Benjamin Marchant. She died 5th 10 mo. 1778.
- iii **Judith**, born June 3, 1726; married (10th 11 mo. 1744) Edmund Heath, son of Edmund and Katherine. She died February 8, 1775.
- iv **Paul**, born November 5, 1729; married (February 8 1749-50) Catherine Coffin, daughter of Robert and Susanna. He died June 11, 1799; she died September 4, 1822.

JONATHAN [3] (John [2] Peter [1])

born April 10, 1696, married (March 6, 1717) Margaret Gardner,

daughter of Nathaniel.* He died 6th 3 mo 1777; she died 16th 5 mo. 1727. Their children were;

- i **Ruth**, born 10th 4 mo. 1718; never married; died 14th 12 mo. 1733.
- ii **Dinah**, born 24th 4 mo. 1720; married (January 3, 1744) Stephen Chase; died 18th 2 mo. 1786.
- iii **Reuben**, born 10th 6 mo. 1722; died 28th 8 mo. 1808; married first (22d, 1 mo. 1743-4) Dinah Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth; second (31st, 1 mo. 1765) Mary Pinkham, daughter of Jonathan and Anna Ramsdel. She died October 9, 1807.
- iv **Abigail**, born 27th 5 mo. 1724; married (29th 8 mo 1757) David Coffin son of Tristram and Mary; died 8th 8 mo. 1792.
- v **Jonathan**, born 7th 5 mo. 1727; died 28th 4 mo. 1812; married (20th 10 mo. 1750) Lydia Barnard, daughter of Ebenezer and Mary. She died June 7, 1800.

RICHARD [3] (John [2] Peter [1])

born July 14, 1698; married (October 11, 1722) Sarah Pease, daughter of Joseph, of Marthas Vineyard. Their children were:

- i **Susanna**, born 18th 5 mo. 1724; married Ebenezer Cleaveland.
- ii **Rachel**, born 13th, 4 mo. 1726; married John Ellis, son of Humphrey. She was struck by lightning and killed 14th 6 mo. 1756.†
- iii **Sylvanus**, born 11th, 4 mo. 1728.
- iv **David**, born 3d 7 mo. 1730; married first Anna Pitts daughter of Jonathan; second (September 9, 1784) Susanna Foy, daughter of John Ellis.
- v **Ruth**, born 30th 9 mo. 1732; married Christopher Pinkham son of John.
- vi **Solomon**, born 13th 1 mo. 1735; married Lydia Russell, daughter of Benjamin. He died August 7, 1813; she died July 7, 1809.
- vii **Martha**, born 25th 3 mo. 1737; married Obadiah Gardner son of Logan.
- viii **Hepzibah**, born December 24, 1743; married first (February 6, 1766) William Mooers. son of Thomas; second John Hall. She died June 6, 1812.

*Jonathan also married—second (5 mo. 1728) Deborah Bunker widow of Benjamin and daughter of Zachariah Paddock of Yarmouth, who died 27th 4 mo. 1750; third Susanna Paddock, widow of Daniel, daughter of Stephen Gorham, who died 13th 7 mo. 1777.

†W. C. Folger, N. E. Hist. & Geneal Reg.

- ix **Elisha**, born September 16, 1746; married Deborah Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret. He died January 25, 1836; she died April 1825.

SHUBAEL [3] (John [2] Peter [1])

born August 25, 1700; married (10th 12 mo. 1720) Jerusha Clark, daughter of Thomas. He died 22d 8 mo. 1776; she died 20th 8 mo. 1778. Their children were;

- i **Phebe**, born 2d 11 mo. 1724; died 25th 2 mo. 1802; married (8th. 11 mo. 1740) Joseph Marshall son of Joseph and Abigail.
- ii **Seth**, born 8th, 8 mo. 1726; married (14th, 9 mo. 1745) Phebe Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima. He died November 17, 1807; she died December 1797.
- iii **Mary**, born 20th 10 mo. 1728; married first (7th 9 mo. 1745) Benjamin Worth, son of Richard and Lydia; second (8 mo 1751) Peleg Coleman son of Solomon and Deliverance.
- iv **Benjamin**, born 8th 8 mo. 1731; married (5th 12 mo. 1754) Judith Barnard daughter of Timothy and Mary.
- v **Jemima**, born 9th 11 mo. 1734; married (8th 3 mo. 1753) Solomon Gardner son of Andrew and Mary.
- vi **Shubael**, born 24th, 5 mo. 1737; lost at sea, 1774; married (5th 1 mo. 1757) Lydia Bunker, daughter of George and Abigail.
- vii **Abigail**, born 2d 8 mo. 1739; married (6th 1 mo. 1757) Benjamin Gardner son of James and Susanna. He died on a prison ship in New York in December 1777.

ZACCHEUS [3] (John [2] Peter [1])

born August 14, 1706; married (November 20, 1728) Abigail Coffin, daughter of John and Hope. Their children were—

- i **Mary**, born June 3, 1730; did not marry.
- ii **James**, born June 13, 1731; married Mary Aldrich, who died February 15, 1802.
- iii **John**, born July 30, 1733; married—first Love Gabriel, daughter of Manuel, who died 3d 9 mo. 1768; second Lydia Gardner, daughter of Robert and Jedidah.

- iv **Nathaniel**, married (1759) Mary Wyer, daughter of Timothy.
- v **Anna**, born 4th, 7 mo. 1744; married (April 11, 1779) Christopher Swain, son of Richard; she died February 15, 1819.
- vi **Abigail**, married Elijah Coffin, son of Hezekiah.
- vii **Andrew**, never married.
- viii **Reuben**.
- ix **Zaccheus**.

ELIPHAZ [4] (Eleazer, [3] Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

born June 26. 1713; died 1st 1 mo 1794; married (probably in 1738) Priscilla Gorham daughter of Thomas. Their children were:

- i **Eunice**, born 6th 5 mo. 1739.
- ii **Paul**, born 20th 5 mo. 1741.
- iii **Elisha**, born 2d 11 mo 1743; died 10 mo. 1783.
- iv **Rachel**, born 25th 7 mo. 1746; died 11th 9 mo. 1830.
- v **Stephen**, born 18th 12 mo. 1748.
- vi **Gorham**, born 25th 12 mo. 1753.

DANIEL [4] (Peter [3] Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

born January 13, 1701-2; married (August 31, 1721) Abigail Folger, daughter of John and Mary; he died 30th 8 mo. 1744; she died 21st 11 mo 1787. Their children were;

- i **Elisha**, born 3d 12 mo. 1721-2; lost at sea 1740.
- ii **Kezia**, born 9th 10 mo. 1723; married (4th 10 mo. 1740) John Coffin, son of Samuel and Miriam.*
- iii **Peter**, born 17th 2 mo. 1726; died 30th 8 mo. 1744.†
- iv **Judith**, born 15th 1 mo. 1728-9; married James Gardner, son of Jethro and Kezia.‡
- v **Abigail**, born 25th 4 mo. 1731; married (1st 1 mo. 1749-50) Barnabas Coffin, son of Richard and Ruth.

*Kezia Folger was in many respects a remarkable woman. She was the original Miriam Coffin pictured in Mr. Hart's novel. She was a pronounced royalist during the Revolution. Many of the stories of smuggling, etc., told concerning her are unquestionably pure fiction. She was a thorough business woman and made no secret of the purchase of goods. During the latter part of her life she was much involved in litigation. She died March 25, 1798, being killed by a fall down the stairs in her home.

†Lost at sea with his father.

‡Judith subsequently married (3d 12 mo. 1749) Caleb Macy son of Richard.

- vi **Mary**, born 6th, 7 mo. 1733; married (10th, 5 mo. 1753)
William Starbuck, son of Thomas and Rachel.
 - vii **Daniel**, born 14th, 1 mo. 1735-6; married (2d, 2 mo.
1758) Judith Worth, daughter of Christopher and
Dinah; removed from the Island 1775.
-

ABISHAI [4] (Nathan, [3] Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

born September 27 1700. appears to have been twice married—first to Sarah Mayhew. Sarah, his first wife died July 11, 1734; second to Dinah Starbuck; he died 22d, 1 mo. 1778.

Their children were:

By Sarah Mayhew—

- i **William**, born ———; married (7th 10 mo. 1749)
Ruth Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth.
- ii **George**, born ———; married — first (7th 12 mo. 17-
52) Sarah Coleman, daughter of Barnabas and Ra-
chel; second to Sarah Shove daughter of Barnabas.
- iii **Timothy**, born ———; married (6th, 12 mo. 1753) Abiel
Coleman, daughter of Barnabas and Rachel.

By his second wife, Dinah—

- iv **Sarah**, born 16th 8 mo. 1739; married (9th 2 mo. 1758)
Hezekiah Gardner, son of David and Mary.
 - v **Abishai**, married (7th 1 mo. 1773) Elizabeth Coleman
daughter of Barnabas and Rachel.
 - vi **Hephzibah**, married (4th 12 mo. 1760) Daniel Hussey
son of Daniel and Sarah.
 - vii **Dinah**. Married Seth Jenkins.
 - viii **John**, born 1746.
 - ix **Robert**, born 1748.
 - x **Reuben** born 1755.
-

TIMOTHY [4] (Nathan [3] Eleazer [2] Peter [1])

married (6th 12 mo. 1753) Abiel Coleman, daughter of Barnabas and Rachel. They removed from the Island in 1793. Their children were:

- i **Silvanus**, born 28th 10 mo. 1754.
- ii **Abial**, born 4th 1 mo. 1757.

- iii **Sarah**, born 27th 4 mo. 1760; married Peter Macy, (28th, 11 mo. 1780).
- iv **Lucretia**, born 28th 4 mo. 1762; married Samuel Starbuck (27th 11 mo. 1783.)
- v **Margaret**, born 4th 6 mo. 1764.
- vi **Timothy**, born 2d 12 mo. 1768.
- vii **Benjamin Franklin**, born 25th 2 mo. 1769*; married Mary Lawrence (9th 12 mo. 1790).

BARZILLAI [4] (Nathan, [3] Eleazer, [2] Peter [1])

born January 4, 1710-11, married (December 3, 1730) Phebe Coleman, daughter of John and Priscilla. He died April 11, 1790; she died February 17. 1791. Their children were:

- i **Judith**, born 15th 3 mo 1731; married (2d 12 mo. 1748) Benjamin Barnard, son of Matthew and Mary.
- ii **Christopher**, born 28th 12 mo. 1732; died 21st 4 mo. 1774; married (3d 1 mo 1765) Anna Joy, daughter of David and Sarah—and, second, (6th. 12 mo. 1770) Susanna Gardner, daughter of Christopher and Mary Hussey.†
- iii **Walter**, born 18th, 1 mo. 1735; married (13th, 1 mo. 1757) Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Thomas and Rachel.
- iv **Nathan**, born 26th 3 mo. 1737; married (10th 2 mo. 1763) Elizabeth Worth, daughter of Christopher and Dinah, removed from the island 1779.
- v **Phebe**, born 26th 11 mo. 1739; married (10th 1 mo 1760) Francis Joy, son of David and Sarah.
- vi **Barzillai**, born 9th 5 mo. 1742; married (30th 1 mo. 1766) Miriam Gardner, daughter of Stephen and Jemima.
- vii **Gilbert**, born 5th 12 mo. 1744; married (12th 12 mo. 1771) Anna Gardner, daughter of Charles and Anna.
- viii **Charles**, born 13th 4 mo. 1747; died 25th 5 mo. 1748.
- ix **Elizabeth**, born 3d 7 mo. 1749;
- x **Tristram**, born 8th, 8 mo. 1751; married first, (4th, 1 mo. 1776) Rhoda Hussey daughter of George and Deborah and second, Mary Joy, daughter of Reuben and Anna.

*This is among the earliest instances of the use of middle names.

†The Town Records show that a Christopher Folger and Abigail Barnard were married June 6, 1753. Doubtless it was this same Christopher.

TRISTRAM [4] (Jethro [3] John [2] Peter [1])

born 10th 8 mo. 1727; married (10th 11 mo. 1750) Mary Coffin, daughter of Prince and Mary; she died 2d 9 mo. 1776. Their children were

- i **Tristram**, born 18th 4 mo. 1752.
 - ii **Hephzibah**, born 16th, 10 mo. 1754.
 - iii **Lebbeus**, born 22d 11 mo. 1756.
 - iv **Abraham**, born 11th 6 mo. 1759.
 - v **Joseph**, born 7th 9 mo. 1761.
 - vi **Amy**, born 15th 7 mo. 1764.
 - vii **Jared**, born 13th, 10 mo. 1766; died 7th, 7 mo. 1793.
 - viii **Elijah**, born 9th 8 mo. 1769; died 14th 8 mo. 1788.
 - ix **Tristram**, born 25th 10 mo. 1772.
-

JETHRO [4] (Jethro [3] John [2] Peter [1])

was born 29th 9 mo. 1721; died 22d 5 mo. 1796; married (4th 12 mo. 1753) Mary Barnard, daughter of Thomas and Sarah, who died 1st 7 mo. 1767. Their children were:

- i **Sarah**, born 17th 9 mo. 1754.
- ii **Anna**, born 6th 9 mo. 1756.
- iii **Jedidah**, born 29th 1 mo. 1759.
- iv **Lydia**, born 21st 6 mo. 1761.
- v **Elihu**, born 2d. 10 mo. 1763.
- vi **Mary**, born 4th 1 mo. 1766.

Jethro married a second time. (1st 12 mo. 1768) to Anna Swain, daughter of John and Mary, but there is no record of any children by the second wife.

REUBEN [4] (Jonathan [3] John [2] Peter [1])

was twice married—first (22d. 1 mo. 1743-4) to Dinah Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth; and second (31st 1 mo. 1765) to Mary Pinkham, widow, daughter of Jonathan and Anna Ramsdel. He died 28th 8 mo. 1808; Dinah died 20th 9 mo. 1763; Mary died 11th 10 mo. 1807. Their children were—

By Dinah:

- i **Margaret**, born 27th, 4 mo. 1747; married (2d 1 mo. 1766) Tristram Barnard son of William and Mary and removed from the Island in 1773.

- ii **Latham**, born 5th 10 mo. 1749; removed from the Island in 1777.
- iii **Rhoda**, born—2 mo 1754; died the same year.
- iv **Matilda**, born 20th, 4 mo. 1756; removed from the Island in 1784.
- v **Rebecca**, born 3d 6 mo. 1758.
- vi **Asa**, born 30th 8 mo. 1760.

By Mary—

- vii **Dinah**, born 18th 11 mo. 1765; died 10th 10 mo. 1766.
- viii **Franklin**, born 14th 2 mo. 1767; died 5th 12 mo. 1768.
- ix **Mary**, born 25th 1 mo. 1769; died 25th. 6 mo. 1769.
- x **Mary**, born 18th 11 mo. 1771; died 11th 11 mo. 1842.
- xi **Abigail**, born 17th, 4 mo. 1778.
- xii **Obadiah**, born 10th 12 mo. 1755; married (November 18, 1780) Ruth Macy, daughter of Francis and Judith.

JONATHAN [4] (**Jonathan** [3] **John** [2] **Peter** [1])
 married (December 20, 1750) Lydia Barnard, daughter of Ebenezer and Mary. Their children were:

- i **Peregrine**, born 21st 6 mo. 1754: died 24th 12 mo. 1831. married (30th 9 mo. 1779) Rachel Hussey, daughter of Nathaniel and Judith.
- ii **Obed**, born 21st 2 mo. 1756.
- iii **Merab**, born 30th 7 mo. 1758. died in infancy.
- iv **Ebenezer**, born 21st 6 mo. 1760; died 4th 7 mo. 1781
- v **Lydia**, born 14th 10 mo. 1764.
- vi **Hezekiah**, born 30th. 10 mo. 1766.
- vii **Barnard**, born 16th, 4 mo. 1770; died 20th, 8 mo. 1795.
- viii **Mary**, born 10th 5 mo. 1772; removed from the Island 1792.
- ix **Elizabeth**, born 21st 9 mo. 1774; died 17th 1 mo. 1800.

SETH [4] (**Shubael**, [3] **John** [2] **Peter** [1])
 born 8th 8 mo. 1728: died 17th 11 mo. 1807; married (14th 9 mo. 1745) Phebe Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima, who died 8th 12 mo. 1797. Their children were:

- i **Thomas**, born 24th 10 mo. 1746.
- ii **Seth**, born 1st 1 mo. 1749.

- iii **Benjamin**, born 18th 8 mo. 1750; died 5th 10 mo. 1755.
 - iv **Phebe**, born 8th 7 mo. 1753.
 - v **Benjamin**, born 29th 3 mo. 1756.
 - vi **Timothy**, born 12th 12 mo. 1757; died 18th 4 mo. 1759.
 - vii **Jemima**, born 31st 3 mo. 1762.
 - viii **Shubael**, born 11th, 11 mo. 1763.
-

BENJAMIN [4] (Shubael [3] John [2] Peter [1])

born October 8, 1731; married (5th December 1754) Judith Barnard, daughter of Timothy and Mary. Their children were:

- i **Hepzibah**, born 23d, 9 mo. 1755; died 26th, 6 mo. 1759.
 - ii **Eunice**, born 14th, 11 mo. 1756.
 - iii **Jemima**, born 16th, 9 mo. 1758.
 - iv **Job**, born 3d, 10 mo. 1760.
 - v **Susannah**, born 13th, 9 mo. 1762.
 - vi **Mary**, born 11th 9 mo. 1765.
 - vii **Timothy**, born 9th 7 mo 1767.
-

SHUBAEL [4] (Shubael [3] John [2] Peter [1])

born 24th 5 mo. 1737; married (5th 1 mo. 1757) Lydia Bunker daughter of George and Abigail; he was lost at sea in 1774. Their children were:

- i **Lydia**, born 9th 5 mo. 1758; died 2d 5 mo. 1759.
- ii **Hepzibah**, born 30th, 6 mo. 1760; removed from the Island 27th, 7 mo. 1815; probably married (February 6, 1766) William Moors.
27th 7 mo. 1815; probably married (February 6, 1766) William Moors.
- iii **Simeon**, born 23d 7 mo. 1762; probably married (June 26, 1787) Phebe Wyer.
- iv **Isaiah**, born 29th, 5 mo. 1765; probably married (August 28, 1788) Rachel Worth.
- v **George**, born, 31st 5 mo. 1767; died 17th 8 mo. 1769.
- vi **Lydia**, born 27th 12 mo. 1768; removed from the Island 29th. 4 mo. 1802; married (31st 1 mo 1788) Benjamin Austin, son of Benjamin and Susanna.
- vii **Sally**, born 9th 11 mo. 1771.

DANIEL [5] (Daniel [4] Peter [3] Eleazer [2] Peter [1])
 born 14th 1 mo. 1735-6; married (2d 2 mo. 1758) Judith Worth,
 daughter of Christopher and Dinah; they removed from the Is-
 land 27th, 2 mo. 1775. Their children, born in Nantucket, all of
 whom accompanied their parents, were:—

- i **Elisha**, born 14th. 8 mo. 1760.
- ii **Clarinda**, born 20th. 8 mo. 1762.
- iii **Abigail**, born 5th, 9 mo. 1766.
- iv **Judith**, born 26th. 11 mo. 1768.
- v **Moses**, born 14th 9 mo. 1772.
- vi **Aaron**, born 13th 11 mo. 1774.

WALTER [5] (Barzillai [4] Nathan [3] Eleazer [2] Peter[1])
 born 18th, 1 mo. 1735; married (13th 1 mo. 1757) Elizabeth Star-
 buck, daughter of Thomas and Rachel. Their children were:—

- i **Elizabeth**, born 31st, 5 mo. 1758; married (3d 4 mo. 1777) Richard Worth, son of Richard and Anna. Re-
 moved from the Island 27th 6 mo. 1799.
- ii **Hepzibah**, born 28th 8 mo. 1760; died 21st 9 mo. 1821.
- iii **Phebe**, born 11th. 11mo. 1762; died 2d 10 mo. 1765.
- iv **Walter**,* born 12th 6 mo. 1765; married (29th 12 mo. 1785) Anna Ray, daughter of Alexander & Eliza-
 beth.
- v **Lydia**, born 12th 4 mo. 1767; married (29th 6 mo. 1786) Samuel Macy, son of Jonathan and Lois.
- vi **Ezekiel**, born 20th 3 mo. 1769; died 29th 9 1770.
- vii **Phebe**, born 10th. 11 mo. 1771; married (6th 12 mo. 1798) Samuel Coleman, son of Elisha and Elizabeth.
- viii **Cleona**, born 10th, 1 mo. 1773; died 1 mo. 1775.
- ix **Aaron**, born 27th 2, 1776; married (1798-9) Polly
 Thompson.
- x **Rebecca**, born 23d, 3 mo. 1778; married (8th, 5 mo. 1800) Alexander Folger, son of George and Sarah;
 died 23d, 7 mo. 1823.

*Walter Folger Jr., was in many respects a remarkable man. Prof. Silliman classed him as a very talented scientist. He studied medicine and law and was a Counsellor at Law. Chief Justice of the Court of Sessions, member of both branches of the General Court and Representative in Congress four years. In science he made many astronomical calculations and won more than local fame in his scientific work, especially in its astronomical phase.

Note.—Another distinguished member of the Folger family was Hon. Charles James Folger, born in Nantucket in 1818 who was successively Judge of the Ontario, N. Y., Court of Common Pleas; four years County Judge of Ontario; member of the New York Senate for five terms. Sub-Treasurer of the United States at New York, Chief Justice of the New York Court of Appeals and Secretary of the United States Treasury.

- xi **Gideon**, born 20th 4 mo. 1781; married (10th 1 mo. 1805) **Eunice Macy** daughter of **Silvanus** and **Anna**.

WILLIAM [5] (**Abishai**, [4] **Nathan** [3] **Eleazer** [2] **Peter** [1]) married (7th 10 mo. 1749) **Ruth Coffin** daughter of **Richard** and **Ruth**; he died 5th 6 mo 1815; she died 11th 3 mo. 1814.

Their children were:—

- i **Judith**, born 16th, 7 mo. 1750. Married (1767) **Zaccheus Bunker**.
- ii **Lydia**, born 30th 6 mo. 1753; died 30th 12 mo. 1753.
- iii **William**, born 10th 11 mo. 1754. Married **Susan Swain**.
- iv **Sarah**, born 24th 3 mo. 1757. Married (1777) **Tristram Hussey**.
- v **Lydia**, born 20th 4 mo. 1759. Married **Zaccheus Hussey**.
- vi **Richard**, born 12th 6 mo. 1760; died 23d 12 mo. 1775.
- vii **Francis**, born 12th 7 mo. 1762; died 10th 12 mo. 1784.
- viii **Elizabeth**, born 8th 9 mo. 1766. Married (1786) **Josiah Barker**.
- ix **Phebe**, born 21st 9 mo. 1768. Married **Uriel Hussey**.
- x **Anna**, born 25th. 3 mo. 1771. Married **Thomas Coffin**.
- xi **Mayhew**, born 9th 3 mo. 1774.* Married (1789) **Mary Joy**.

George [5] (**Abishai**, [4] **Nathan** [3] **Eleazer** [2] **Peter**[1]) born———; married (7th 12 mo. 1752) **Sarah Coleman**, daughter of **Barnabas** and **Rachel**; she died 8th 3 mo. 1778. Their children were: —

- i **Mayhew**, born 9th 10 mo. 1753; died 2d 2 mo 1760.
- ii **George**, born 16th 6 mo 1756.
- iii **Rebecca**, born 25th. 8 mo. 1758.
- iv **Mayhew**, born 9th 9 mo. 1760.
- v **Hephzibah**, born 28th 7 mo. 1762.
- vi **Susannah**, born 6th 8 mo. 1764; died 21st 4 mo 1777.
- vii **Dinah**, born 22d 6 mo. 1766.
- viii **Barnabas**, born 4th, 9 mo. 1768.
- ix **Clement**, born 26th 1 mo. 1770.
- x **Alexander**, born 22d 12 mo. 1773.
- xi **Arnold**, born 2d. 3 mo. 1778; died 3 months later.

*Capt. Mayhew Folger, commanding the ship *Topaz* discovered in 1809 on *Pitcairn's Island* the lost mutineers of the English ship *Bounty*.

GARDNER

The two brothers, Richard and John Gardner, sons of Thomas, were residents of Salem, before coming to Nantucket. They were probably both born in England, coming to America about 1640. Richard was the first to remove to Nantucket, where he was granted a half share March 22, 1666-7, to exercise his trade as a "Seaman." His oldest son, Joseph, was also granted a half share February 15, 1667, to exercise his trade as a "Shoe Maker." Joseph's contract, under vote of the Town February 15, 1667, grants him "half a share of accommatition answarable to the other Tradesmen on conditions that he supply the occasions of the Island in way of a Shoemaker, and likewise that he shall not leve the Island in point of Dwelling for the Space of four years or if it so fall out that he shall remove off from the Island within the aforesaid Terme that he shall leave the said accomadation aforementioned to his brother Richard on the terms aforesaid that he supply the occasions of the Island as a Shoemaker." It is very probable that father and son removed in 1667 or 1668.* The Records show that at this time John Bishop, sold to Richard Gardner a tract of land at Wesco Pond.

About the same time a grant of land was made to John Gardner. There seems, however, to be no evidence that John removed to the Island until 1672 or 1673.†

Mr. Worth says "His" (Richard's) "house lot was around Wesco now called Lily Pond, so irregular in form as to be called the "Crooked Record." His house was on the west end of Sunset Hill, where is now." (1901) "the residence of Eben W. Francis. He was Chief Magistrate in 1673 and held other Town offices. None of the old records are in his handwriting, from which it may be inferred that he was not educated. * * * His house was probably the easternmost of that day. * * * Joseph Gardner was constable, assessor and selectman each once. * * * He probably lived within the limits of the "Crooked Record."

"John Gardner, called Capt. Gardner, married Priscilla Grafton. He died in 1706, 82 years old, and left a widow and 12 children. His house lot was on the north side of the road which is now called North street, and included 30 acres, and extended from the road to the Cliff. It was west of the Hamblin house."‡

Richard Gardner Senior married Sarah Shattuck, daughter of Samuel. Their children were: **i, Joseph; ii, Sarah** iii, Richard** (born October 23, 1653); **iv, Deborah**, (born December 12, 1658);

*Mr. Worth says in 1665 (Land and Land Owners p. 68).

†S. Baring Gould in "Family Names and Their Story" says "The name (Gardner) is French; we may conclude, therefore, that the Anglo-Saxons had no gardens, only orchards. The surname is often spelled Gardiner and Gardner, also Jardine." (p 108). Patronymica Britannica says of the name—"Its principal modern forms are Gardiner, which according to Camden's joke denotes the gentleman, and the more plebeian Gardner. Gardener itself is rare."

‡"Land and Land Owners" pp. 68-9.

**Gardner makes Sarah the third and Richard the second child. (Thomas Gardner, Planter, pp. 49-50).

v, **Damaris** (born November 21, 1662); vi, **James** (born May 19, 1664); vii, **Miriam**; viii, **Nathaniel** (born November 16, 1669); ix, **Hope** (born November 16 1669); x, **Love** (born May 2, 1672). Sarah married Eleazer Folger son of Peter; Deborah married first John Macy, son of Thomas, and second, Stephen Pease; Miriam married (September 22, 1684) John Worth, son of William; Hope married John Coffin, son of James and Mary. Richard Senior died January 23, 1688; his widow died 1724, aged about 92 years.

John Gardner married (February 20, 1654*) Priscilla Grafton, daughter of Joseph. Their children were—i, **John**; born February 20, 1654; ii, **Joseph** born July 8, 1655; iii, **Priscilla** born November 6, 1656; who Savage thinks had married John Arthur in Salem, but her husband having died she followed her father to Nantucket; iv, **Benjamin**, born February 3, 1658 (died young); v, **Rachel**, born August 3, 1661, who married first John Brown and second James Gardner her cousin; vi, **George**, born——; died 17th, 2d mo. 1750, married Eunice Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary; vii, **Benjamin**, born May 17, 1664; viii, **Ann**, born February 20, 1667, who married Edward Coffin, son of Peter Jr. and Abigail; ix, **Nathaniel**, born September 24, 1668; and x, **Mary**, born May 27, 1670, who married (1686) Jethro Coffin, son of Peter.† About 1672 he removed to Nantucket and there had xi, **Mehitable**, born November 24, 1674, who married (August 14, 1704) Ambrose Dawes; and xii, **Ruth**, born January 26, 1676, who married (19th, 3 mo. 1692) James Coffin, son of James and Mary. In his will, probated October 2, 1706, he mentions his wife, one son only—xiii, **George**— and six daughters, so it is likely his other sons did not come to the Island.

JOSEPH [2] (Richard [1])

married (March 30, 1670) Bethiah Macy, daughter of Thomas Senior and Sarah. Their children were—

- i **Sarah**, born October 23, 1672, who married Joseph Paddack (March 5, 1696).
- ii **Damaris**, born February, 16, 1674, who married Stephen Barnard, son of Nathaniel.

*Savage thinks this date erroneous.

†In his will, probated in 1706, dated December 2, 1705, John Gardner mentions a son George and grandsons Jeremiah and Nathaniel Gardner. Also a grandson John Gardner to whom he devises land and his $\frac{1}{8}$ of a watermill in Salem. He mentions land, stock, cattle, etc., on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

- iii **Bethiah**, born August 13, 1676, who married Eleazer Folger Jr., son of Eleazer and Sarah (September 27, 1706).
- iv **Deborah**, born March 30, 1681.
- v **Hope Macy**, born January 7, 1683, who married Peter Coffin, son of John and Deborah.
- vi **Mary**, born 26th, 12 mo. 1686, who married Matthew Jenkins, (9th, 8 mo. 1706).
- vii **Abiel**, born 1st, 12 mo. 1691-2, who married William Clasby, Senior of England (20th, 8 mo. 1719)

Nathaniel Barney says* "One daughter did not marry and an only son was drowned in his youth. This daughter must have been iv, **Deborah**, who was born March 30, 1681.

RICHARD [2] (Richard [1])

born October 23, 1653; married (May 17, 1674) Mary Austin, daughter of Joseph and Dover;† died 8th, 3d mo. 1728; his will, which was probated July 17, 1728, makes no mention of his wife so doubtless she died first. Their children were—

- i **Patience**, born June 29, 1675.
- ii **Joseph**, born May 8, 1677; died 29th, 7 mo. 1747; married Ruth Coffin, daughter of James Senior.† By the terms of his father's will after some minor bequests, the residue of the estate was left to the sons. Joseph to receive a double share.
- iii **Solomon**, born July 1, 1680; died 17th, 6 mo. 1760; married Anna Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary.†
- iv **Benjamin**, born July 20, 1683; died 22d, 1 mo. 1764; married Hannah Coffin, daughter of John and Deborah.†
- v **Miriam**, born July 14, 1685; died 17th, 9 mo. 1750; married Samuel Coffin, son of Lieut. John and Deborah.†
- vi **Peter**, died 28th, 5 mo. 1767; married Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of Enoch and Beulah.†
- vii **Lydia**, born June 16, 1687; died February 8, 1688.
- viii **Lydia**, (2d) died April, 1788; married John Coffin, son of Jethro and Mary.
- ix **Richard**, died February 27, 1724-5; married (May 26, 1724) Leah Folger, daughter of Nathan and Sarah.
- x **William**, died 1739; married (February 20, 1719) Hepzibah Gardner, widow of Peleg Gardner and daughter of George and Eunice Gardner.

*Unpublished M. S.

†Thomas Gardner, Planter, pp. 49, 50.

JAMES [2] (Richard [1])

born May 19, 1662, at Salem; married—first Mary Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary, and the first child born of English parents on Nantucket; second, Rachel, widow of John Brown, of Salem and daughter of John Gardner; third—Patience Harker, widow of Ebenezer and daughter of Peter and Mary Folger; fourth Mary Pinkham, widow of Richard and daughter of James and Mary Coffin.* His children were—

- i **Samuel**,† died 28th, 10 mo. 1757; married—first (September 4, 1707) Hepzibah Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary; second (27th, 10 mo. 1710) Patience Swain, daughter of John and Mary; third, Mary Swain, widow of John 3d, daughter of Moses and Mary Swett, of Hampton.
- ii **Jethro**,† died 7th, 3 mo. 1734; married (1 mo. 1716) Keziah Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith.
- iii **Barnabas**, born 12th, 2 mo. 1695; died 14th, 9 mo. 1768; married (December 11, 1718) Mary Wheeler, of Boston.
- iv **Jonathan**, born 12th, 7 mo. 1696; died 3d, 7 mo. 1777; married (14th, 8 mo. 1723) Patience Bunker, daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth.
- v **Elizabeth**,† died 22d, 7 mo. 1763; married (December 25, 1703) Stephen Gorham, son of John of Barnstable.
- vi **Mehitable**,† died 28th, 2 mo. 1777; married (1724) Philip Pollard, son of George and Mary.
- vii **James**,† died 10th 4 mo. 1776; married—first (September 1, 1724) Susanna Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail; second, Rachel Brown, widow of John, of Salem, daughter of John Gardner; third—Patience Harker, widow of Ebenezer, daughter of Peter and Mary Folger; fourth, Mary Pinkham, widow of Richard, daughter of James and Mary Coffin.

NATHANIEL [2] (Richard [1])

born 16th, 9 mo. 1669; died in England 1713; married Abigail Coffin, daughter of James and Mary, who died 15th, 3 mo. 1709. Their children were—

*Thomas Gardner, Planter, p. 51.

†Gardner Genealogy—"Thomas Gardner, Planter."

- i **Hannah**, born 6th, 5 mo. 1686; died 25th, 3 mo. 1773; married (November 19, 1706) Jabez Bunker, son of William and Mary.
- ii **Ebenezer**, born 27th, 8 mo. 1688; died 16th, 4 mo. 1763; married first (September 1, 1709) Eunice Coffin, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth; second, Judith Coffin, daughter of John and Hope.
- iii **Peleg**, born 22d, 5 mo. 1691; died 19th, 1 mo. 1771-2; married (23d, 7 mo. 1714) Hepzabeth Gardner, daughter of George and Eunice.
- iv **Judith**, born 28th, 8 mo. 1693; died 17th, 9 mo. 1765; married (3d, 11 mo. 1711) Benjamin Barnard, son of Nathaniel and Judith.
- v **Margaret**, born 28th, 11 mo. 1695; died 16th, 5 mo. 1727; married (11 mo. 1716) Jonathan Folger, son of John and Mary.
- vi **Nathaniel**, born 14th, 10 mo. 1697; died 5 mo. 1727; married (15th, 7 mo. 1725) Mary Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith.*
- vii **Andrew**, born 26th, 10 mo. 1699; died 2d, 3 mo. 1782; married (1st, 7 mo. 1721) Mary Gorham, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth.
- viii **Abel**, born 6th, 6 mo. 1702; died 11th, 9 mo. 1771; married (18th, 9 mo. 1723) Priscilla Coffin, daughter of James and Ruth.
- ix **Susannah**, born 4th, 6 mo. 1706; died 6 mo. 1781; married (September 1, 1724) James Gardner, son of James and Rachel.

JOSEPH [3] (Richard [2] Richard [1])

born May 8, 1677; married Ruth Coffin, daughter of James and Mary. Under the terms of his will, drawn April 19, 1743, and probated October 23, 1747, the estate was left to his sons (i) **Bethuel**, (ii) **Charles**, (iii) **Shubael** and (iv) **Caleb**; his daughters (v) **Patience** (Brock) and (vi) **Margaret**; his wife Ruth; and grandchildren Timothy Gardner, Mary Gardner and Obed Gardner. When the division was made, in 1748, it was stated that Shubael had died at sea.

SOLOMON [3] (Richard [2] Richard [1])

was born July 1, 1680; married Anna Coffin, daughter of Stephen and Mary. His will, which was dated August 13, 1753, was probated July 21, 1760, so that it is reasonable to presume that he died

*Mary, widow of Nathaniel, married (4th, 10 mo. 1729) Nathaniel Coleman, son of John and Priscilla.

in June or July of that year. As his wife's name is not mentioned in it, it is also reasonable to assume that she died prior to its execution. In his will he names ten children:—*

- i **Reuben**, who married (4th, 10 mo. 1735) Theodate Coffin, widow of Francis and daughter of Shubael and Puella Gorham.
- ii **David**, who married (15th, 9 mo. 1733) Mary Gardner, daughter of Samuel and Patience.
- iii **Stephen**, who married (7th, 8 mo. 1742) Jemima Worth, daughter of William and Mary.
- iv **Richard**, who married (5th, 12 mo. 1746) Sarah Macy, daughter of John and Judith.
- v **Solomon**, who married (1st, 9 mo. 1750) Mary Pollard, daughter of Philip and Mehitabel.
- vi **Paul**, who married (7th, 2 mo. 1754) Rachel Starbuck, daughter of Thomas and Rachel.
- vii **Elizabeth**, who married (October 12, 1722) Richard Swain.
- viii **Sarah**, who married (20th, 10 mo. 1733) David Joy, son of Samuel and Lydia.
- ix **Mary**, who married (6th, 12 mo. 1734-5) John Worth, son of Jonathan and Mary.
- x **Dinah**, who married (6th, 1 mo. 1739-40) David Macy, son of John and Judith.

BENJAMIN [3] (Richard [2] Richard [1])

was born July 20, 1683. In his will, executed December 7, 1763, and probated February 3, 1764, he names his wife Hannah (Coffin, daughter of John and Deborah) his sons i **Robert** and ii **Benjamin**; his daughter iii **Rebekah** (Russell, wife of Benjamin); his grandsons **Silvanus**, **Abishai** and **Obadiah** Gardner, and grandson **Solomon** Folger. Robert married first (16th, 1 mo. 1730) Jedidah Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary and second Jedidah Hussey, widow of John and daughter of Joseph and Bethiah Coffin.

PETER [3] (Richard [2] Richard [1])

The will of Peter Gardner, drawn May 19, 1767, and probated July 3 of the same year, names his wife, Elizabeth, a son i, **Enoch**, and daughters ii, **Love** Coffin, iii, **Deborah** Gardner, iv, **Lydia** Hammond v, **Elizabeth** Gardner and vi, **Beulah** Coffin.

*There seems by the Town Records to have been a daughter Naomi who died 1st, 2 mo. 1718.

1759; married (7th, 12 mo. 1752) Susanna Paddack, daughter of Daniel and Susanna.

vii **Jethro**, born —————; died 1st, 6 mo. 1759.

BARNABAS [3] (James [2] Richard [1])

born 11th, 2 mo. 1695, married (December 11, 1718) Mary Wheeler. He died 14th, 9 mo. 1768; she died 18th, 1 mo. 1788. Their children were—

- i **Susannah**, born 30th, 8 mo. 1719; married (25th, 1 mo. 1751) Caleb Russell, son of Joseph and Mary. Left Nantucket.
- ii **Zaccheus**, born 10th, 8 mo. 1721; married (8th, 10 mo. 1743) Jemima Coffin, daughter of Nathan and Lydia.
- iii **Jedidah**, born 10th, 9 mo. 1724; died 15th, 2 mo. 1798; married (29th, 10 mo. 1757) Benjamin Marshall, son of Joseph and Mary.
- iv **Priscilla**, born 8th, 9 mo. 1726; died 11th, 3 mo. 1756.
- v **Jonathan**, born 19th, 12 mo. 1728; died 20th, 1 mo. 1807; married first (5th, 10 mo. 1751) Miriam Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia; second (29th, 11 mo. 1764) Anna Coffin, widow of John and daughter of Elihu and Jemima Coleman; third (6th, 7 mo. 1769) Eunice Barnard, daughter of Robert and Hepzibah.
- vi **Abigail**, born 26th, 1 mo. 1731; married (26th, 2 mo. 1761) Matthew Macy, son of Jabez and Sarah. Removed from the Island 1773.
- vii **Hannah**, born 12th, 3 mo. 1733; married (9th, 2 mo. 1758) Benjamin Taber, son of Benjamin and Susanna; moved from the Island in 1761.
- viii **Jethro**, born 6th, 3 mo. 1735; married (31st, 1 mo. 1760) Abigail Chase, daughter of Stephen and Patience; lost at sea 1764.
- ix **Mary**, born 7th, 1 mo. 1737; married (5th, 2 mo. 1756) Francis Worth, son of Richard and Sarah; removed from the Island 1771.
- x **Hepzibah**, born 11th, 11 mo. 1739; married (26th, 2 mo. 1761) Thomas Clark, son of David and Ruth.

JONATHAN [3] (James [2] Richard [1])

born 12th, 7 mo. 1696, married Patience Bunker (14th, 8 mo. 1723) he died 3d, 7 mo. 1777; she died 11th, 1 mo. 1794. Their children were—

- i **Elizabeth**, born 12th, 8 mo. 1724; married (6th, 7 mo. 1744) Samuel Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary.
- ii **Seth**, born 12th, 8 mo. 1726; married (14th, 10 mo. 1749) Sarah Ray, daughter of Samuel and Mary; removed from the Island 1777.
- iii **Simeon**, born 17th, 9 mo. 1728; married (22d, 9 mo. 1750) Sarah Long, daughter of Samuel and Lydia.
- iv **Elihu**, born 9th, 4 mo. 1731; died 12th, 10 mo. 1807.
- v **Kezia**, born 18th, 4 mo. 1733; died 23d, 6 mo. 1809; married (7th, 12 mo. 1750) Jonathan Paddack, son of Eliphalet and Naomi.
- vi **Ruth**, born 5th, 6 mo. 1735; died 23d, 6 mo. 1809; married (6th, 12 mo. 1753) John Clasby, son of William and Abiel.
- vii **Eunice**, born 12th, 4 mo. 1737; married (5th, 2 mo. 1756) David Ray, son of Samuel and Mary.
- viii **Barnabas**, born 7th, 7 mo. 1740.
- ix **Miriam**, born 26th, 1 mo. 1743.
- x **Dinah**, born 23d, 12 mo. 1745.
- xi **Mary**, born 29th, 6 mo. 1749; married (30th, 11 mo. 1769) Francis Clark, son of Peter and Ruth.

JAMES [3] (James [2] Richard [1])

born———; married first, (September 1, 1724) Susannah Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail; second Rachel Brown, widow of John of Salem, daughter of John Gardner; third, Patience Harker, widow of Ebenezer, daughter of Peter and Mary Folger; fourth, Mary Pinkham, widow of Richard, daughter of James and Mary Coffin. His children were—

- i **Rachel**, born May 29, 1725; married (9th, 11 mo. 1745) Elihu Coffin, son of Nathan and Lydia.
- ii **Eliphalet**, born October 17, 1726; married first, (6th, 10 mo. 1750) Anna Folger, daughter of Peter and Christian; second, (6th, 8 mo. 1772) widow Lydia Clasby, daughter of Tristram Starbuck.
- iii **Deborah**, born August 16, 1728.
- iv **Benjamin**, born September 25, 1732; married (6th, 1 mo. 1757) Abigail Folger, daughter of Shubael and Jerusha.

- v **Mehitable**, born April 1, 1738; married (14th, 12 mo. 1755) Solomon Coleman, son of Solomon and Deliverance.
- vi **James**, born February 17, 1744-5.*

EBENEZER [3] (Nathaniel, [2] Richard [1])

born October 27, 1688, married, first, (29th 10 mo. 1709) Eunice Coffin, daughter of Peter Jr and Elizabeth, and second (probably in 1724) Judith Coffin, daughter of John and Hope. He died 16th 4 mo 1763. The children were—

By Eunice:—

- i **Tristram**, born 1st 5 mo. 1712; lost at sea 1743 or 1744.
- ii **Abigail**, born 11th 12 mo. 1714-15; married (10th 10 mo 1730) Peter Jenkins, son of Matthew and Mary; died 28th 1 mo. 1769.
- iii **Uriah**, born 2d 12 mo. 1716-17; married (April 27, 1738) Ruth Bunker daughter of Daniel and Priscilla
- iv **Eunice**, born 29th 1 mo. 1718; died 1st 2 mo. 1787.

By Judith:—

- v **Anne**, born 16th 11 mo. 1720-21;
- vi **Peleg**, born 31st 11 mo. 1722-3
- vii **Margaret**, born February 16, 1724-5
- viii **Joseph**, born January 17, 1726-7; married (16th 9 mo. 1749) Eunice Worth, daughter of Richard and Lydia.
- ix **Lydia**, born February 9, 1728-9; married (29th 11 mo 1746) Zaccheus Howes, son of Thomas and Abigail
- x **Susanna**, born December 16, 1730; married (2d 1 mo. 1748-9) Shubael Barnard son of Matthew and Mary.
- xi **Ebenezer**, born December 2, 1732
- xii **Judith**, born March 31, 1735.†

*The will of James, Senior, dated May 1766 and probated June, 1778 mentions also a daughter vii **Susanna**.

†The Friends Records state the marriage (1st, 3 mo. 1749) of **Samuel**, son of Ebenezer and Judith, to Sarah Jenkins, daughter of Thomas and Judith.

NATHANIEL [3] (Nathaniel [2] Richard [1])

born 14th 10 mo. 1697, married (15th 7 mo. 1725) Mary Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith. According to the record she died in 1727 leaving two children, a daughter **Mary** and a son.

- i **Nathaniel**, who married (5th 12 mo. 1746) Ruth Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth.
 - ii **Mary**, married (10th 1 mo. 1747) Elisha Coffin, son of Nathan and Lydia.
-

ANDREW [3] (Nathaniel [2] Richard [1])

was born 26th 10 mo. 1699; married (1st 7 mo. 1721) Mary Gorham daughter of Stephen. He died 2d 3 mo. 1782; she died 18th 2 mo. 1780. Their children were:—

- i **Christopher**, born 14th 12 mo. 1722; died 1762.
 - ii **Nathaniel**, born 3d 3 mo. 1724; married (7th 9 mo. 1751) Anna Beard, daughter of John and Deborah.
 - iii **Thomas**, born 13th 6 mo. 1727; died 31st 8 mo. 1768;
 - iv **Andrew**, born 2d 7 mo. 1729; lost at sea.
 - v **Solomon**, born 27th 2 mo. 1731; married (8th 3 mo. 1753) Jemima Folger, daughter of Shubael and Jerusha.
 - vi **Mary**, born 28th 8 mo. 1734;
 - vii **Abigail**, born 2d 4 mo. 1737;
 - viii **Elizabeth**, born 20th 1 mo. 1741;
 - ix **Stephen**, born 5 mo. 1743.
 - x **Josiah**
 - xi **Zacchary**
-

ABEL [3] (Nathaniel [2] Richard [1])

was born 6th 6mo. 1722. He married (18th 9 mo. 1723) Priscilla Coffin daughter of James Jr. and Ruth. His will, which was drawn May 23, 1768, and probated October 4, 1771, mentions his wife Priscilla, sons James, Abel, Joshua (deceased), Nathan, Ephraim and Shubael and children of daughter Abigail Gardner (deceased) and daughters Priscilla Russell, Sarah Gardner, Phebe Rawson, Elizabeth Aldridge and Eunice Bunker. The record of their births is—

- i **Abigail**, born November 7, 1726.

- ii **James**, born December 9, 1728, married (February 13, 1752) Abigail Coffin.
- iii **Phebe**, born September 9, 1730; married Paul Rawson (January 24, 1750).
- iv **Joshua**, born July 12, 1732, married (January 9, 1756) Elizabeth Gardner.
- v **Elizabeth**, born July 7, 1734, married (December 13, 1753) Ichabod Aldridge.
- vi **Sarah**, born August 15, 1736.
- vii **Eunice**, born May 7, 1738, married (December 18, 1755) Caleb Bunker.
- viii **Abel**, born April 29, 1741.
- ix **Nathan**, born July 24, 1743.
- x **Priscilla**, born October 27, 1745, married (December 20, 1764) Simeon Russell.
- xi **Shubael**, born April 14, 1748, married (October 20, 1771) Hephzibah Gardner.
- xii **Ephraim**, born October 27, 1751.

BETHUEL [4] (**Joseph** [3] **Richard** [2] **Richard** [1]) married (January 8 1735-6) Katharine Coffin, daughter of Nathaniel and Damaris. Their children were—

- i **Katharine**, born October 7, 1747.
- ii **Gayer**, born March 16, 1750.
- iii **Ruth**, born May 28, 1752.
- iv **Charles**, born June 14, 1755.

CHARLES [4] (**Joseph** [3] **Richard** [2] **Richard** [1]) married (December 27, 1738) Anna Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail. Their children were:—

- i **Joseph**, born 9th 11 mo. 1739-40; died 30th 7 mo. 1798; married (1st 3 mo. 1759) Abigail Clark, daughter of Josiah.
- ii **Love**, born 7th 3 mo. 1742; removed from Island 1779.
- iii **Abigail**, born 5th 3 mo. 1744; died 20th 6 mo. 1823; married (6th 12 mo. 1764) Barnabas Paddack, son of Daniel.
- iv **Anna**, born 18th 4 mo. 1751; died 4th 1 mo. 1828. Married (12th 12 mo. 1771) Gilbert Folger, son of Barzillai and Phebe.

- v **Hephzibah**, born 15th 10 mo. 1753; married (4th 6 mo. 1772) William Barnard son of Timothy and Mary.
 - vi **Walter**, born 21st 8 mo. 1758.
 - vii **Rebecca**, born 17th 6 mo. 1761; removed from Island 1778.
 - viii **Isaiah**, born 20th 7 mo. 1763.
 - ix **Susannah**, born 25th 2 mo. 1765.
-

SHUBAEL [4] (**Joseph** [3] **Richard** [2] **Richard** [1]) probably died at sea. unmarried. By his father's will filed December 20, 1748, Shubael was left part of his estate, but it was subsequently found he was not living.

ROBERT, [4] (**Benjamin** [3] **Richard** [2] **Richard** [1]) married (16th 1 mo. 1730) Jedidah Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary. He died 13th 7 mo. 1797; she died 2d 10 mo. 1757. Their children were:

- i **Abishai**, born 25th 5 mo. 1731; died 17th 9 mo. 1770; married first (27th 12 mo. 1752) Lydia Macy daughter of Robert and Abigail; second (26th 2 mo. 1767) Mary Macy, widow of Thomas, daughter of Tristram and Deborah Starbuck.
- ii **Lydia**, born 6th 8 mo. 1732; died 1st 1 mo. 1811; married John Folger, son of Zaccheus and Abigail.
- iii **Anna**, born 25th 7 mo. 1734; married (8th 3 mo. 1753) Richard Swain, son of Richard and Elizabeth.
- iv **Rebecca**, born 7th 6 mo. 1736; died 28th 6 mo. 1806; married (10th 1 mo. 1760) Richard Chadwick, son of Richard and Deborah.
- v **Robert**, born 9th 6 mo. 1738; married (28th 1 mo. 1762) Miriam Macy, daughter of David and Dinah.
- vi **Jethro**, born 19th. 7 mo. 1740; married (28th 1 mo. 1762) Love Gardner, daughter of Charles and Anna; removed from the Island 1779.
- vii **Prince**, born 21st 9 mo. 1742; died 19th 4 mo. 1816; married (11th 6 mo. 1767) Deborah Barnard, daughter of Francis and Elizabeth, who died 9 mo 1806 Jemima Morton (widow) daughter of David and Ruth Gardner.
- viii **Eunice**, born 11th 8 mo. 1744; died 23d 2 mo. 1809; married (4th 2 mo. 1762) Shubael Macy son of Nathaniel and Abigail.

- ix **Christopher**, born 24th 6 mo. 1746; married first (31st 12 mo. 1767) Eunice Coleman, daughter of Jethro and Lydia; second (9th 11 mo. 1775) Anna Barnard,* daughter of Francis and Elizabeth; removed from the Island 1799.
- x **Jedidah**, born 27th, 10 mo. 1748; died young.
- xi **Miriam**, born 25th 8 mo. 1750; removed from the Island 1779.
- xii **Jedidah**, born 10th 2 mo. 1753.
- xiii **Elizabeth**, born 10th 1 mo. 1756; died 17th 4 mo. 1784.

REUBEN [4] (Solomon [3], Richard [2] Richard [1])

The will of Reuben Gardner, executed October 13, 1783 and probated January 7, 1785, names his wife, Theodate; his son **Shubael** ("if he" should return home"); daughter Naomi Chase; grandsons **Reuben** and **Thaddeus** Gardner; three grand daughters, children of deceased son **Reuben**; grandson **Reuben**; grand daughter **Lydia** Gardner. Reuben married (4th 10 mo 1735) Theodate Coffin, widow of Francis and daughter of Shubael and Puella Gorham. She died 7th 4 mo. 1787. The Friends' Records show the following:—

- i **Reuben**, born 10th 9 mo. 1736.
- ii **Thaddeus**, born 22d 6 mo. 1739: lost at sea 1767. Married (28th 1 mo. 1762) Susanna Hussey, daughter of Christopher and Mary.
- iii **Shubael**, born 7th 1 mo. 1742; died abroad. Married (4th 2 mo. 1762) Judith Barker, daughter of Robert and Jedidah.
- iv **Naomi**, born 29th 8 mo. 1746; died 15th 11 mo. 1827. Married (5th 1 mo. 1764) Francis Chase son of Joseph and Miriam. By the Town Records he appears to have first married Love—by whom he had a son (v) **Obed**, born November 17, 1732.

DAVID [4] (Solomon [3] Richard [2] Richard [1])

married (15th 9 mo. 1733) Mary Gardner, daughter of Samuel and Patience. She died 22d 11 mo. 1797. Their children were:

*Widow of ————— Bunker.

- i **Dinah**, born 8 mo. 1736; died—10 mo. 1736.
- ii **Hephzibah**, born 18th 4 mo. 1734
- iii **Hezekiah**, born 24th 9 mo. 1737; died 3d 1 mo. 1760; married (9th 2 mo. 1758) Sarah Folger daughter of Abishai and Dinah.
- iv **Anna**, born 5th 10 mo. 1740; married (3d 2 mo. 1763) Silvanus Gardner, son of Logan and Hannah; removed from the Island 1778.
- v **Dinah**, born 28th 10 mo. 1742; died 11th 4 mo. 1818.
- vi **Hannah**, born 12th 6 mo. 1745; removed from the Island 1780.
- vii **Paul**, born 4th 1 mo. 1747-8; died the following year.
- viii **David**, born 9th 6 mo. 1750.
- ix **Elijah**, born 8th 12 mo. 1752.
- x **Mary**, born 7th 12 mo. 1756; married (6th 1 mo. 1774) Nathaniel Ray, son of William and Mary.
- xi **Ruth**, born 25th 8 mo. 1760; died 15th 3 mo. 1846.

STEPHEN [4] (**Solomon** [3] **Richard** [2] **Richard** [1]) married (7th 8 mo. 1742) Jemima Worth, daughter of William and Mary. They removed from the Island with others of the family in 1772 and 1774. Their children were;

- i **William**, born 9 mo 1743; removed from the Island 1772. He married (27th 11 mo. 1766) Susanna Gardner, daughter of James and Susanna.
- ii **Miriam**, born 19th 4 mo. 1745; married (30th 1 mo. 1766) Barzillai Folger, son of Barzillai and Phebe.
- iii **Stephen**, born 10 mo. 1746; removed from the Island 1774; married (27th 11 mo. 1766) Abigail Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Eunice.
- iv **Jemima**, born 1 mo. 1748; died 24th 11 mo. 1768; married (7th 1 mo 1768) Howland Swain son of Reuben and Elizabeth.
- v **Mary**, born 1751; married (7th 1 mo. 1768) John Sweet, son of John and Anna.
- vi **Barzillai**, born 12th 1 mo. 1753; removed from the Island 1774.
- vii **Judith**, born 1756; removed from the Island 1772.
- viii **Rhoda**, born 1757.
- ix **Isaac**, born 1761.

RICHARD [4] (**Solomon** [3] **Richard** [2] **Richard** [1]) married (5th, 12 mo. 1746) Sarah Macy, daughter of John and Judith. Their children were—

- i **Richard.**
- ii **Silvanus.**
- iii **Eliab.**
- iv **Hezekiah.**
- v **Sarah.**
- vi **Merab.**
- vii **Jonathan.**

Richard was probably born in 1747. The entire family removed from the Island 28th, 11 mo. 1771.

SOLOMON [4] (Solomon [3] Richard [2] Richard [1])
 married (1st 9 mo. 1750) Mary Pollard, daughter of Philip and Mehitable. He was lost at sea in 1764; she removed from the Island in 1775. Their children were:—

- i **Solomon**, born probably in 1751.
 - ii **Elizabeth**, born 8 mo. 1759; removed from the Island 1778.
 - iii **Pernal**, born 2d 2 mo. 1761; removed from the Island 1800.
-

PAUL [4] (Solomon [3] Richard [2] Richard [1])
 married (7th, 2 mo. 1754) Rachel Starbuck, daughter of Thomas and Rachel. He died 17th, 3 mo. 1813; she died 29th, 8 mo. 1775. Their children were—

- i **Paul**, born 4th, 12 mo. 1755; married (30th, 3 mo. 1786) Sarah Mitchell, daughter of Jethro and Rachel.
- ii **Lilmi**, born 8th. 9 mo. 1758; married (1st, 4 mo. 1784) Elizabeth Worth, daughter of Reuben and Mary.
- iii **George**, born 30th, 6 mo. 1760; probably married (August 20, 1783) Judith Smith.
- iv **Lydia**, born 11th, 7 mo. 1763; married (28th, 10 mo. 1784) Obed Mitchell, son of Jethro and Rachel.
- v **Rachel**, born 17th, 7 mo. 1765; died 6th, 1 mo. 1783.
- vi **Dorcas**, born 8th, 6 mo. 1767; removed from the Island 25th, 7 mo. 1816; married (26th, 4 mo. 1816) William Peckham, son of Benjamin and Mary.
- vii **Zenas**, born 11th, 2 mo. 1769; married (30th, 9 mo. 1790) Susanna Hussey, daughter of George and Deborah.

ZACCHEUS [4] (Barnabas [3] James [2] Richard [1])
born 10th 8 mo. 1721; married (8th 10 mo. 1743) Jemima Coffin,
daughter of Nathan and Lydia. Their children were—

- i **Lydia**, born 30th 9 mo. (September) 1744; removed
from the Island 1775
 - ii **Zaccheus**, born 10th 12 mo. (December) 1746.
 - iii **Elizabeth**, born 8th 12 mo. (December) 1749.
 - iv **Nathan**, born 5th 10 mo. 1754.
 - v **Susannah**, born 15th 12 mo. 1756.
 - vi **Thaddeus**, born 6th 11 mo. 1759
 - vii **Barnabas**, born 5th 5 mo. 1763.
 - viii **Jethro**, born 3d 5 mo. 1767;
-

JONATHAN [4] (Barnabas [3] James [2] Richard [1])
born 19th, 12 mo. 1728; married—first (5th, 10 mo. 1751) Mir-
iam Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia; second (1764) Anna
Coffin, widow of John and daughter of Elihu and Jemima; third
(1769) Eunice Barnard, daughter of Robert and Hepzibah. He
died 20th, 1 mo. 1807; Miriam died 15th, 11 mo. 1763; Anna died
and Eunice died 29th, 10 mo. 1800. Their children
were—

By Miriam:

- i **Phebe**, born 25th, 8 mo. 1753; married (8th, 9 mo.
1774) Elisha Macy, son of Caleb and Judith.
- ii **Miriam**, born 26th, 11 mo. 1755; died 21st, 5 mo. 1756.
- iii **Huldah**, born 11th, 10 mo. 1758; died 28th, 11 mo.
1848.
- iv **Naomi**, born 18th, 4 mo. 1761; died 2d, 11 mo. 1762.
- v **Miriam**, born 4th, 11 mo. 1763; died 12th, 7 mo. 1865.

By Eunice:

- vi **Zaccheus**, born 9th, 6 mo. 1772; died 9th, 6 mo. 1772.
 - vii **Freeman**, born 25th, 4 mo. 1774; married (July 3;
1796) Anna Gardner.
-

SETH [4] (Jonathan [3] James [2] Richard [1])
born 12th, 8 mo. 1726; married (14th, 10 mo. 1749) Sarah Ray,
daughter of Samuel and Mary. His children were—

- i **Miriam**, born 6th, 9 mo. 1750; probably married (October 11, 1770) David Bunker.
- ii **Alexander**, born 8th, 7 mo. 1752; married (7th, 9 mo. 1775) Hannah Paddock, daughter of Eliphalet and Naomi.
- iii **Anna**, born 10th, 11 mo. 1754.
- iv **Noah**, born 22d, 11 mo. 1756.
- v **Aaron**, born 19th, 1 mo. 1759; married (July 5, 1783) Naomi Gardner.
- vi **Moses**, born 5th, 9 mo. 1761.
- vii **Rosanna**, born 13th, 9 mo. 1763.
- viii **Hannah**, born 2d, 12 mo. 1765.
- ix **Archelus**, born 25th, 3 mo. 1768.
- x **Ruth**, born 19th, 7 mo. 1770.

Moses removed from the Island 29th, 4 mo. 1776; Miriam in 29th, 12 mo. 1777; and the other members of the family, including Anna, probably, and excepting Alexander, removed 26th, 7 mo. 1779.

PELEG [4] (Jethro [3] James [2] Richard [1])
 married, probably (November 1, 1744) Eunice Gardner. Their children were—

- i **Kezia**, born November 11, 1745.
- ii **Rachel**, born May 13, 1747; married (4th, 12 mo. 1766) Philip Chase, son of Philip and Hannah.
- iii **Sarah**, born March 1, 1749.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born February 16, 1751.
- v **Barzillai**, born April 18, 1753.

HEZEKIAH [4] (Jethro [3] James [2] Richard [1])
 born 19th, 10 mo. 1720, died 24th, 2 mo. 1788; married (12th, 11 mo. 1743) Priscilla Swain, daughter of John and Mary. She died 11th 8 mo. 1795. They appear to have had but one child:

- i **Phebe**, born 11th, 8 mo. 1746.

MATTHEW [4] (Jethro [3] James [2] Richard [1])
 born 1st, 12 mo. 1720-21; died 31st, 10 mo. 1759; married (7th,

12 mo. 1752) Susanna Paddack, daughter of Daniel and Susanna. They had but one child, a daughter—

- i **Judith**, born 1st, 11 mo. 1753; died 24th, 4 mo. 1833.

DANIEL [4] (Samuel [3] James [2] Richard [1])
born 17th, 11 mo. 1727; died 9th, 7 mo. 1780; married (17th, 1 mo. 1747) Priveded Allen, daughter of Nathaniel and Provided, who died 3d, 12 mo. 1799. Their children were—

- i **Phebe**, born 17th, 5 mo. 1749; removed from the Island 2d, 4 mo. 1801; married (11th, 12 mo. 1766) Silas Parker, son of Thomas and Experience.
- ii **Rachel**, born 1st, 11 mo. 1752; married (31st, 10 mo. 1782) George Russell, son of John and Ruth.
- iii **Edmund**, born 2d, 8 mo. 1754; died 11th, 3 mo. 1777; married (28th, 11 mo. 1776) Phebe Hussey, daughter of Nathaniel and Judith.
- iv **Parnel**, born 24th, 6 mo. 1756; married (3d, 2 mo. 1774) Reuben Coffin, son of Tristram and Elizabeth.
- v **Elizabeth**, born 8th, 6 mo. 1760; died 1760.
- vi **Silas**, born 27th, 7 mo. 1762; married (March 13, 1781) Susanna Folger.
- vii **Abial**, born 7th, 9 mo. 1764; married (28th, 9 mo. 1786) Zenas Coffin, son of Micajah and Abigail.

ELIPHALET [4] (James [3] James [2] Richard [1])
born October 17, 1726; married (6th, 10 mo. 1750) Anna Folger, daughter of Peter and Christian. Their children were—

- i **Freeman**, born 7th, 6 mo. 1752; died 3d, 6 mo. 1753.
- ii **Rachel**, born 4th, 8 mo. 1753; died 25th, 8 mo. 1753.
- iii **Owen**, born 28th, 3 mo. 1755; died 25th, 12 mo. 1831.
- iv **Walter**, born 22d, 2 mo. 1757; died 24th, 3 mo. 1757.

Eliphalet's wife Anna died 27th, 6 mo. 1771 and he married (6th, 8 mo. 1772) Lydia Clasby (widow) of Joseph, daughter of Tristram and Deborah Starbuck, who died 30th, 1 mo. 1809. They had but one child—

- v **Mary**, born 30th, 9 mo. 1773.

Eliphalet died 1st, 4 mo. 1799.

BENJAMIN [4] (James [3] James [2] Richard [1])
 born September 25, 1732; married (6th 1 mo. 1757) Abigail Folger, daughter of Shubael and Jerusha. He died abroad 11 mo. 1777. Their children were—

- i **Rachel**, born 4th, 11 mo. 1758; died 11th, 9 mo. 1830.
 - ii **Francis**, born 27th 3 mo. 1760; died abroad in 1817.
 - iii **Eunice**, born 29th, 8 mo. 1763.
 - iv **Tristram**, born 30th, 7 mo. 1766; died 8 mo. 1766.
 - v **Gideon**, born 9th, 10 mo. 1767.
 - vi **Susannah**, born 29th, 2 mo. 1769
 - vii **James**, born 8th, 7 mo. 1772.
 - viii **William**, born 7th, 3 mo. 1774.
 - ix **Lydia**, born 9th, 8 mo. 1776.
-

JOSEPH [4] (Ebenezer [3] Nathaniel [2] Richard [1])
 born January 17, 1726-7; married (16th, 9 mo. 1749) Eunice Worth, daughter of Richard and Lydia. He died at sea 1757; she removed from the Island 28th, 9 mo. 1767. The names of their children, the dates of whose birth are not recorded, are

- i, **Shubael**; ii, **Margaret**; iii, **Reuben** and iv, **Lydia**.
-

NATHANIEL [4] (Nathaniel [3] Nathaniel [2] Richard [1])
 was born March 29, 1727; married (17th 12 mo. 1746) Ruth Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth. Their children were:—

- i **Mary**, born 29th 12 mo. 1748-9; married (2d 1 mo. 1766) John Swain son of Reuben and Elizabeth.
- ii **Nathaniel**, born 16th 10 mo. 1754;
- iii **Elizabeth**, born 13th 10 mo. 1758; removed from the Island 1781; married (30th 11 mo. 1780) George Hussey son of Ebenezer and Miriam.
- iv **Judith**, born 25th 12 mo. 1760; married (29th 1 mo. 1784) Paul Hussey, son of William and Abigail.
- v **Simeon**, born 15th 5 mo. 1763.
- vi **Albert**, born 30th 9 mo. 1765.
- vii **Lydia**, born 16th 9 mo. 1768.
- viii **Eunice**, born 6th 10 mo. 1775; married (2d 10 mo. 1794) David Mitchell, son of Richard and Hephzibah.

NATHANIEL [4] (Andrew [3] Nathaniel [2] Richard [1])
 born March 3, 1724; married (7th, 9 mo. 1751) Anna Beard,
 daughter of John and Deborah; he died 5th, 11 mo. 1765. Their
 children were—

- i **Christopher**, born 22d 5 mo. 1754; died 7 mo. 1781.
 - ii **William**, born 21st, 12 mo. 1756; probably married
 (August 22, 1779) Mehitable Mayo.
 - iii **Rhoda**, born 22d, 5 mo. 1760.
 - iv **Resolved**, born 14th, 7 mo. 1762; removed from the
 Island 27th, 9 mo. 1779.
 - v **Charlotta**, born 22d, 6 mo. 1764; married (2d, 12 mo.
 1790) George Newbegin, son of James and Phebe.
-

ABISHAI [5] (Robert [4] Benjamin [3] Richard [2] Richard [1])
 son of Robert and Jedidah, born 25th, 5 mo. 1731; died 17th, 10
 mo. 1770; married (27th, 12 mo. 1752) Lydia Macy, daughter of
 Robert and Abigail; she died 19th, 10 mo. 1765. Their children
 were—

- i **Phebe**, born 1752; married (8th, 12 mo. 1774) Francis
 Jenkins, son of Joseph and Ann; removed from the
 Island 1777.
 - ii **Lydia**, born 1761.
-

HEZEKIAH [5] (David [4] Solomon [3] Richard [2] Richard [1])
 born 24th, 9 mo. 1737; died 3d, 1 mo. 1760; married (9th, 2 mo.
 1758) Sarah Folger, daughter of Abishai and Dinah. They had
 but one child—

- i **Gideon**, born 30th, 5 mo. 1759; married (31st 5 mo.
 1781) Hannah Barnard, daughter of Joseph and
 Mary.
-

GEORGE [2] (John [1])
 son of Captain John, married Eunice Starbuck, daughter of Na-
 thaniel and Mary; he died 17th, 2 mo. 1750; he was the only son
 of John to reside at Nantucket. Their children were—

- i **Hephzibah**, born September 29, 1696; married first, Peleg Gardner, son of Nathaniel and Abigail; second (February 20, 1719) William Gardner, son of Richard and Mary.*
- ii **Priscilla**, born January 30, 1698; married (December 8, 1720) Barnabas Pinkham, son of Richard and Mary.*
- iii **Thomas**, born May 21, 1701; married (November 30, 1724) Hannah Swain, daughter of John and Catharine.*
- iv **Grafton**, born April 27, 1707; married Abigail Coffin, daughter of Enoch and Beulah, of Edgartown.*

JEREMIAH [3] (John [2] John [1])

married Sarah Coffin, daughter of James and Love. Their children were—

- i **George**, born at Newport, R. I., April 7, 1714.
- ii **Daniel**, born at Nantucket December 8, 1715.
- iii **John**, born March 26, 1718.
- iv **Ruth**, born May 12, 1720.
- v **Elisha**, born August 15, 1722.
- vi **Sarah**, born October 26, 1724.
- vii **Nathaniel**, born March 29, 1727.

THOMAS [3] (George [2] John [1])

born May 21, 1701; married (November 30, 1724) Hannah Swain, daughter of John and Catherine. Their children were—

- i **Eunice**, born October 1, 1726.
- ii **Anna**,† married (6th, 1 mo. 1763) Peter Fitch, son of Peter and Rachel.
- iii **Elizabeth**, born July 23, 1732.
- iv **Priscilla**,* married (10th, 10 mo. 1771) Nathaniel Coffin, son of Nathaniel and Mary.
- v **Thomas**, born May 7 1736; married (7th, 2 mo. 1760) Anna Worth, daughter of John and Mary. He died in 1784, and by order of the Court his estate was divided among Thomas (eldest son) Alexander, Zephaniah, Abraham, Anna Fitch, Priscilla Coffin, and daughters of Eunice Pinkham (deceased).

*Thomas Gardner, Planter.

†Friends' Records.

- vi **Grindal**, born _____ ; married (June 9, 1732)
Lois Ramsdell.
- vii **Timothy**, born October 21, 1732.
- viii **Mary**, born April 19, 1734.

GRAFTON [3] (George [2] John [1])

born April 27, 1707; married (probably in 1730) Abigail Coffin, daughter of Enoch and Beulah. Their children were—

- i **George**, born June 10, 1731.
- ii **Mary**, born July 6, 1733.
- iii **Hephzibah**, born September 16, 1736
- iv **Jemima**, born July 2, 1738.
- v **Francis**, born April 18, 1741.
- vi **Abigail**, born November 13, 1746.
- vii **Eunice**, born July 20, 1750.
- viii **Silas**, born September 5, 1753.

HUSSEY

The Husseys of Nantucket are descendants of Stephen Hussey, the son of Christopher. According to Mrs. Hinchman,* Christopher was the son of John Hussey and Mary Wood (or Moor), and was baptized in Dorking, Surrey, England, February 18, 1599. When a young man he spent some time in Holland where he met Theodate, the eldest daughter of Rev. Stephen Bachelor, who he desired to marry. Her father gave his consent contingent on their going to America with him. They arrived in Boston in 1632 on the ship William and Francis, settling first in Lynn, where Christopher's eldest son, Stephen, was the first child baptized by his grandfather in the church in Lynn.

Christopher early removed to Newbury, where he was one of the town's selectmen in 1636. In 1638, with his father-in-law, and others, he settled in Hampton, where he held several town offices. According to the best received opinion, he died in Hampton where, according to the record, he was buried March 8, 1636, leaving two sons and three daughters—**Stephen**, who married (October 8. 1676) Martha Bunker, daughter of William; **John**, who married Rebecca Perkins; **Huldah**, who married John Smith; **Mary**; and **Theodata**.

Stephen was the only one to make his home in Nantucket. He was a sea-faring man, had lived at Barbadoes and had accumulated a little property. At the time of the organization of the Friends' Society, in 1708, he was one of the petitioners, a somewhat anomalous condition as he was a most persistent litigant. He several times held office and appeared to be quite a politician, and during the local turmoil following the temporary overturn of the New York government, he was severely denounced by Peter Folger for endeavoring to improperly affect the voting. He had his father's interest in the Island and acquired that of Robert Pike. Worth says,† that the Hussey and Pike lots "were on the west side of Trot's Swamp, but Stephen Hussey built three houses for himself and family, one on Federal Street near Chestnut, another at Monomoy and a third at Shimmoo." He died April 2, 1718, in the 88th year of his age. His wife died 21st, 9 mo. 1744. Their children were:

- i **Puella**, born October 10, 1677; married Shubael Gorham of Barnstable.

*Early Settlers of Nantucket, p. 50-1.

†Lands and Land Owners, p. 70. Patronymica Britannica says of the name—"According to Stapleton's Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae Osbert de H. who was living in 1180 was so named from le Hozu, a fief in the parish of Grand Quevilly near Rouen. And one Henry de la Hosse, or Henze held inter alias, the sands of Hosse * * * In an old account of the Hussey family, the name is said to be Touasi de Hosa—from a boot of buskin" and the crest borne was a boot."

- ii **Abigail**, born December 22, 1679; married Thomas Howes (April 5, 1700). He was drowned soon after.
- iii **Sylvanus**, born May 13. 1682; married (8th 9 mo. 1723) Hepzibah Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel and Dinah.*
- iv **Bachelor**, born February 18, 1684-5; married (October 11, 1704) Abigail Halle.
- v **Daniel**, born October 20, 1687; Daniels name is not mentioned in his father's will, executed in 1716 and he probably was not living
- vi **Mary**, born March 24, 1689; married (16th, 4 mo. 1707) Jonathan Worth son of John Senior and, second, Ebenezer Barnard son of Nathaniel Senior, and Mary.
- vii **George**, born June 21, 1694; married (12th 9 mo. 1717) Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel Jr.
- viii **Theodate**, born September 15, 1700; married (September 26 1726) James Johnson; died April 2, 1718, according to Savage.

SYLVANUS [2] (Stephen [1])

married twice—first Abial Brown, granddaughter of John Gardner Senior; second Hepzibah Starbuck daughter of Nathaniel and Dinah. He died 10th 2 mo. 1767; she died 31st 12 mo. 1764. Their children were:—

- i **Seth**, born—married (9th 7 mo. 1742) Sarah Jenkins daughter of Matthew and Mary.
- ii **Christopher**, born 3d 6 mo. 1724; married (August 11, 1743) Mary Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Hepzibah.†
- iii **William**, born 10th 10 mo. 1725; married (January 27, 1746) Abigail Starbuck.
- iv **Bachelor**, born 29th 11 mo 1728-9; married (29th 10 mo. 1748) Ann Coffin, daughter of Daniel and Mary.
- v **Nathaniel**, born 2d, 11 mo. 1730-31; died 12th, 6 mo. 1769; married (6th, 10 mo. 1750) Judith Coffin, daughter of Francis and Theodate.
- vi **Hepzibah**, born 14th 1 mo. 1732-3; married (28th 10 mo. 1749) Nathaniel Coleman son of Barnabas and Elizabeth.

*His first wife was Abial Brown, granddaughter of John Gardner Senior to whom he was married 7th, 12 mo. 1711-12.

†Christopher and Mary had a daughter Susanna who married (28th 1 mo. 1762) Thaddeus Gardner son of Reuben and Theodate.

- vii **Silvanus**, born 29th 11 mo. 1734-5; married (2d 12 mo 1756) Alice Gray, daughter of Jeremiah and Theodate.
 - viii **George**, born 12th 5 mo 1738; married (3d 2 mo 1757) Deborah Paddack, daughter of Daniel and Susanna.
 - ix **Joseph**, born 20th 5 1740; married (11th 12 mo. 1766) Mary Raymar, daughter of James and Sarah.*
-

BACHELOR [2] (Stephen [1])

born February 18, 1685; married (October 11. 1704) Abigail Halle. Under the terms of his father's will his (Stephen's) law books were to go to him for the use of his (Bachelor's) son Stephen, when he was 21. The children of Bachelor and Abigail were—

- i **Mary**, born 9th 12 mo. 1706-7; died 2d. 2 mo 1758;† married (May 7, 1730) Peleg Swain son of Benjamin and Mary.
 - ii **Jedidah**, born 27th, 7 mo. 1708; died 6th, 8 mo. 1759; married (5th 2 mo. 1726) Benjamin Coffin son of Nathaniel and Damaris.
 - iii **John**, born 8th 8 mo. 1710; died 1749; married (4th 12 mo. 1733-4) Jedidah Coffin daughter of Joseph and Bethiah.
 - iv **Stephen**, born 14th, 8 mo. 1713; removed from the Island 6th mo 1737.
 - v **Huldah**, born 8th 12 mo. 1715-16; died 3d 4 mo. 1798; married (2d 11 mo. 1734-5) Simeon Bunker son of Jonathan and Elizabeth.
 - vi. **Ebenezer**, born 7th 12 mo. 1717-18.
 - vii **Paul**, born 12th 4 mo. 1720.
 - viii **Silvanus**, born 11th 3 mo. 1722.
-

DANIEL [2] (Stephen [1])

born October 20 1687; married (February 13, 1734-5) Sarah Gor-

*In his will, probated March 6, 1767, he also mentions sons x Obed and xi Jonathan (the latter of Dartmouth); grandsons Benjamin and Obed and Stephen and Daniel and Seth; granddaughters, Elizabeth Coffin, Rachel Mitchell, Eunice Worth and daughter in law, Sarah Hussey, daughters xii Rachel Coleman and xiii Hephzibah Coleman. The Friends Records show there was a daughter xiv **Rachel**, who married (8th 9 mo. 1733) Barnabas Coleman, son of John and Priscilla. Jonathan married (26th 12 mo 1738-9) Hephzibah Starbuck, daughter of Paul and Ann.

†The Town Records give as the first child **Christopher**, born 10th, 2 mo. 1706.

ham. He died in 1750; she died 18th 7 mo 1748. Their children were——

- i **Stephen**, born 2d, 4 mo. 1735; married (2d, 12 mo. 1756) Rose Barnard, daughter of Matthew and Mary.
- ii **Elizabeth**, born 23d 2 mo. 1736-7; removed from the Island 1773; married (7th 2 mo 1754) Benjamin Coffin son of Benjamin and Jedidah.
- iii **Daniel**, born 10th 9 mo. 1739; died 30th 11 mo. 1768; married (4th 12 mo. 1760) Hephzibah Folger daughter of Abishai and Dinah.
- iv **Rachel**, born 13th 9 mo. 1741; married (6th 12 mo 1759) Jethro Mitchell, son of Richard and Mary.
- v **Eunice**, born 30th 9 mo. 1744;* removed from the Island 1771; married (9th 2 mo. 1764) Daniel Worth son of Joseph and Lydia.

According to the Friends Records that comprises all the children, but the Town Records also enumerate

- vi **David**, born 6th 9 mo. 1746.

GEORGE [2] (Stephen [1])

was born June 21, 1694 and married (12th 9 mo. 1717) Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of Nathaniel Jr.; he died in (July) 1782; she died 9th 2 mo. 1770. Their children were——

- i **Christopher**, born 8th 4 mo. 1718;† died 7th 2 mo. 1721.
- ii **Rebecca**, born 20th 12 mo. 1719-20; died 8th 10 mo. 1721.
- iii **Deborah**, born 11th 8 mo. 1721; died 9th 2 mo. 1785; married (10th 2 mo. 1738) Peter Coffin, son of Paul and Mary.
- iv **Reuben**, born 17th, 5 mo. 1723; married (August 2, 1744) Elizabeth Woodbury.
- v **Lydia**, born 4th 5 mo. 1725; married (18th 9 mo. 1742) Clothier Peirce son of Clothier and Hannah.
- vi **Dinah**, born 8th 6 mo. 1727; died 20th 9 mo. 1763; married (22d 1 mo. 1743-4) Reuben Folger, son of Jonathan and Margaret.‡
- vii **Ruth**, born 21st 9 mo. 1728; married (5th 12 mo. 1746) Nathaniel Gardner, son of Nathaniel and Mary.

*By the Town Records this date is September 30, 1744.

†The Town Records give Christopher's birth as 18th, 6 mo. 1718.

‡His will probated August 2, 1782, mentions Dinah and her husband as removing to Nova Scotia in 1763.

- viii **Elizabeth**, born 10th, 7 mo. 1731; died 13th, 6 mo. 1805; married (6th 2 mo. 1749) Peleg Coffin son of Francis and Theodate.
 - ix **Martha**, born 19th 5 mo. 1733; married (5th 10 mo. 1751) David Swain, son of Richard and Elizabeth.
 - x **George**, born 11th 8 mo. 1736.
 - xi **Jethro**, born 18th 6 mo. 1738; married (October 16, 1766) Margaret Coffin, daughter of James and Priscilla.
 - xii **Thomas**, born 22d 12 mo. 1740; killed by a whale 1756.
 - xiii **Paul**, born 29th 5 mo. 1741; married (7th 2 mo. 1765) Margaret Barker daughter of Robert and Jedidah.
-

SETH [3] (Silvanus [2], Stephen [1])

married (9th, 7 mo. 1742) Sarah Jenkins, daughter of Matthew and Mary.* Their children were—

- i **Seth**, born 5th, 7th mo. 1743; died 17th, 4 mo. 1745; married (31st 10 mo. 1765) Eunice Pinkham, daughter of James and Sarah.
 - ii **Abigail**, born 29th 8 mo. 1745; died 23d 7 mo. 1807; probably married (February 10, 1763) Joseph Myrick.
 - iii **Margaret**, born 3d 12 mo. 1747; died 1749.
 - iv **Sarah**, born 5th 7 mo. 1750; removed from the Island 1st 1 mo. 1801; probably married (November 29, 1767) John Darling.
 - v **Abial**, born 5th 2 mo. 1752; died 29th 8 mo. 1773.
 - vi **Mary**, born 23d 10 mo. 1756; died 1759.
-

WILLIAM [3] (Silvanus [2], Stephen [1])

born 10th 10 mo. 1725; married January 27, 1746, Abigail Starbuck, daughter of Paul and Ann. Their children were—

- i **William**, born 5th 3 mo. 1749; married (1st 2 mo. 1770) Sarah Burnell, daughter of Jonathan and Deborah.
- ii **Elizabeth**, born 17th 8 mo. 1751; died 26th 7 mo. 1795; married (31st 12 mo. 1767) Silvanus Coffin, son of Richard and Ruth.

*Seth must have died prior to 1780 for his widow Sarah married (31st, 10 mo. 1782) Richard Mitchell, son of Richard and Elizabeth.

- iii **Catharine**, born 28th 7 mo. 1754; removed from the Island 31st 5 mo. 1779; married (7th 1 mo. 1773) Charles Coleman, son of Jethro and Lydia.
 - iv **Laban**, born 29th 9 mo. 1756; died 14th 1 mo. 1779.
 - v **Ruth**, born 17th 10 mo. 1758; married (7th 11 mo. 1776) Thaddeus Swain, son of David and Martha.
 - vi **Paul**, born 18th 2 mo. 1761; married (29th 1 mo. 1784) Judith Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Ruth.
 - vii **Anna**, born 23d 9 mo. 1763; married (9th 10 mo. 1805) Peter Barney, son of Benjamin and Jemima.
 - viii **Seth**, born 13th 12 mo. 1765; married (1st 1 mo. 1795) Naomi Chase, daughter of Francis and Naomi.
 - ix **Abigail**, born 9th 1 mo. 1769; died 2d 2 mo. 1792; married (3d 12 mo. 1789) David Greene, son of Joseph and Abigail.
-

BACHELOR [3] (Silvanus [2], Stephen [1])

born 29th 11 mo. 1728-9; married (29th 10 mo. 1748) Ann (or Anna) Coffin, daughter of Daniel and Mary. Their children were—

- i **Hepsibah**, born 8th, 2 mo. 1751; died 18th 12 mo. 1760.
 - ii **Tristram**, born 6th 2 mo. 1753; married (6th 11 mo. 1777) Sarah Folger, daughter of William and Ruth.
 - iii **Mary**, born 2d 2 mo. 1755; died 27th 9 mo. 1780; married (30th 8 mo. 1774) Barzillai Swain, son of Francis and Mary.
 - iv **Zaccheus**, born 18th 5 mo. 1760; married (July 23, 1780) Lydia Folger.
 - v **Susannah**, born 25th 6 mo. 1762; married (July 28, 1786) Obed Barnard.
 - vi **Lydia**, born 29th 7 mo. 1764; married (April 15, 1784) Alexander Coffin Jr.
 - vii **Elizabeth**, born 20th 8 mo. 1766; married (October 25, 1781) Thomas Delano.
 - viii **Moses**, born 19th, 11 mo. 1768; lost at sea 1785.
 - ix **Peter**, born 26th 1 mo. 1775; married (July 5, 1794) Mary Moores.
-

NATHANIEL [3] (Silvanus [2], Stephen [1])

born January 2, 1731; died July 6, 1769; married (6th 10 mo.

1750) Judith Coffin, daughter of Francis and Theodate. Their children were—

- i **Judith**, born 29th 8 mo. 1752; died 1752.
- ii **Francis**, born 31st, 3 mo. 1754; died 22d 7 mo. 1777.
- iii **Libbeus**, born 10th, 11 mo. 1755; died 1755.
- iv **David**, born 22d 2 mo. 1757; married (3d 2 mo. 1780) Lydia Swain, daughter of David and Martha.
- v **Phebe**, born 2d 9 mo. 1758; died 29th 8 mo. 1777; married (28th 11 mo. 1776) Edmund Gardner, son of Daniel and Provided.
- vi **Rachel**, born 28th 10 mo. 1760; married (30th 9 mo. 1779) Peregrine Folger, son of Jonathan and Lydia.
- vii **Peleg**, born 28th 12 mo. 1762; married (August 19, 1784) Temperance Swain.
- viii **Abraham**, born 28th 6 mo. 1765; died 7th 2 mo. 1788.
- ix **Nathaniel**, born 10th 1 mo. 1767; married, probably (July 17, 1790) Elizabeth Swain.
- x **Alexander**, born 15th 11 mo. 1769.

GEORGE [3] (Silvanus [2] Stephen [1])

born 12th 5 mo. 1738; married (3d 2 mo. 1757) Deborah Paddack, daughter of Daniel and Susanna. Their children were:—

- i **Rhoda**, born 16th 2 mo. 1758; married (4th 1 mo. 1776) Tristram Folger, son of Barzillai and Phebe.
- ii **Eunice**, born 26th 12 mo. 1759; married (2d 7 mo. 1778) Peleg Easton son of Peleg and Mary.
- iii **George Gorham**, born 17th 8 mo. 1762; married (29th 1 mo 1784) Lydia Chase, daughter of Francis and Naomi.
- iv **Uriel**, born 9th 10 mo. 1766; married (1st 10 mo. 1789) Phebe Folger, daughter of William and Ruth.
- v **Silvanus**, born 9th 4 mo. 1768; probably married December 25, 1794. Prudence Pease.
- vi **Susanna**, born 24th 4 mo 1771; married (30th 9 mo. 1790) Zenas Gardner, son of Paul and Rachel.
- vii **Deborah**, born 17th 9 mo. 1773; married (9th 9 mo. 1795) Robert Brayton, son of Israel and Elizabeth.
- viii **Alice** born 22d, 12 mo. 1777.
- ix **Rachel**, born 24th 3 mo. 1783; married (7th 12 mo. 1808) Joseph Austin, son of Jeremiah and Patience.

JOHN [3] (Bachelor [2] Stephen [1])

was born 8th 8 mo. 1710; died in 1749; married (4th 12 mo. 17-

33-4 Jedidah Coffin, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah. She died 11th 1 mo. 1799. Their children were:—

- i **Joseph**,—————
- ii **Robert**, ; died 19th 7 mo. 1783; married (28th 2 mo. 1759) Lydia Swain, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth.*
- iii **Stephen**, died 8th 2 mo. 1794; married (8th 11 mo. 1759) Elizabeth Swain, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth.†
- iv **Benjamin**, ; married (1st 3 mo. 1763) Phebe Macy, daughter of Francis and Judith.
- v **Bethiah**, ; died 9th 7 mo. 1791; probably married (June 1759) Bachelor Bunker.
- vi **Abigail**, probably married January 1763, Joseph Myrick.
- vii **Ruth**,
- viii **Ebenezer**,

STEPHEN [3] (Daniel [2] Stephen [1])

born 2d 4 mo. 1735; married (2d 12 mo. 1756) Rose Barnard, daughter of Matthew and Mary. Their children were:—

- i **Sarah**, born 30th 1 mo. 1757.
- ii **Dinah**, born 12th 12 mo. 1764.
- iii **Abial**, born 25th 12 mo. 1767.
- iv **Aaron**, born 4th 6 mo 1770.
- v **Daniel**, born 2d 2 mo. 1774.
- vi **Eunice** born 15th 7 mo. 1780.

*Robert also married (6th, 1 mo. 1774) Elizabeth Wing, daughter of Joseph and Mary.

†Stephen and Elizabeth had a son John, who married (2d, 10 mo. 1783) Lydia Barnard, daughter of Christopher and Judith.

MACY

Thomas Macy, according to tradition, must have passed the earlier months of his sojourn on the Island with few if any English associates outside his own family. Tradition further says that early in the spring (Mr. Macy having removed in October or November) Edward Starbuck, returned to Salisbury or Dover and when he finally returned to Nantucket several neighbors came with him. It is difficult to see the basis for the story as it is told. Similarly tradition says that Mr. Macy returned to Salisbury and remained there awhile. There seems to be no evidence confirmatory of such a story.

Tradition has apparently aimed to establish a fact that Thomas Macy and his family and Edward Starbuck and Isaac Coleman settled in Nantucket in the fall of 1659, but there seems to be no available evidence to prove this assumption. Macy's letter, written in Salisbury to explain why he did not appear to answer the summons of the Court, was dated October 27, 1659. The decision of the Court in his case was not given until November 12. Some time would be required to perfect his plans after he learned the decision of the Court, (though it is doubtful if that seriously affected him) to move with his wife and four or more* children into a strange country inhabited only by Indians just at the opening of winter. Furthermore all meetings of the company prior to that of July 15, 1661, were held at Salisbury, the one of that date was held at Nantucket. At the meeting at Salisbury May 10, 1661 all apparently being present, it was decided that in the future the records of the Company should be kept at Salisbury by Robert Pike, and at Nantucket by Thomas Macy. It is more than probable that his permanent residence was not at Nantucket until 1661.

Mr. Macy's house lot was on the eastern side of Reed Pond, then a creek extending from the north shore south of the road.† Obed Macy says his house was moved to Wesco‡ and until very recently it stood in Macy's Lane. He seems to have been a man with good judgment and marked self control and his correspondence with Gov. Andros at the time of the "Insurrection," is in marked contrast to that of Gardner and Folger.

THOMAS MACY

married Sarah Hopcott, born in England in 1612, died in Nantucket April 19, 1682. Their children were—

- i Sarah, born at Salisbury, July 9, 1644; died 1645.
- ii Sarah, born at Salisbury, August 1, 1646, married (April 1, 1665) William Worth. Died 1701.

*Two sons, Francis and Thomas, died unmarried and probably formed part of his family.

†Land and Land Owners p 71.

‡Unpublished M. S.

- iii **Mary** born at Salisbury, December 4, 1648; died June 6, 1712; married (April 11, 1669) William Bunker, son of George and Jane.
- iv **Bethiah**, born at Salisbury 1650; died 1732; married (March 30, 1670) Joseph Gardner, son of Richard and Sarah.
- v **Thomas**, born at Salisbury, September 22, 1653; died, unmarried, December 3, 1675.
- vi **John**, born at Salisbury, July 14, 1655; died October 14, 1691; married Deborah Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah.
- vii **Francis**, born in Salisbury, 1657; died 1658.

With the exception of the first Sarah and Francis, the children all died in Nantucket.

JOHN MACY [2] (Thomas [1])

born in Salisbury, July 14, 1635; died at Nantucket October 14, 1691; married Deborah Gardner, daughter of Richard and Sarah. Their children were—

- i **John**, born 1675; died November 28, 1751; married (April 25, 1707) Judith Worth, daughter of John and Miriam.
- ii **Sarah**, born April 3, 1677; died March 18, 1748; married John Barnard, son of Nathaniel and Mary.
- iii **Deborah**, born March 3, 1679; died August 16, 1742; married Daniel Russell.
- iv **Bethiah**, born April 8, 1683; died June 6, 1738; married first, () Joseph Coffin, son of James and Mary—second, John Renuff.
- v **Jabez**, born 1683; died August 6, 1776; married (November 27, 1712) Sarah Starbuck, daughter of Jethro and Dorcas.
- vi **Mary**, born 1685; died June 27, 1717; married (1st, 9 mo. 1711) Solomon Coleman, son of John and Joanna.
- vii **Thomas**, born 1687; died March 16, 1759; married (June 18, 1708) Deborah Coffin, daughter of (Lieut.) John Coffin and Deborah.
- viii **Richard**, born September 22, 1689; died December 25, 1779; married, first, (November 8, 1711) Deborah Pinkham, daughter of Reuben and Mary; second, June 8, 1769) Alice Paddack, daughter of Joseph and Sarah.*

*Richard built the first wharf (1723) and the first windmill in Nantucket, Macy Genealogy, p. 81.

JOHN [3] (John [2] Thomas [1])

married (April 25, 1707) Judith Worth, daughter of John and Miriam. He died 28th, 11 mo. 1751; she died 8th, 11 mo. 1767. Their children were—

- i **Miriam**, born 16th, 2 mo. 1708; died August 2, 1736; married (10th, 9 mo. 1725) Zephaniah Coffin, son of Stephen and Experience.
- ii **Silvanus**, born 16th, 8 mo. 1709; died September 6. 1719; unmarried.
- iii **Seth**, born 22d, 8 mo. 1710; died July 6, 1790; unmarried.
- iv **Eliab**, born 20th, 12 mo. 1712; died April 1723; unmarried.
- v **David**, born 12th, 9 mo. 1714; married (6th, 1 mo. 1739-40) Dinah Gardner, daughter of Solomon and Anna.
- vi **Anna**, born 17th, 12 mo. 1717-8; died 13th, 12 mo. 1756; married (9th, 11 mo. 1734-5) Joseph Jenkins, son of Matthew and Mary.
- vii **Bethiah**, born 16th, 1 mo. 1719-20; died in infancy.
- viii **John**, born 11th, 12 mo. 1721-22; married (13th, 8 mo. 1743) Eunice Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima.
- ix **Judith**, born 20th, 3 mo. 1723; died 25th, 6 mo. 1795; married (1st, 3 mo. 1753) William Clasby, son of William and Abiel.
- x **Jonathan**, born 8th, 4 mo. 1725; died 17th, 6 mo. 1798; married (6th, 10 mo. 1744) Lois Gorham, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth.
- xi **William**, born 23d, 1 mo. 1726-7; died 6th, 2 mo. 1753; married (13th, 9 mo. 1746) Mary Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Lydia.
- xii **Sarah**, born 25th, 6 mo. 1729; married (5th, 12 mo. 1746) Richard Gardner, son of Solomon and Anna.
- xiii **Abigail**, born 26th, 5 mo. 1731; died 25th, 11 mo. 1763; unmarried.

David, John and Sarah removed to North Carolina in 1771.

JABEZ [3] (John [2] Thomas [1])

born in 1683; and married (November 7, 1712) Sarah Starbuck, daughter of Jethro and Dorcas. He died 6th, 8 mo. 1776; she died 28th, 10 mo. 1789. Their children were—

- i **George**, born 11th, 3 mo. 1720; died 9 mo. 1742; unmarried.
- ii **Eunice**, born 14th, 11 mo. 1721; married (4th 9 mo. 1742) Richard Beard, son of Richard and Dorothy who came from Devonshire Eng. They removed to New Garden, N. C., 21st, 5 mo. 1772.
- iii **Dorcās**, born 16th, 6 mo. 1724; died 29th, 2 mo. 1768; unmarried.
- iv **Jethro**, born 15th, 2 mo. 1728; married (11th, 8 mo. 1750) Hephzibah Worth, daughter of William and Mary; removed to North Carolina 17th, 10 mo. 1771.
- v **Daniel**, born 21st, 5 mo. 1731; died 28th, 3 mo. 1785; married (24th, 11 mo. 1755) Abigail Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret.
- vi **Matthew**, born 19th, 10 mo. 1732; married first, (27th, 2 mo. 1755) Abigail Coffin, daughter of Benjamin and Jedidah; second, (26th, 2 mo. 1761) Abigail Gardner, daughter of Barnabas and Mary; removed from the Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773.
- vii **Lydia**, born 18th, 9 mo. 1734; married (5th, 2 mo. 1756) Matthew Jenkins, son of Peter and Abigail.
- viii **Sarah**, born 26th, 9 mo. 1737; died 17th, 11 mo. 1800; unmarried.
- ix **Jabez**, born 30th, 10 mo. 1739; died 9 mo. 1767; lost at sea; married (26th, 2 mo. 1767) Rachel Cartwright, daughter of Hezekiah and Abigail.*

THOMAS [3] (John [2] Thomas [1])

born in 1687, married Deborah Coffin, daughter of John and Deborah. He died 20th, 3 mo. 1759; she died 23d, 9 mo. 1760. Their children were—

- i **Joseph**, born 8th, 4 mo. 1709; died 28th, 2 mo. 1772; married (1728) Hannah Hobbs, daughter of Benjamin.
- ii **Robert**, born 20th, 11 mo. 1710; died 23d, 11 mo. 1771; married (January 3, 1731) Abigail Barnard, daughter of Benjamin and Judith.
- iii **Love**, born 9th, 2 mo. 1713; died 14th, 11 mo. 1767; married (21st, 12 mo. 1733-4) Joseph Rotch son of William and Hannah.

*The Friends Record states that Lydia, daughter of Jabez and Rachel, married (28th, 12 mo. 1786) Uriel Starbuck, son of Silvanus and Mary.

- iv **Francis**, born 2d, 6 mo. 1715; died 21st, 5 mo. 1793; married (30th, 5 mo. 1738) Judith Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth.
- v **Nathaniel**, born 20th, 8 mo. 1717; died 22d, 3 mo. 1783; married (16th, 2 mo. 1741) Abigail Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail.
- vi **Lydia**, born 23d, 2 mo. 1720; removed from the Island 26th, 7 mo. 1779; married (31st, 1 mo. 1748) Jethro Coleman, son of John and Priscilla.
- vii **Elizabeth**, born 9th, 6 mo. 1722; died 1st, 6 mo. 1765; married (14th, 11 mo. 1741) Francis Barnard, son of Benjamin and Judith.
- viii **Thomas**, born 13th, 8 mo. 1724; died 1725.
- ix **Deborah**, born 17th, 4 mo. 1726; died 22d, 11 mo. 1803; married, first—(29th, 4 mo. 1762) Benjamin Coffin, son of Nathaniel and Damaris; second, (31st, 1 mo. 1782) Edward Starbuck, son of Paul and Ann.
- x **Anna**, born 7th, 4 mo. 1730; removed from the Island 27th, 12 mo. 1779; married (1st, 2 mo. 1753; Richard Worth, son of Richard and Sarah.
- xi **Hepzibah**, born 22d, 10 mo. 1734; removed from the Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773; married (14th, 12 mo. 1752) Thomas Davis, son of John and Margaret.

RICHARD [3] (John [2] Thomas [1])

born 7 mo. 22. 1689; died 25th 12 mo. 1779; married first, (Nov. 8 1711) Deborah Pinkham, daughter of Reuben and Mary; second, (June 8, 1769) Alice Paddack, daughter of Joseph and Sarah. Deborah died 13th 12 mo 1767. Their children were:

- i **Lydia**, born 10th, 6 mo. 1712; did not marry.
- ii **Zaccheus**, born 7th 11 mo. 1713; died 27th 10 mo. 1797; married (5th 10 mo. 1734) Hephzibah Gardner, daughter of Samuel and Patience.
- iii **Abraham**, born 9th, 7 mo. 1715; died 4th, 7 mo. 1746; married (8th 4 mo. 1738) Anna Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia.*
- iv **Mary**, born 26th 11 mo 1717; died 7th 6 mo. 1764; married (1st 4 mo. 1749) Benjamin Marshall, son of Joseph and Mercy.
- v **Caleb**, born 28th 9 mo. 1719; died 18th 6 mo. 1798; married (8th 12 mo. 1749) Judith Gardner, widow of James, and daughter of Daniel and Abigail Folger.

*After the death of Abraham his widow married (16th, 10 mo. 1755) Tristram Swain, son of John and Mary.

JOHN, [4] (John, [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 11th 12 mo. 1720-21; married (13th 8 mo. 1743) Eunice Coleman, daughter of Elihu and Jemima. She died 28th 12 mo. 1768; he removed from the Island 18th 4 mo. 1771. Their children were:—

- i **Bethiah**, born 3d 8 mo. 1744; removed from the Island 22d 9 mo. 1773; married (31st 12 mo. 1761) Paul Macy, son of Joseph and Hannah. Removed from the Island 22d 9 mo. 1773.
- ii **Judith**, born 20th, 5 mo. 1746; married (31st, 12 mo. 1767) Reuben Bunker, son of Reuben and Mary; removed from the Island 27th 5 mo. 1771.
- iii **Eliab**, born 9th, 6 mo. 1748; did not marry; removed from the Island 18th 4 mo. 1771.
- iv **Jemima**, born 15th 5 mo. 1750; removed from the Island 27th 5 mo 1771; married Barzillai Gardner, son of Stephen and Jemima.
- v **Eunice**, born 12th 5 mo. 1752; died in infancy.
- vi **John**, born 9th 2 mo. 1754; married Rhoda Gardner, daughter of Stephen and Jemima.
- vii **Elihu**, born 20th, 11 mo. 1755; did not marry.
- viii **Eunice**, born 27th 12 mo. 1757; did not marry.
- ix **Barachiah**, born 24th. 2 mo. 1760; married (March 20, 1783) Lucinda Barnard, daughter of Benjamin and Eunice. (Eunice and Barachiah removed from the Island 18th 4 mo. 1771.)
- x **Merab**, born 30th 11 mo. 1761; married (January 8, 1783) Timothy Macy, son of Jethro and Hepzibah.
- xi **Abigail**, born 6th, 12 mo. 1763; did not marry.
- xii **Micajah**, born 25th 11 mo. 1764; did not marry.
- xiii **Amy**, born 5th, 11 mo. 1766; married Libni Barnard, son of Benjamin and Eunice.
- xiv **Clement**, born 24th, 12 mo. 1768.

JONATHAN [4] (John [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 8th 4 mo. 1725; married (6th 10 mo. 1744) Lois Gorham, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth; he died 17th 6 mo. 1798; she died 10th 3 mo 1804. Their children were:—

- i **Elizabeth**, born 18th 8 mo. 1745; removed from the Island 26th 7 mo 1779; married (30th 12 mo. 1762) Elihu Coleman, son of Jethro and Lydia.
- ii **Miriam**, born 26th 6 mo. 1748; died 12 mo 1748.

- iii **Jonathan**, born 4th 11 mo. 1749; died 18th 6 mo 1816; married (3d 12 mo. 1778) Rose Pinkham, daughter of Reuben and Anne.
 - iv **Barnabas**, born 16th. 4 mo. 1752; died 30th 4 mo. 1802; married (26th. 2 mo. 1784) Abiel Clasby, daughter of Joseph and Lydia.
 - v **Solomon**, born 23d 6 mo. 1754; died 7 mo. 1755.
 - vi **Susanna**, born 27th 5 mo. 1756; died 15th 8 mo. 1757.
 - vii **Samuel**, born 3d 10 mo. 1758; died 16th 8 mo. 1761.
 - viii **Peleg**, born 11th 11 mo. 1760; married (28th. 10 mo 1784) Sarah Starbuck, widow of Zaccheus and daughter of John and Sarah Wendell.
 - ix **Judith**, born 18th 3 mo. 1763; died 10th 12 mo. 1799: did not marry.
 - x **Samuel**, born 18th 2 mo. 1765; married (29th 6 mo. 1786) first Lydia Folger, daughter of Walter and Elizabeth; second (7th 3 mo. 1833) Mary Clisby, daughter of William and Hepsabeth.
 - xi **Seth**, born 9 mo. 1767; died 8 mo. 1768.
-

WILLIAM [4] (John [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 23d 1 mo. 1726-7; married (13th 9 mo. 1746) Mary Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Lydia; he died 6th 2 mo 1753; she died 11th, 7 mo. 1777. Their children were—

- i **Sarah**, born 10th, 9 mo. 1747; died 14th, 6 mo. 1749.
 - ii **Lydia**, born 27th 7 mo. 1749; died 27th 3 mo. 1821; did not marry.
 - iii **William**, born 29th 9 mo. 1751; died 17th 8 mo. 1814; married first (12th 12 mo. 1771) Anna Hussey daughter of Paul and Anna; second (9th 7 mo. 1807) Jedidah Barker daughter of Robert and Sarah.
-

JETHRO [4] (Jabez [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 15th 2 mo. 1728; married (11th 8 mo. 1750) Hephzibah Worth, daughter of William and Mary. The entire family removed to North Carolina 10th mo. 1771. Their children were—

- i **Hephzibah**, born 17th 10 mo. 1751; married Thomas Pierce.

- ii **Mary**, born 13th 6 mo. 1754; married Samuel Coffin son of William and Priscilla.
 - iii **Jethro**, born 17th 10 mo. 1757; married (3d 4 mo. 1777) Susanna Wilcox, daughter of John and Hannah.
 - iv **Gayer**, born 11th 11 mo. 1757; married Anna Clasby, daughter of Charles and Anna.
 - v **Jedidah**, born 23d 11 mo. 1759; married Joseph Swain, son of Nathaniel and Bethiah.
 - vi **Timothy**, born 17th 7 mo. 1762; married (January 8, 1783) Merab Macy, daughter of John and Eunice.
 - vii **Elizabeth**, born 20th 5 mo. 1765; did not marry.
 - viii **Huldah**, born 1st, 5 mo. 1777; married (November 15, 1792) Asa Barnard, son of Tristram and Margaret.
-

DANIEL [4] (Jabez [3], John [2], Thomas [1])

born 21st 5 mo. 1731; married (24th 11 mo. 1755) Abigail Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret. He died 28th 3 mo. 1785; she died 2d 11 mo. 1788. Their children were—

- i **Silvanus**, born 6th 12 mo. 1756; moved from the Island 2d 4 mo. 1801; married, first (30th 5 mo. 1782) Dinah Bunker, daughter of Paul and Hannah; second (3d 10 mo. 1798, Mary Foster, widow of John, daughter of Francis and Mary Swain.
 - ii **Lydia**, born 3d 3 mo. 1759; died 13th 7 mo. 1793; unmarried.
 - iii **Margaret**, born 20th 8 mo. 1761; removed from the Island 31st, 7 mo. 1800; married (2d, 8 mo. 1787) Obed Paddack, son of Jonathan and Kezia.
 - iv **Uriah**, born 7th 3 mo. 1764; married (27th 9 mo. 1787) Eunice Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Jemima.
 - v **Daniel**, born 26th, 3 mo. 1766; died 8th, 7 mo. 1768.
 - vi **Abigail**, born 31st 5 mo. 1770; died 16th 7 mo. 1799; married (28th 4 mo. 1791) Matthew Barney, son of Benjamin and Jemima.
-

MATTHEW [4] (Jabez [3], John [2], Thomas [1])

born 19th 10 mo. 1732; married (27th 2 mo. 1755) Abigail Coffin,

daughter of Benjamin and Jedidah. Abigail died 31st, 8 mo. 1758, and he married (26th 2 mo 1761) Abigail Gardner daughter of Barnabas and Mary. The entire family removed from the Island 23d 9 mo. 1773. Their children were—

By the first wife:

- i **Matthew**, born 1759; married Lydia Barnard, daughter of Benjamin and Eunice.

By his second wife:

- ii **George**, born 1762; married (1785) Matilda Folger, daughter of Reuben and Dinah.
- iii **Sarah**, born ; married Stephen Springer.
- iv **Abigail**, born ; married Joseph Coffin, son of Peter and Priscilla.
- v **Elizabeth**, born ; married () Libni Coffin, son of Libni and Hepzabeth.

JABEZ [4] (Jabez [3] John [2] Thomas [1])
born 30th 10 mo. 1739; married (26th 2 mo. 1767) Rachel Cartwright, daughter of Hezediah and Abigail. He was lost at sea in September 1767. They had one child:

- i **Lydia**, born 21st 12 mo. 1767; married (28th 12 mo. 1786) Uriah Starbuck, son of Silvanus and Mary; removed from the Island 3d 10 mo. 1799.

JOSEPH [4] (Thomas [3] John [2] Thomas [1])
born 8th 4 mo. 1709; died 28th 2 mo 1772; married (February 23, 1727-8) Hannah Hobbs daughter of Benjamin. Their children were:

- i **Mary**, born 15th, 7 mo. 1729; married (1st, 11 mo. 1753) Paul Way, son of John and Mary.
- ii **Thomas**, born 1st, 3 mo. 1731; married (24th, 2 mo. 1755) Mary Starbuck, daughter of Tristram and Deborah.
- iii **Bethiah**, born 3d, 4 mo. 1733; married (4th, 12 mo. 1755) Nathaniel Swain, son of Caleb and Margaret.
- iv **Joseph**, born 4th, 8 mo. 1735; married (8th, 12 mo. 1757) Mary Starbuck, daughter of William and Anna.

- v **Henry**, born 22d, 8 mo. 1737; married (31st, 1 mo. 1760) Sarah Swain, daughter of Caleb and Margaret; second (March 24, 1791) Elizabeth Coffin, widow of Benjamin, daughter of Daniel and Sarah Hussey.
- vi **Paul**, born 22d, 2 mo. 1740; married—first (31st, 12 mo. 1761) Bethiah Macy, daughter of John and Eunice; second, (26th, 1 mo. 1817) Deborah Coggeshall, daughter of Job and Deborah.
- vii **Enoch**, born 11th, 2 mo. 1743; married (29th, 12 mo. 1763) Anna Macy, daughter of David and Dinah.

Joseph and his entire family removed to New Garden, N. C. about 1773.

ROBERT [4] (Thomas [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 20th, 11 mo. 1710; married (3d, 1 mo. 1731) Abigail Barnard, daughter of Benjamin and Judith. He died 23d, 11 mo. 1771; she removed from the Island 27th, 3 mo. 1775. Their children were—

- i **Lydia**, born ———— 1733; died 19th, 10 mo. 1765; married (27th, 12 mo. 1752) Abishai Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.
- ii **Benjamin**, born ———— 1735; lost at sea 1755; unmarried.
- iii **Judith**, born 28th, 5 mo. 1737; removed from the Island 25th, 9 mo. 1775; married (16th, 11 mo. 1758) Benjamin Stretton, son of Caleb and Lois.
- iv **Nathaniel**, born ————; removed from the Island 8th, 4 mo. 1773; married (5th, 2 mo. 1761) Hephzibah Macy, daughter of Zaccheus and Hephzibah.
- v **Elizabeth**, born ————; removed from the Island 29th, 6 mo. 1772; married—first (1st, 3 mo. 1763) Alexander Movers, son of Thomas and Mary; second—() William Coffin, son of Benjamin and Jedidah. Removed from the Island 29th, 6 mo. 1772.
- vi **Eunice**, born ————; died in infancy.
- vii **Robert**, born 16th, 1 mo. 1746; married—first (2d, 3 mo. 1772) Anna Jones, daughter of Silas and Anna; second (13th, 9 mo. 1798) Phebe Jenkins, daughter of Joseph and Ruth.
- viii **John**, born 17th, 1 mo. 1748; removed from the Island 29th, 8 mo. 1774; married—first (3d 3 mo. 1768) Bethiah Cartwright, daughter of Hezadiah and Abigail; second (5th, 3 mo. 1794) Phebe Macy, daughter of Abraham and Priscilla.*

*John Macy, son of Robert Macy, of the fifth generation from Thomas Macy, signed his last will when he was eighty-eight years old and had nineteen children. Early Settlers of Nantucket, p. 283.

NATHANIEL [4] (Thomas [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 20th, 8 mo. 1717; died 22d, 3 mo. 1783; married (16th, 2 mo 1741) Abigail Pinkham, daughter of Shubael and Abigail; she died 1st, 9 mo. 1810. Their children were—

- i **Shubael**, born 27th, 2 mo. 1743; married (4th, 2 mo. 1762) Eunice Gardner, daughter of Robert and Jedidah.
- ii **Tristram**, born 26th, 2 mo. 1745; died 1781; married (31st, 10 mo. 1765) Miriam Barnard, daughter of William and Mary.
- iii **George**, born 6th, 7 mo. 1747; died 25th, 10 mo. 1773; married (28th, 12 mo. 1769) Margaret Paddack, daughter of Paul and Anna.
- iv **Deborah**, born 11th, 3 mo. 1750; died 30th, 8 mo. 1752.
- v **Nathaniel**, born 15th, 1 mo. 1753; married—first Elizabeth Broch, daughter of William and Elizabeth; second Mercy Dunham, daughter of Jethro and Mercy.*
- vi **Eunice**, born 19th, 2 mo. 1755; died 17th, 1 mo. 1784; married () Solomon Coffin, son of Zephaniah and Abigail.
- vii **Peter**, born 3d, 2 mo. 1757; married (28th, 11 mo. 1780) Sarah Folger, daughter of Timothy and Abial.
- viii **Phebe**, born 31st, 1 mo. 1759; died 5th, 12 mo. 1803; married—first (9th, 7 mo. 1778) Paul Barnard, son of William and Mary; second (9th, 9 mo. 1790) Paul Worth, son of John and Mary.
- ix **Elizabeth**, born 16th, 7 mo. 1763; married (1st, 3 mo. 1787) Barzillai Macy, son of Caleb and Judith.
- x **Thomas**.
- xi **Abishai**, born 23d, 10 mo. 1770; married (July 19, 1794) Phebe Worth, daughter of Andrew and Judith.

ZACCHEUS [4] (Richard [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 7th, 12 mo. 1713; died 27th, 10 mo. 1797; married (5th, 10 mo. 1734) Hephzibah Gardner, daughter of Samuel and Patience. She died 27th, 6 mo. 1795. Their children were—

- i **Mary**, born 14th, 9 mo. 1735; died 8th, 5 mo. 1784; married (1st, 3 mo. 1753) John Ray, son of Samuel and Mary.
- ii **Hannah**, born 30th, 10 mo. 1737; married (30th, 8 mo. 1756) Reuben Swain, son of Stephen and Eleanor.

*Early Settlers of Nantucket, p. 284.

- iii **Phebe**, born 16th, 1 mo. 1740; removed from the Island 27th, 4 mo. 1772; married (1st, 1 mo. 1756) William Stanton, son of Samuel and Sarah.
- iv **Richard**, born 22d, 4 mo. 1742; married (4th, 10 mo. 1759) Miriam Coffin, daughter of Hephaniah and Abigail.
- v **Hepsibah**, born 26th, 6 mo. 1744; removed from the Island 28th, 4 mo. 1772; married (5th, 2 mo. 1761) Nathaniel Macy, son of Robert and Abigail.
- vi **Priscilla**, born 25th, 9 mo. 1746; died 26th, 6 mo. 1818; married—first Enoch Ray, son of Samuel and Mary; second (8th, 12 mo. 1808) Micajah Coffin, son of Benjamin and Jedidah.
- vii **Ruth**, born 12th, 4 mo. 1751; married (1st. 12 mo. 1768) Thomas Barnard, son of Thomas and Sarah.
- viii **Deborah**, born 18th, 1 mo. 1755; married Daniel Ray, son of Samuel and Elizabeth.
- ix **Latham**, born 7th, 2 mo. 1759; married (2d, 10 mo. 1777) Lydia Russell, daughter of John and Ruth.

The above list of the names of the children of Zaccheus and Hepsibah Macy is taken from the Friends Records. Mrs. Hinchman has in addition*—x **David**, xi **Abishai**, xii **Lydia**, xiii **Jemima**, and xiv **Samuel**, neither of whom married.

ABRAHAM [4] (Richard [3] John [2] Thomas [1])
 born 9th, 7 mo. 1715; died 4th, 7 mo. 1746; married (8th, 4 mo. 1738) Anna Worth, daughter of Joseph and Lydia. Their children were—

- i **Abraham**, born 7th, 8 mo. 1739; he removed from the Island 25th, 4 mo. 1774; married (3d, 12 mo. 1761) Priscilla Bunker, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla.
- ii **Simeon**, born 30th, 11 mo. 1742-3; died 1764; unmarried.
- iii **Anna**, born 24th, 10 mo. 1744; married (10th, 12 mo. 1761) Edward Allen, son of Ebenezer and Christian.
- iv **Reuben**, born 14th, 1 mo. 1747; removed from the Island 7th, 5 mo. 1772; married—first (31st. 12 mo. 1767) Elizabeth Bunker, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla; second (September 21, 1774) Ruth Howard, daughter of Edward and Phebe.

*Early Settlers of Nantucket, p. 285.

CALEB [4] (Richard [3] John [2] Thomas [1])

born 28th, 9 mo. 1719; died 18th, 6 mo. 1798; married (8th, 12 mo. 1749) Judith Gardner, widow of James, and daughter of Daniel and Abigail Folger. She removed from the Island 29th, 4 mo. 1819. Their children were—

- i **Kezia**, born 22d, 5 mo. 1751; died 30th, 6 mo. 1752.
- ii **Elisha**, born 17th, 5 mo. 1753; died 2d, 4 mo. 1806; married (8th, 9 mo. 1774) Phebe Gardner, daughter of Jonathan and Miriam.
- iii **Silvanus**,* born 15th, 12 mo. 1756; married (July 3, 1779) Anna Pinkham, daughter of Daniel and Eunice.
- iv **Barzillai**, born 6th, 9 mo. 1759; died 1st 8 mo. 1789; married (1st, 3 mo. 1787) Elizabeth Macy, daughter of Nathaniel.
- v **Obed**, born 15th, 1 mo. 1762; married (2d, 2 mo. 1786) Abigail Pinkham, daughter of Daniel and Eunice.
- vi **Caleb**, born 20th, 3 mo. 1764; died 18th, 8 mo. 1834; did not marry.
- vii **Judith**, born 16th, 9 mo. 1766; died 14th, 3 mo. 1789; unmarried.
- viii **Kezia**, born 22d, 9 mo. 1768; died 7th, 4 mo. 1770.
- ix **Ruth**, born 31st, 8 mo. 1771; married (9th, 11 mo. 1796) Job Chase, son of Benjamin and Martha.

*An unnamed child born 2d, 9 mo. 1755, lived but a day.

EDWARD STARBUCK

There seems to be no record regarding his wife, but as the early records of births, marriages and deaths kept by William Worth seem to be quite complete and her name does not appear in them the presumption is that she died before the family removed to Nantucket.† That he was well esteemed among the Indians as mentioned by Mr. Barney is evidenced by the deeding of Coatue to him by Wannackmamack and Nicanoos “of our free and voluntary willes.” Tradition says that Edward Starbuck was a man of commanding presence.

Various incidents in his life have already been related. When he came to the Island he occupied a house which he built at Mad-deket. His house lot as laid out was about 1000 feet square, extending northward from the head of Hummock Pond to Maxcy's Pond.†

- i Nathaniel, born in 1635; died 6th 6 mo. 1719; married
1662 Mary Coffin, daughter of Tristram.
- ii Dorcas, born ; married William Gayer.
- iii Sarah, born ; married—first William Story;
second, Joseph Austin; third, Humphrey Varney as
his second wife.
- iv Abigail, born ; married Peter Coffin, son of
Tristram and Dionis.
- v Esther, born ; was Humphrey Varney's first
wife.
- vi Jethro, one son, was killed May 27, 1663, at the age of
twelve years by the overturning of a cart.

*Unpublished M S.

†The probabilities are that she died in Dover.

§Nantucket Lands and Land Owners p. 75. There is a tradition that on one occasion the Indians were in an ugly mood and threatened trouble. He was sent for and unhesitatingly went among them. So much regard they had for him that he soon quieted them.

William Gayer who married Dorcas Starbuck is stated to be direct in descent from Edward I of England.

son of Edward and Katherine born 1635; married (1662) Mary Coffin, daughter of Tristram and Dionis;* died 6th 6 mo. 1719. She died 13th 9 mo. 1717. Their children were—

- i Mary, born 30th 3 mo. 1663;† married James Gardner son of Richard and Sarah.
- ii Elizabeth, born 9th 9 mo. 1665; married—first (August 15, 1682) Peter Coffin, son of Peter and Abigail; second, Nathaniel Barnard, son of Nathaniel and Mary.
- iii Nathaniel, born 8th 9 mo. 1668; married (November 20, 1690) Dinah Coffin, daughter of James and Mary; died January 29, 1753.
- iv Jethro, born December 14, 1671; married (December 6, 1694) Dorcas Gayer, daughter of William and Dorcas; died August 12, 1770.
- v Barnabas, born 1673; died 21st 9 mo. 1732; unmarried.
- vi Eunice, born April 10, 1674; married () George Gardner, son of John and Priscilla; died 12th 7 mo. 1766.
- vii Priscilla, born 1676; married () John Coleman, son of John; died March 14, 1762.
- viii Hephzibah, born April 2, 1680; married () Thomas Hathaway of Dartmouth; died 7th 2 mo. 1740.
- ix Ann, born ; unmarried.
- x Paul, born ; unmarried.

born August 9, 1668, married (November 20, 1690) Dinah Coffin, daughter of James and Mary. He died 9th 2 mo. 1753; she died 1st 8 mo. 1750.† Their children were—

- i **Mary**, born 31st 10 mo. 1692; died 22d 7 mo. 1763;
married (1st 12 mo. 1710-11) Jethro Folger, son of
John.

*At the time of his death Nathaniel Starbuck was doubtless one of the wealthiest, if not individually the wealthiest men on the Island. He owned three full shares of land, having purchased a share of Stephen Greenleaf. His wife was one of the ablest women who ever lived on Nantucket and her advice and influence were noteworthy factors in the conduct of affairs. She was the leading spirit in the organization of the Society of Friends.

†Mary Starbuck was the first English child born on Nantucket.

‡Nathaniel was for several years Town Clerk and was also Clerk of the Friends' Meeting.

- ii **Paul**, born 29th 8 mo. 1694; died 20th 5 mo. 1759; married (26th, 9 mo. 1718) Ann Tebbets. His second wife (29th, 10 mo. 1737) was Kezia Folger, widow of Jethro Gardner, daughter of Peter Folger, and his third, Elizabeth Coffin, (28th, 8 mo. 1750) daughter of William and Susanna Stretton, widow of Daniel Coffin.
- iii **Priscilla**, born 25th 8 mo. 1696; died 1 mo. 1728; married (6th 10 mo. 1717) Shubael Coffin, son of Stephen Jr. and Experience.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 27th 9 mo. 1698; died 9th 2 mo. 1770; married (12th 9 mo. 1717) George Hussey, son of Stephen and Martha.
- v **Hephzibah**, born 8th 9 mo. 1700; died 31st 12 mo. 1764; married (8th 9 mo. 1723) Silvanus Hussey son of Stephen and Martha.
- vi **Abigail**, born 28th, 6 mo. 1704; died 31st, 12 mo. 1777; married—first (18th 9 mo. 1723) Thomas Howes, son of Thomas and Abigail; second (7th, 7 mo. 1741) John Way.
- vii **Benjamin**, born 16th 7 mo. 1707; died 3 mo 1731, lost at sea; married (31st 10 mo. 1730) Dinah Coffin daughter of Experience (widow). He died 16th 2 mo. 1731.
- viii **Tristram**, born 18th 6 mo. 1709; died 29th 11 mo. 1789; married (10th 12 mo. 1729) Deborah Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam.
- ix **Ruth**, born 24th 12 mo. 1714-15; died 5th 10 mo. 1772; married (3d 12 mo. 1731-2) John Russell, son of Daniel and Deborah.
- x **Anna**, born 12th 9 mo. 1716; died 18th 12 mo. 1785; married (10th 11 mo. 1733-4) Peter Barnard, son of Nathaniel and Judith.

JETHRO [3] (Nathaniel [2], Edward [1])

born December 14, 1671; died August 12, 1770; is said to have attained the greatest age of anyone who ever lived on Nantucket;* married (December 6, 1694) Dorcas Gayer, daughter of William. She died 11th, 10 mo. 1747. Their children were—

- i **Sarah**, born 20th, 10 mo. 1697; died 27th, 10 mo. 1789; married (27th 9 mo. 1712) Jabez Macy, son of John and Deborah.

*He was for many years (30) a member of the Board of Selectmen.

- ii **William**, born 22d 5 mo. 1699; died 17th 10 mo. 1760; married first (9th 10 mo. 1720) Anna Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith; second (28th 8 mo. 1751) Lydia Coleman, daughter of Jeremiah and Sarah.
- iii **Eunice**, born 4th 12 mo. 1701-2; died 9th 10 mo. 1745; married (2d 2 mo. 1724) Daniel Pinkham, son of Richard.
- iv **Lydia**, born 15th 7 mo. 1704; died 2d 4 mo. 1751; married (31st 1 mo. 1722) Benjamin Barney of Rhode Island.
- v **Thomas**, born 12th, 10 mo. 1706; died 5th, 7 mo. 1777; married (2d, 10 mo. 1726) Rachel Allen, daughter of Edward and Ann.
- vi **Dorcas**, born 13th, 2 mo. 1710; died 10 mo. 1710.
- vii **Jemima**, born 2d 5 mo. 1712; removed from the Island 27th 4 mo. 1761; married (31st 8 mo. 1728) Silvanus Allen, son of Edward and Ann.
- viii **Mary**, born 8th 7 mo. 1715; died 24th 10 mo. 1780; married (26th, 12 mo. 1731) Richard Mitchell, son of Richard and Elizabeth.

PAUL [4] (Nathaniel [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1])
 born 29th 8 mo. 1694; died 20th 5 mo. 1759; married Ann Tebbets; she died 29th 7 mo. 1736. Their children were—

- i **Edward**, born 28th 11 mo. 1719; died 11th 12 mo. 1798; married (7th 11 mo. 1742) Damaris Worth, daughter of William and Mary. He married again (31st 1 mo. 1782) Deborah Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah.
- ii **Hephzibah**, born 22d 7 mo. 1721; removed from the Island 25th 5 mo. 1743; married (26th 12 mo. 1738-39) Jonathan Hussey, son of Silvanus and Abiel.
- iii **Joseph**, born 26th 6 mo.* 1723; died 24th 10 mo. 1760; married (4th 8 mo. 1744) Ruth Macy, daughter of Richard and Deborah.
- iv **John**, born 16th 2 mo. 1725; lost at sea 1755; married Abigail Calef, widow of Peter and daughter of Nathaniel Woodbury.
- v **Samuel**, born 15th 1 mo. 1727; removed from Island 19th 3 mo. 1795; married (1st 12 mo. 1749) Abigail Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Lydia.

*There are occasionally slight discrepancies between the Records of the Friends' Society and those of the Town Clerk. The Town Records give Joseph's birth-place as 26th, 6 mo. 1723 and the Friends Records give the 5 mo.

- vi **Abigail**, born 10th 12 mo. 1728; married William Hussey, son of Silvanus and Abiel.
- vii **Elizabeth**, born 26th 12 mo. 1730-31; married (29th 9 mo. 1750) Tristram Coffin, son of Tristram and Mary.
- viii **Mary**, born 2d 8 mo. 1734; removed from the Island 27th 2 mo. 1800; married (8th 11 mo. 1753) Richard Coffin, son of Richard and Ruth.* She died in 1807.
- ix **Anna**, born 22d 7 mo. 1736; removed from the Island 29th, 10 mo. 1770; married first, Reuben Pinkham son of Theophilus; second Thomas Smith.

Paul Starbuck was married three times; the above named children are all by the first wife; there were no children by the second wife; by the third wife, Elizabeth who died 6th, 1 mo. 1780, he had—

- x **Dinah**, born 24th, 8 mo. 1752; died 29th, 11 mo. 1788; married (11th, 7 mo. 1776) William Jenkins, son of Peter and Abigail.

BENJAMIN [4] (**Nathaniel** [3] **Nathaniel** [2] **Edward** [1])
born 16th, 7 mo. 1707; was lost at sea 3 mo. 1731; married (31st, 10 mo. 1730) Dinah Coffin, who removed from the Island 30th, 5 mo. 1785. They had but one child—

- i **Benjamin**, born 5th, 10 mo. 1731; he removed from the Island 27th, 2 mo. 1775. Married Hepsabeth Bunker, daughter of Stephen; second Sarah Gardner, widow of Samuel and daughter of Thomas Jenkins.
- ii **Thaddeus**, married Mary Brock, daughter of William and Elizabeth.

TRISTRAM [4] (**Nathaniel** [3] **Nathaniel** [2] **Edward** [1])
born 18th, 6 mo. 1709; died 29th, 11 mo. 1789; married (10th, 12 mo. 1729) Deborah Coffin, daughter of Samuel and Miriam, who died 9th, 6 mo. 1789. Their children were—

- i **Christopher**, born 21st, 1 mo. 1731; died 29th, 9 mo. 1815; married (12th 10 mo. 1751) Mary Barnard, daughter of Benjamin and Judith.

*The record states that she also married Isaac Kelley.

- ii **Zaccheus**, born 1st, 2 mo. 1733; died 9th, 1 mo. 1766; did not marry.
- iii **Mary**, born 30th, 4 mo. 1735; removed from the Island 3 mo. *1781; married first, (24th, 2 mo. 1755) Thomas Macy, son of Joseph and Hannah; second, (26th, 2 mo. 1767) Abishai Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.*
- iv **Lydia**, born 30th, 4 mo. 1735; died 30th, 1 mo. 1809, married—first, Joseph Clasby, son of William and Abiel; second, Eliphalet Gardner, son of James and Susanna.
- v **Deborah**, born 19th, 1 mo. 1739; died 13th, 10 mo. 1781; married (10th, 11 mo. 1757) Job Coggeshall, son of Caleb and Mercy.†

WILLIAM [4] (Jethro [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1])

born 22d, 5 mo. 1699; died 17th, 10 mo. 1760; married—first (9th, 10 mo. 1720) Anna Folger, daughter of Peter and Judith; who died 6th, 9 mo. 1748; second, (28th, 8 mo. 1751) Lydia Coleman, daughter of Jeremiah and Sarah. Their children were—

By Anna—

- i **Nathaniel**, born 16th, 8 mo. 1722; lost at sea 1755.
- ii **Eunice**, born 7th, 6 mo. 1728; died 26th, 4 mo. 1750; married (3d, 11 mo. 1744) Stephen Barnard, son of Ebenezer and Mary.
- iii **Jethro**, born 29th, 1 mo. 1732; died 13th, 5 mo. 1806; married—first (27th, 2 mo. 1755) Anna Upham, daughter of Jonathan and Ruth. He married, second, (7th, 6 mo. 1770) Ann Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Hephzibah Hussey.
- iv **Judith**, born 10th, 8 mo. 1734; removed from the Island 29th, 9 mo. 1774; married (6th, 12 mo. 1753) Joseph Worth, son of Joseph and Lydia.
- v **Mary**, born 15th, 7 mo. 1738; removed from the Island 29th, 9 mo. 1774; married (8th, 12 mo. 1757) Joseph Macy, son of Joseph and Hannah.

By his second wife—

- vi **Anna**, born probably in 1752.

*Mary was married again (1st, 3 mo. 1781) to James Mitchell, son of Richard and Elizabeth.

†There was also another daughter who died at the age of 8 years.

THOMAS [4] (Jethro [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1])

born 12th, 10 mo. 1706; died 5th, 2 mo. 1777; married (2d, 10 mo. 1726) Rachel Allen, daughter of Edward and Ann; she died 31st, 5 mo. 1789. Their children were—

- i **Silvanus**, born 16th, 6 mo. 1727; died 9th, 5 mo. 1813; married (16th, 11 mo. 1745) Macy Howes, daughter of Thomas and Abigail.
- ii **William**, born 27th, 2 mo. 1732; died 3d, 6 mo. 1812; married (10th, 5 mo. 1753) Mary Folger, daughter of Daniel and Abigail.
- iii **Rachel**, born 20th, 4 mo. 1735; died 29th, 8 mo. 1775; married (7th, 2 mo. 1754) Paul Gardner, son of Solomon and Anna.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 13th, 4 mo. 1738; died 24th, 9 mo. 1821; married (13th, 1 mo. 1757) Walter Folger, son of Barzillai and Phebe.
- v **Thomas**, born 22d, 8 mo. 1742; died 13th, 12 mo. 1830; married (10th, 12 mo. 1761) Dinah Trot, daughter of Benjamin and Priscilla.
- vi **Gayer**, born 9th, 9 mo. 1744; removed from the Island 28th, 3 mo. 1774; married Rachel Folger, daughter of Peter and Christian.
- vii **Hezekiah**, born 10th, 2 mo. 1749; removed from the Island 29th, 8 mo. 1785. He married—first, Mary Thurston of Rhode Island; second, Judith Macy. He had no children.

EDWARD [5] (Paul [4] Nathaniel [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1])

born 28th, 11 mo. 1719; died 11th, 12 mo. 1798; married (7th, 11 mo. 1742) Damaris Worth, daughter of William and Mary; she died 1st, 10 mo. 1780. Their children were—

- i **Paul**, born ———; married (4th, 2 mo. 1768) Mary Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Eunice; removed from the Island 23d, 9 mo. 1773.
- ii **William**, born 29th, 12 mo. 1748; removed from the Island 26th, 10 mo. 1772; married in North Carolina.
- iii **Matthew**, born 1 mo. 1750;* removed from the Island 27th, 4 mo. 1795; married—first, (10th, 12 mo. 1772) Rose Barnard, daughter of Shubael and Susanna; second, (28th, 11 mo. 1776) Lydia Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Jemima; third, (9th, 10 mo. 1806) Anna Swain, daughter of Richard and

*Matthew was one of Paul Jones's men on the Bon Homme Richard.

Anna; fourth, Anna Macy, daughter of Enoch and Anna. Matthew's family formed a part of the large emigration from Nantucket to North Carolina from 1770 to 1790, which eventually extended through East Tennessee to the middle West.

iv **Mary**, born 18th, 8 mo. 1756; married (November 16, 1776) John Cartwright, son of Hezekiah and Abigail.

v **Edward**, born 2d, 11 mo. 1759; married (2d, 9 mo. 1784) Lydia Macy, daughter of Francis and Judith.

JOSEPH [5] (Paul [4] Nathaniel [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1]) born 26th, 5 mo. 1723; died 24th, 10 mo. 1760; married (4th 8 mo. 1744) Ruth Macy, daughter of Richard and Deborah, who died 8th, 9 mo. 1760. Their children were—

i **Nathaniel**, born 20th, 6 mo. 1745; married (31st, 10 mo. 1765) Eunice Barnard, daughter of Peter and Anna.*

ii **Hephzibah**, born 6th, 7 mo. 1749; removed from the Island 25th, 4 mo. 1771; married (29th, 1 mo. 1767) Libni Coffin, son of William and Priscilla.

iii **Phebe**, born 18th, 4 mo. 1752; removed from the Island 7th, 5 mo. 1772; married (1st, 12 mo. 1768) Elihu Bunker, son of Samuel and Priscilla.

iv **Joseph**, born ——— 1755; died ——— 1756.

SAMUEL [5] (Paul [4] Nathaniel [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1]) born 15th, 1 mo. 1727; married (1st, 12 mo. 1749) Abigail Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Lydia. He removed with his family to Milford Haven, Wales, in 1795. Their children were—

i **Daniel**, born 20th, 8 mo. 1751; married (7th, 9 mo. 1773) Alice Vaughan of Rhode Island.

ii **Samuel**, born 29th, 9 mo. 1762; married (27th, 11 mo. 1783) Lucretia Folger, daughter of Timothy and Abiel.†

*Nathaniel also married, second Sally Fullington; third Patience Miller, widow of Elihu and daughter of Robert Coffin.

†Samuel Jr. removed to Milford Haven (Wales) after the Revolutionary War and there established a whale fishery which was for a while very successful.

CHRISTOPHER [5] (Tristram [4] Nathaniel [3] Nathaniel [2]
Edward [1])

born 21st, 1 mo. 1731; died 29th, 9 mo. 1815; married (12th, 10 mo. 1751) Mary Barnard, daughter of Benjamin and Judith, who was born 18th, 8 mo. 1729 and died 6th, 4 mo. 1817. Their children were—

- i **Miriam**, born 19th, 11 mo. 1752; died 7th, 11 mo. 1817; did not marry.
- ii **Benjamin**, born 16th, 2 mo. 1755; died 27th, 7 mo. 1772.
- iii **Zaccheus**, born 29th, 6 mo. 1757; married (October 7, 1780) Sarah Wendell, daughter of John and Sarah.*
- iv **Christopher**, born 25th, 1 mo. 1760; died 15th, 5 mo. 1762.
- v **John**, born 25th, 10 mo. 1761; died 7 mo. 1781.†
- vi **Mary**, born 3d, 2 mo. 1764; died 6th, 11 mo. 1765.
- vii **Tristram**, born 13th, 5 mo. 1767; married (2d, 12 mo. 1790) Miriam Joy, daughter of David and Phebe.
- viii **Judith**, born 15th, 10 mo. 1769; married (25th, 2 mo. 1790) Zaccheus Macy, son of Richard and Miriam.
- ix **Nathaniel**, born 6th, 3 mo. 1772; did not marry; died 26th, 11 mo. 1854.

JETHRO [5] (William [4] Jethro [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1])
born 29th, 1 mo. 1732; died 13th, 5 mo. 1806; married—first (27th, 2 mo. 1755) Anna Upham, daughter of Jonathan and Ruth, who died 28th, 3 mo. 1769; second, (7th, 6 mo. 1770) Ann Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Hephzibah Hussey, who died 28th, 5 mo. 1814. Their children were—

- i **Nathaniel**, died in infancy.
- ii **Jethro**, born 25th, 9 mo. 1757; married (28th, 12 mo. 1780) Elizabeth Starbuck, daughter of William and Mary.
- iii **William**, died in infancy.
- iv **Anna**, born 15th, 3 mo. 1764; died 11th, 9 mo. 1764.
- v **Obed**, born 23d, 7 mo. 1766; died 13th, 4 mo. 1773.
- vi **William**, born 20th, 3 mo. 1769; died 18th, 9 mo. 1769.

By Ann, his second wife—

- vii **Anna**, born 21st, 1 mo. 1773; married (May 2, 1793) Daniel Hussey, son of William and Sarah.

*Zaccheus and Sarah had no children.

†Was taken prisoner of war by the British while on his way to Turk's Island during the Revolution for a cargo of salt, carried to Portsmouth, England, where he died of small pox in Fortune jail. Zaccheus, Barnabas Starbuck and John Yeomans were also taken prisoners of war in another vessel and all three died in Halifax jail.

viii **Paul**, born 19th, 11 mo. 1776; married, in England, Ann Patten.

ix **Jonathan**, born 11th, 1 mo. 1781; died 6 mo. 1783.

x **Phebe**, born 8th, 2 mo. 1783; married (May 8, 1806) Isaac Gardner, son of Francis and Anna.

SILVANUS [5] (Thomas [4] Jethro [3] Nathaniel [2]
Edward [1])

born 16th, 6 mo. 1727; died 9th, 5 mo. 1813; married (16th, 11 mo. 1745) Mary Howes, daughter of Thomas and Abigail, who died 19th, 9 mo. 1826. He was prominent on the Board of Selectmen during the period of the Revolution and for many years was clerk of the Proprietors of Common and Undivided Lands. Their children were—

i **Howes**, born 1st, 7 mo. 1746; died 25th, 8 mo. 1848.

ii **Barnabas**, born 14th 5 mo. 1748; died 11th, 12 mo. 1781.

iii **William**, born 6th, 9 mo. 1750; died 24th, 12 mo. 1752.

iv **Abigail**, born 5th, 3 mo. 1753; died 15th, 4 mo. 1787; married (November 1, 1771) David Barnard, son of Peter and Anna.

v **Lydia**, born 7th, 12 mo. 1755; married (October 7, 1775) Elisha Barnard, son of Peter and Anna.

vi **Hephzibah**, born 3d, 7 mo. 1758; removed from the Island 2d, 11 mo. 1809; married (July 11, 1789) David Barnard.

vii **David**, born 10th, 10 mo. 1760; married (28th, 9 mo. 1786) Phebe Cartwright, daughter of James and Love. He is said to have been the first whalerman to bring a cargo of sperm oil from the Pacific Ocean.* He was then sailing from Dunkirk, France.

viii **Uriah**, born 18th, 1 mo. 1765; removed from the Island 3d, 10 mo. 1799; married (28th, 12 mo. 1786) Lydia Macy, daughter of Jabez and Rachel.

ix **Mary**, born 26th, 11 mo. 1767; removed from the Island 31st, 5 mo. 1832.

x **Moses** born 19th, 2 mo. 1770.

xi **Matilda**, born 16th, 10 mo. 1772; died in Ohio 2d, 9 mo. 1829.

WILLIAM [5] (Thomas [4] Jethro [3] Nathaniel [2] Edward [1])
born 27th, 2 mo. 1732; died 3d, 6 mo. 1812; married (10th, 5 mo.

*F. C. Sanford's M. S.

1753) Mary Folger, daughter of Daniel and Abigail. . Their children were—

- i **Kezia**, born 1st, 4 mo. 1754; removed from the Island 23d, 6 mo. 1787; married (29th, 9 mo. 1785) Ebenezer Jenkins, son of Peter and Abigail.
- ii **William**, born 24th, 6 mo. 1756; died 1 mo. 1779.
- iii **Phebe**, born 16th, 6 mo. 1758; died 22d, 9 mo. 1759.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 7th, 8 mo. 1760; died 28th, 2 mo. 1787; married (28th, 12 mo. 1780) Jethro Starbuck, son of Jethro and Anna.
- v **Judith**, born 10th, 9 mo. 1762; married (29th, 11 mo. 1781) Eliakim Coffin, son of Benjamin and Rebecca.
- vi **Obed**, born 3d, 11 mo. 1764; died 18th, 5 mo. 1786.
- vii **Laban**,* born 25th, 11 mo. 1766; died 1st, 2 mo. 1787.
- viii **Kimbal**, born 22d, 1 mo. 1771; married (7th, 1 mo. 1796) Mary, widow of _____ and daughter of Seth and Susanna Coffin.
- ix **Clarinda**, born 3d, 10 mo. 1773; removed from the Island 28th, 9 mo. 1797.
- x **Lydia**, born 28th, 10 mo. 1777.
- xi **Elisha**, born 3d, 2 mo. 1780; married (1801) Betsey Coffin.

*A child was born 14th, 7 mo. 1769 who lived less than a day.

SWAIN

According to Savage, Richard Swain came to America in the *Truelove* in 1635, being then about thirty-four years old, and settled in Rowley. He had in April "perhaps his wife Elizabeth in the *Planter*, his sons William and Francis in the *Rebecca*, and his daughter Elizabeth in the *Susan* and *Ellen*, under care of various friends." He was one of the original proprietors of the Island.

Mr. Worth says of him* "He was not an educated man and his signatures are by mark. His house lot was on both sides of the cove formed by the north westerly extension of Hummock Pond. He never held any Town office, but performed labor for the Town in relation to sheep and cattle. He was married before coming to America and had four children by that marriage. The wife, Jane, had two children, John and Richard. The latter is said to have moved to New Jersey but he was administrator of his father's estate."

Richard Senior died April 14, 1682. His wife, Jean, died October 31, 1662, the first death on record in Nantucket.

 JOHN [2] (Richard [1])

was the only son of Richard who removed to Nantucket, and from him all Nantucket Swains are descended. Before coming to the Island he had married Mary Wyer, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah. Their children were—

- i Mary, born ——— probably before the family removed to Nantucket; married Joseph Nason.
- ii John, born September 1, 1664; married Experience Folger, daughter of Peter.
- iii Stephen, born November 21, 1666.
- iv Sarah, born July 13, 1670; married Joseph Norton.
- v Joseph, born July 17, 1673; married Marah Sibley of Salem.
- vi Elizabeth, born May 17, 1676; married Joshua Sevolle.
- vii Benjamin, born July 5, 1679; married (10th, 5 mo. 1705) Mary Taylor.
- viii Hannah, married Joseph Tallman.
- ix Patience, married Samuel Gardner, son of James (27th, 10 mo. 1713-14).

*Of the name *Patronymica Britannica* says "It is a Scandinavian personal name of great antiquity, introduced here under the Danish rule. Domesday shows us several persons (tenants in chief and otherwise) called Svain, Suain, Suanus, Suuen, Swen or Sueno, some of whom are specifically stated to have held lands under Edward the Confessor Suain of Essex, supposed by Morant to have been of Danish origin, was ancestor of the famous Henry de Essex, temp Henry II."

JOHN [3] (John [2] Richard [1])

born September 1, 1664; married Experience Folger, daughter of Peter. In his will, which was drawn June 22, 1738, and probated March 2, 1739, he names his wife, his daughters, (i) **Ruth Upham**, wife of Jonathan, (ii) **Katherine Wyer**, and (iii) **Hannah Gardner**, children of deceased daughter (iv) **Priscilla Bunker**, wife of Daniel, (married November 14, 1717) and sons (v) **William**, (vi) **John**, (vii) **Eliakim**, (viii) **Stephen** and (ix) **George**.

Katherine and Robert Wyer were married July 5, 1720.

Hannah and Thomas Gardner were married November 30, 1724.

Stephen probably married (November 24, 1723) Eleanor Ellis.

John married (6th, 1 mo. 1711-12) Mary Swett.

JOSEPH [3] (John [2] Richard [1])

born July 17, 1673: married Marah Sibley, of Salem. Their children were——

- i **Peter**, born June 22, 1697; married (January 10, 1719) Elizabeth Ellis.
- ii **Richard**, born August 16, 1698; married (October 12, 1722) Elizabeth Gardner.
- iii **Caleb**, born probably about 1700; married (7th 12 mo. 1726-7) Margaret Paddack, daughter of Joseph and Sarah.

BENJAMIN [3] (John [2] Richard [1])

born July 5, 1679; married (10th, 5 mo. 1705) Mary Taylor. His will was probated September 2, 1757. Their children were——

- i **Jethro**, married (July 24, 1734) Dorcas Rider.
- ii **Peleg**, married (May 7, 1730) Mary Hussey.
- iii **Patience**, married (September 10, 1738) Jonathan Russell.
- iv **Christopher**.
- v **Nathaniel** had died prior to 1757 leaving Lydia (16) and Abigail (18); married (February 27, 1738-39) Jane Smith.

WILLIAM [4] (John [3] John [2] Richard [1])

born October 2, 1688; married (29th, 1 mo. 1727) Jemima Coffin, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth. He died 1st, 3 mo. 1770; she died 6th, 4 mo. 1766. Their children were——

- i **Hephzibah**, born 18th, 10 mo. 1727; died 27th 5 mo. 1785; married (3d, 11 mo. 1744) Benjamin Pinkham, son of Shubael and Abigail.
- ii **William**, born 21st, 1 mo. 1729-30; married (29th, 10 mo. 1767) (widow) Mary Gardner, daughter of Philip and Mehitable Pollard.
- iii **John**, probably born in 1731; married, probably, (January 19, 1750) Lydia Bunker.

JOHN [4] (John [3] John [2] Richard [1])

By his will, which was drawn 4th. 7 mo. 1736, and probated July 2, 1744 he left a wife Mary (Swett daughter of Moses) four sons and six daughters:

- i **Elijah**, who married (July 23, 1735) Susanna Cathcart.
- ii **Seth**, married (8th 9 mo. 1750) Abigail Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth.
- iii **Francis**, married (31st, 11 mo. 1736-7) Mary Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann.
- iv **Tristram**, married—first (6th 8 mo. 1743) Phebe Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth; second (16th 10 mo. 1755) Anna (Macy) Worth daughter of Joseph and Lydia Worth.
- v **Christian**, married first (April 23 1731) Peter Folger son of Nathan and Sarah; second, (28th 2 mo. 1770) Peter Jenkins son of Matthew and Mary.
- vi **Ruth**, probably married (March 9, 1737-8) William Russell.
- vii **Priscilla**, married (12th 11 mo. 1743) Hezekiah Gardner son of Jethro and Kezia.
- viii **Anna**, married (1st 12 mo. 1768) Jethro Folger, son of Jethro and Mary.
- ix **Eunice**, married (26th 2 mo. 1756) William Coleman, son of Elihu and Jemima.
- x **Jemima**, married (February 6, 1752) James Coffin, son of Jonathan and Hepzabeth.

At the time of the death of the father the five last named daughters were minors. The widow subsequently married (31st 8 mo. 1748) Samuel Gardner, son of James and Mary.

ELIAKIM [4] (John [3] John [2] Richard [1])

married first (April 18, 1717) Elizabeth Arthur, daughter of John;

second (October 27, 1742) Abigail Woodbury. Their children were—

- i Charles, born April 2, 1719; married (November 6, 1740) Elizabeth Coffin, daughter of Nathan and Lydia.
- ii Zaccheus, born March 18, 1721.
- iii Priscilla, born November 9, 1723; married (February 22, 1749) Barnabas Long.
- iv Hannah, born June 10, 1726.*
- v Rachel, born May 12, 1729; married (January 3, 1750) John Ramsdell.
- vi Lydia, born February 9, 1731-2; probably married (December 13, 1750) Reuben Coleman.
- vii Timothy, born October 16, 1734; probably married (October 27, 1774) Dinah Gardner.

By Abigail, his second wife—

- viii Hannah, born June 6, 1743.

STEPHEN [4] (John [3] John [2] Richard [1])
married (November 24, 1723) Eleanor Ellis. The record shows but one child—

- i Reuben, who married (30th 8 mo. 1756) Hannah Macy, daughter of Zaccheus and Hephzibah.

GEORGE [4] (John [3] John [2] Richard [1])
married (5th 12 mo. 1729) Love Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann. He died 8th 12 mo. 1797; she died 28th 7 mo. 1792. Their children were—

- i Daniel, born 1st 9 mo. 1731;†
- ii Phebe, born 12th, 1 mo. 1734; died 8th, 1 mo. 1794;
married (25th 2 mo. 1754) Stephen Barnard, son of Ebenezer and Mary.

*Hannah doubtless died young.

†There seems to be some discrepancy between the Friends Records from which the accompanying births are copied and the Town Records. The latter give the following birthdates; Daniel 1st, 7 mo. 1731; Phebe 12th 8 mo. 1733; Love 16th 8 mo. 1739; George 23d 7 mo. 1744.

- iii **Anna**,* born 16th 10 mo. 1739; died 1st 3 mo. 1741.
- iv **Love**,* born 16th 10 mo. 1739; married (8th 2 mo. 1759) Timothy Barnard, son of Timothy and Mary; removed from the Island 23d. 9 mo. 1773.
- v **George**, born 25th 9 mo. 1744; died 9 mo. 1766.

RICHARD [4] (Joseph [3], John [2], Richard [1])
 born August 16, 1698; married (October 12, 1722) Elizabeth Gardner. Their children were—

- i **Anna**, married (23d, 12 mo. 1741) Thomas Bunker, son of Benjamin and Deborah.
- ii **Joseph**, married (2d. 11 mo. 1745) Elizabeth Paddock, daughter of Daniel and Susanna.
- iii **Jonathan**, married—first (3d 1 mo. 1747) Hephzibah Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary; second (4th, 10 mo. 1753) Margaret Folger, daughter of Eleazer and Mary.
- iv **David**, married (5th 10 mo. 1751) Martha Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth.
- v **Richard**, married (8th 3 mo. 1753) Anna Gardner, daughter of Robert and Jedidah.
- vi **Lydia**, married (28th 2 mo. 1758) Robert Hussey, son of John and Jedidah.
- vii **Elizabeth**, married (8th 11 mo. 1759) Stephen Hussey, son of John and Jedidah.
- viii **Mary**, married (3d, 2 mo. 1763) Joseph Mitchell, son of Richard and Mary.
- ix **Hephzibah**, married (7th 1 mo. 1762) Silas Paddack, son of Eliphalet and Naomi.

CALEB, [4] (Joseph [3] John [2] Richard [1])
 born ———; married (7th 12 mo. 1726-7) Margaret Paddock, daughter of Joseph and Sarah; he died 25th 7 mo. 1785; she died 26th 5 mo. 1789. Their children were:—

- i **Susanna**, born 16th, 1 mo. 1728; died 7th, 1 mo. 1800; probably did not marry.
- ii **Nathaniel**, born 1729 or 1730; removed from the Island 23d 9 mo. 1773; married (4th. 12 mo. 1755) Bethiah Macy, daughter of Joseph and Hannah.

*Twins.

- iii **Silvanus**, born 2d 4 mo. 1731; died 7th 6 mo. 1763; married (6th. 12 mo. 1753) Hannah Worth, daughter of William and Mary.
- iv **Abigail**, born 24th 3 mo. 1734; died 2d 11 mo. 1788; married (24th. 11 mo. 1755) Daniel Macy son of Jabez and Sarah.
- v **Mary**, born 1735; removed from the Island 31st 5 mo. 1779; married (8th 11 mo. 1764) Shubael Coffin, son of Zephaniah and Miriam.
- vi **Sarah**, born 1738; removed from the Island 29th 8 mo. 1785; married (31st 1 mo. 1760) Henry Macy, son of Joseph and Hannah.
- vii **Judith**, born 1741; removed from the Island 30th. 10 mo. 1775; married first (28th 1 mo. 1762) Christopher Barnard, son of Peter and Anna; second (9th 7 mo. 1772) Thomas Worth, son of Joseph and Lydia.
- viii **Margaret**, born 25th 8 mo. 1743; married (6th 12 mo. 1764) Nathaniel Barnard, son of Peter and Anna.
- ix **Anna**, born 19th 4 mo. 1746; died 20th 7 mo. 1802; married (28th. 6 mo. 1792) Prince Gardner, son of Robert and Jedidah.
- x **Deborah**, born probably 1748 or 1749; married Elisha Folger, son of Richard and Sarah.

PELEG [4] (Benjamin [3], John [2], Richard [1])

born ; married (May 7, 1730) Mary Hussey, daughter of Bachelor and Abigail. Their children were—

- i **Martha**, born September 20, 1730; married, probably. (September 26, 1751) John Baker.
- ii **Benjamin**, born December 5, 1733; probably married (October 6, 1757) Elizabeth Johnson.
- iii **Peleg**, born October 28, 1735; married (January 7, 1759) Rachel Chadwick.
- iv **Batchelor**, born October 2, 1738.
- v **Micajah**, born October 12, 1743; married (April 2, 1769) Eunice Bunker.
- vi **Paul**, born August 17, 1742.

REUBEN, [5] (Stephen [4] John [3] John [2] Richard [1])

born ; married, first (probably 1744) Elizabeth

; second (30th 8 mo. 1756) Hannah Macy, daughter of Zaccheus and Rephzibah. He removed with Hannah from the Island 5th 5 mo. 1796; Elizabeth died 11th 3 mo. 1755. Their children were:—

By Elizabeth—

- i **John**, born 3d 5 mo. 1745; married (2d 1 mo. 1766) Mary Gardner, daughter of Nathaniel and Ruth.
- ii **Howland**, born 16th 9 mo. 1747; died 12th 1 mo. 1772; married (7th 1 mo. 1768) Jemima Gardner, daughter of Stephen and Jemima.
- iii **Deborah**, born 21st 1 mo. 1749; married (29th 12 mo. 1768) Seth Coleman, son of Barnabas and Rachel.
- iv **Rebecca**, born 5th 5 mo. 1752; died 19th 12 mo. 1809;
- v **Elizabeth**, born 28th 1 mo. 1755; died 17th 6 mo. 1778; married (30th 8 mo. 1774) Matthew Barnard, son of Matthew and Mary.

By Hannah—

- vi **Hephzibah**, born 29th 5 mo. 1757;
- vii **Shubael**, born 27th 4 mo. 1764.
- viii **Margaret**, born 8th 7 mo. 1766.
- ix **Jemima**, born 2d 2 mo. 1766.
- x **Samuel**, born 26th 5 mo. 1771.
- xi **Franklin**, born 7th 3 mo. 1774.
- xii **Hannah**, born 27th 3 mo. 1778.
- xiii **Ruth**, born 28th 10 mo. 1781.

DANIEL [5] (George [4], John [3], John [2], Richard [1])
born 1st, 9 mo. 1729; married (January 31, 1745) Elizabeth Wyer.
Their children were—

- i **Simeon**, born September 17, 1745.
- ii **William**, born February 14, 1747; married (December 30, 1773) Eunice Barnard.
- iii **Jedidah**, born December 11, 1749.
- iv **Henry**, born October 15, 1750.

SETH [5] (John [4] John [3] John [2] Richard [1])
was born ; died 6 mo. 1757; married (8th. 9 mo.

1750) Abigail Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth. Their children were—

- i Andrew, born 1st 2 mo. 1754.
- ii Matthew born 24th 3 mo. 1756.

FRANCIS [5] (John [4] John [3] John [2] Richard [1]) was born ; married (31st 11 mo. 1736-7) Mary Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann. He died probably in December 1783, and his will was probated January 2. 1784. The will was drawn up August 13. 1783 and is noteworthy as reading the "Seventh Year of American Independence." His wife died 26th 4 mo. 1775. Their children were—

- i Deborah, born 30th. 3 mo. 1739;* died 16th 7 mo 1771; married (3d 3 mo. 1757) Thomas Worth, son of Joseph and Lydia.
- ii Ruth, born 22d 8 mo. 1741; married (6th. 12 mo. 1759) Reuben Russell, son of John and Ruth.
- iii Francis, born 10th 11 mo. 1745; married (29th 1 mo. 1767) Lydia Barker, daughter of Robert and Jedidah.
- iv Barnabas, born 1st 6 mo. 1749;
- v Barzillai, born 19th 3 mo. 1752; died 25th 12 mo. 1777; married (30th 8 mo. 1774) Mary Hussey daughter of Batchelor and Anna.
- vi Shubael, born 26th 6 mo. 1775; died in 1781 abroad.
- vii Mary, born 25th 11 mo. 1757:
- viii Seth, born 6th 11 mo. 1759; died 18th. 10 mo. 1760.

TRISTRAM [5] (John [4] John [3] John [2] Richard [1]) born ; married first (6th 8 mo. 1743) Phebe Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth, who died 9th 4 mo 1754; second (16th. 10 mo. 1755) Anna Macy widow of Abraham and daughter of Joseph Worth and Lydia. The children were:

By Phebe

- i Margaret, born 5th 6 mo. 1745; died 1780; married (1st 1 mo. 1767) Charles Jenkins, son of Thomas and Judith.

*Here is also a slight discrepancy from the Town Records which give the date of Deborah's birth as 30th 1 mo. 1739; that of Ruth as 22d, 6 mo. 1741; and that of Francis as 10th, 9 mo. 1745.

- ii **Tristram**, born 13th 12 mo. 1747; married (28th 12 mo. 1769) Rachel Bunker daughter of Samuel and Priscilla.
- iii **Abishai**, born 5th 2 mo. 1750; died 7 mo. 1780; married first (1st. 3 mo. 1770) Lydia Barnard, daughter of Shubael and Susanna, second (4th 8 mo. 1774) Susanna Coffin, daughter of Joseph and Eunice.
- iv **Lydia**, born 13th 6 mo. 1752; married (7th 2 mo. 1771 Benjamin Barnard, son of Benjamin and Judith.

By Anna

- v **Phebe** born 31st 7 mo. 1760; married (5th 9 mo. 1776) Abishai Barnard, son of Abishai and Hannah.
- vi **Seth**, born 3d 12 mo. 1761; died 10 mo. 1780.

NATHANIEL [5] (**Caleb** [4] **Joseph** [3] **John** [2] **Richard** [1]) born in 1729 or 1730; married (24th, 11 mo. 1755) Bethiah Macy, daughter of Joseph and Hannah. Their children were. [i] **Joseph**, [ii] **Elihu**, [iii] **Silvanus**, [iv] **Caleb**, [v] **Thomas**, [vi] **Lydia**. The entire family removed from the Island 23 d 9 mo. 1773.

SILVANUS [5] (**Caleb** [4], **Joseph** [3], **John** [2], **Richard** [1]) born 2d 4 mo. 1731; married (6th 12 mo. 1753) Hannah Worth, daughter of William and Mary. He died 7th 6 mo. 1763; she died 30th 7 mo. 1820. Their children were—

- i **Silvanus**, born 3d 9 mo. 1754; died 10th 10 mo. 1754.
- ii **Abial**, born 29th 9 mo. 1755; died 11th 1 mo. 1828.
- iii **Miriam**, born 8th 5 mo. 1757; married (27th 2 mo. 1777) Abishai Paddock, son of Jonathan and Kejiah.
- iv **Hannah**, born 22d 5 mo. 1759; removed from the Island 21st 5 mo. 1772.
- v **Judith**, born 23d 1 mo. 1762; died 6th 4 mo. 1841.

JOSEPH [5] (**Richard** [4], **Joseph** [3], **John** [2], **Richard** [1]) married (2d 11 mo. 1745) Elizabeth Paddock, daughter of Daniel and Susanna. He died 8 mo. 1767. Their children were—

- i **Anna**, born 12 9 mo. 1746; died 14th 6 mo. 1747.
- ii **Joseph**, born 27th 6 mo. 1752; died 15th 12 mo. 1821; married (6th 1 mo. 1774) Phebe Barney, daughter of Benjamin and Huldah.
- iii **Elizabeth**, born 27th 1 mo. 1758; died 16th 7 mo. 1759.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 8th 12 mo. 1761; married (30th 11 mo. 1780) Obed Coleman, son of Barnabas and Rachel.
- v **Eunice**, born 6th 4 mo. 1765.

JONATHAN [5], (**Richard** [4], **Joseph** [3], **John** [2], **Richard** [1]) born —————; died 23d 8 mo. 1803; married first (3d 1 mo. 1747) Hephzibah Folger, daughter of Jethro and Mary; second (4th 10 mo. 1753) Margaret Folger, daughter of Eleazer and Mary. Hephzibah died 18th 2 mo. 1750; Margaret died 2d 2 mo. 1822. Their children were—

By Hephzibah—

- i **Paul** born 17th 10 mo. 1748; probably married (March 28, 1771) Susanna Chase.

By Margaret—

- ii **Richard**, born 26th 7 mo. 1754; died 30th 10 mo. 1766.
- iii **Albertus**, born 3d 1 mo. 1756; removed from the Island 27th 6 mo. 1785; married (March 15, 1776) Lydia Barnard.
- iv **Hephzibah**, born 6th 9 mo. 1757; died 8th 11 mo. 1759.*
- v **Jonathan**, born 22d 5 mo. 1759; died 8th 10 mo. 1760.*
- vi **Ruel**, born 9th 3 mo. 1761; died 20th 12 mo. 1762.
- vii **Mary**, born 20th 3 mo. 1763; died 24th 6 mo. 1784.
- viii **Gideon**, born 14th 3 mo. 1765; died 27th 10 mo., 1782, lost at sea.
- ix **Jonathan**, born 25th 4 mo. 1769; married (31st 3 mo. 1791) Rachel Fish, daughter of Stephen and Ruth.
- x **Richard**, born 1st 12 mo. 1771; died 7th 6 mo. 1802.
- xi **Hezekiah**, born 28th 2 mo. 1774; removed from the Island 1st 5 mo. 1800.
- xii **Frederick**, born 26th 7 mo. 1778; removed from the Island 2d 5 mo. 1805; married (9th 4 mo. 1801) Ann Coffin, daughter of Jonathan and Abigail.

DAVID [5] (**Richard** [4], **Joseph** [3], **John** [2], **Richard** [1]) was born —————; he married (5th 10 mo. 1751) Martha

*The Town Records give the date of Hephzibah's death as March 11 and Jonathan's as November 8.

Hussey, daughter of George and Elizabeth. He died 14th 2 mo. 1782; she removed from the Island 3d 12 mo. 1795. Their children were—

- i **Thaddeus**, born 25th 10 mo. 1752; married (7th 11 mo. 1776) Ruth Hussey, daughter of William and Abigail.
- ii **Merab**, born 7th 10 mo. 1755; died 3d 2 mo. 1842; married (5th 1 mo. 1775) Abishai Bunker, son of Abishai and Dinah.
- iii **Thomas**, born 7th 11 mo. 1757; died 9 mo. 1759.
- iv **Lydia**, born 6th 2 mo. 1760; married (3d 2 mo. 1780) David Hussey, son of Nathaniel and Judith.
- v **Valentine**, born 17 9 mo. 1762; married (28th 9 mo. 1786) Mary Barnard, daughter of Shubael and Ruth.
- vi **Phebe**, born 22d 8 mo. 1765; married (29th 1 mo. 1784) Stephen Macy, son of Stephen and Mercy.
- vii **Elizabeth**, born 10th, 10 mo. 1767.
- viii **Gilbert**, born 20th 5 mo. 1770.
- ix **David**, born 28th 7 mo. 1772; died 11 mo. 1775 (?).
- x **Josiah**, born 7th 10 mo. 1774; died 4 mo. 1775.
- xi **David**, born 24th 6 mo. 1776; died 25th 4 mo. 1795; married (8th 1 mo. 1795) Margaret Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Margaret.

RICHARD [5] (Richard, [4] Joseph, [3] John, [2] Richard [1])
 born ; married (8th 3 mo. 1753) Anna Gardner,
 daughter of Robert and Jedidah. Their children were—

- i **Hephzibah**, born 3d 7 mo. 1754; married (6th 3 mo. 1799) Edward Freeman, son of Edward and Hannah.
- ii **Elizabeth**, born 9th 9 mo. 1756.
- iii **Gilbert**, born 9th 4 mo. 1759; died 27th 4 mo. 1762.
- iv **Anna**, born 25th 6 mo. 1762; married (9th 10 mo. 1806) Matthew Starbuck, son of Edward and Damaris.
- v **Matilda**, born 25th 1 mo. 1765; died 27th 10 mo. 1786.
- vi **Richard Gardner**, born 5th 8 mo. 1774; married (4th 4 mo. 1799) Judith Chase, daughter of Francis and Naomi.

JOHN* (England)

was born ; married Patience Skiffe, daughter
 of Nathan and Sarah probably in 1705. Their children were—

*This John was born in England and is known in the Records as "John Swain, England." The exceeding duplication in given names seems quite as puzzling in contemporary times as in later years as there are several instances of a special name to indicate some particular John or Thomas or William in the Town Records.

- i **Dinah**, born September 5, 1706; married (August 12, 1730) Hugh Cathcart.
- ii **Chapman**, born July 13, 1708; married (July 19, 1739) Sarah Meader.
- iii **Deborah**, born September 15, 1710; married Richard Chadwick.
- iv **Hannah**, born September 4, 1713; married ().
- v **Anne**, born June 29, 1716; married (November 9, 1742) Samuel Cartwright.
- vi **Oliver**, born June 9, 1720.

In his will John Swain "England," calls himself a weaver. He devises certain property to the "eldest son in succession in each branch forever."

CHAPMAN (John-England)

born July 13, 1708; married (July 19, 1739) Sarah Meader. Their children were—

- i **Patience**, born September 23, 1742.
- ii **Joseph**, born August 19, 1744.
- iii **John**, born February 2, 1747.
- iv **Zephaniah**, born February 2, 1750.
- v **Judith**, born April 14, 1753.
- vi **Ephraim**, born June 26, 1755.

WORTH

WILLIAM WORTH

was born in England about 1640. He came to Nantucket as a "Half Share" man in 1662 to pursue the occupation of a Sailor. He married (April 1, 1665) Sarah, the daughter of Thomas and Sarah Macy. They had but one child—a son, John. His wife died ————— 1701, and he married twice subsequently but had no other children. He died ————— 1724. He was quite active in Nantucket affairs having been five times chosen a Selectman, three times an Assistant Magistrate, four times Assessor, and for many years Clerk of the Court. The earliest Vital Records are in his hand writing and a large number of marriages were solemnized by him, the marriage service for many years being a civil and not a religious contract. The Worth homestead was in the No-Bottom Pond section.*

Patronymica Britannica says of the name that it is "a very usual termination for family names as Longworth, Ainsworth, Whitworth, Hepworth. It is possibly identical with the South German Worth. North German wuurt a plot of ground surrounded with water but elevated above it or secured with dykes or piles * * * The old expression in those days What is he worth? meant Has he land? If he had secured a Worth to himself he was called a worthy person."

JOHN [2] (William [1])

born May 19, 1666; married (September 22, 1684) Miriam daughter of Richard Gardner. His wife died about 1700, after which he removed to Marthas Vineyard. There he was twice married. By his first marriage he had one son and two daughters. The children by his first wife, with the exception of Nathaniel, all settled in Nantucket. They were—

- i Jonathan, born October 31, 1685; married (16th, 4 mo. 1707) Mary Hussey, daughter of Stephen.
- ii Nathaniel, born September 8, 1687; married at the Vineyard.
- iii Judith, born December 22, 1689; married John Macy, son of John.*
- iv Richard, born May 27, 1692; married (2d, 5 mo. 1729) Sarah Hoag, daughter of Joseph and Sarah.
- v William, born November 27, 1694; married Mary Butler, daughter of Thomas.

*H. B. Worth, Nantucket Lands and Land Owners.

vi **Joseph**, born probably 1696; married (September 8, 1720) Lydia Gorham, daughter of Shubael.

vii **Mary**, born probably in 1696; married (24th, 3 mo. 1722) Ebenezer Barnard.

JONATHAN [3] (John [2] William [1])

born October 31, 1685; married (16th 4 mo. 1707) Mary Hussey, daughter of Stephen. He died 26th 7 mo. 1719. Their children were

i **Miriam**, born 2d 1 mo. 1710; married (5th 10 mo. 1728) Jonathan Clark.

ii **John**, born 15th 2 mo. 1713; married (6th 12 mo. 1734-5) Mary Gardner, daughter Solomon and Anna.

iii **Christopher**, born 24th 9 mo. 1717; married (25th 10 mo. 1738) Dinah Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Ann.

iv **Ezekiel**,* born—3 mo. 1719;

RICHARD [3], (John [2] William [1])

born May 27, 1692; married (2d 5 mo. 1729) Sarah Hoag daughter of Joseph and Sarah.

Their children were—

i **Richard**, born 11th 2 mo. 1730; married (1st 2 mo. 1753) Anna Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah.

ii **Joseph**, born 30th 5 mo. 1731; died 2d 7 mo. 1732.

iii **Sarah**, born 23d 9 mo. 1732; removed from the Island.

iv **Francis**, born 21st 1 mo. 1735; married (5th 2 mo. 1756) Mary Gardner, daughter of Barnabas and Mary; removed from the Island 28th, 11 mo. 1771.†

v **Lyonel**, born 8th 2 mo. 1737; removed from the Island 26th 3 mo. 1759, returned, and again removed 30th 4 mo. 1801.

vi **Walter**, born 18th 10 mo. 1738; died 9th 7 mo 1739.

vii **Anna**, born 26th 6 mo. 1740; removed east.

viii **William**, born 5th 6 mo. 1742; removed east.

*The entry in the Town Records is "Ezekiel alias Jonathan."

†Their children were (i) Francis, born 9th 12 mo 1756 and (ii) Phebe, born 26th 1 mo. 1780. The family removed from the Island 28th 11 mo. 1771.

WILLIAM [3] (John [2] William [1])

born November 27. 1694; married (probably in 1717.) Mary Butler, daughter of Thomas. He died 16th 10 mo. 1780; she died 8 mo. 1756. Their children were:—

- i **Judith**, born 28th 6 mo. 1718; died 1 mo. 1739.
- ii **Jemima**, born 5th 1 mo. 1719-20 removed from the Island 28th, 9 mo. 1772; married (7th 8 mo. 1742) Stephen Gardner son of Solomon and Anna.
- iii **Sarah**, born 23d 3 mo. 1721; died 27th 4 mo. 1797.
- iv **Damaris**, born 2d 8 mo. 1722; died 1st 10 mo. 1780; married (7th 11 mo. 1742) Edward Starbuck, son of Paul and Ann.
- v **Jonah**, born 4th 10 mo. 1723;
- vi **Miriam**, born 19th 8 mo. 1725; died 7th 9 mo. 1816;
- vii **Hephzibah**, born 9th 9mo. 1726; removed from the Island 17th 10 mo. 1771; married (11th 8 mo. 1750) Jethro Macy, son of Jabez and Sarah.
- viii **Hannah**, born 15th 10 mo. 1728; died 30th 1 mo. 1820; married (6th 12 mo. 1753) Silvanus Swain, son of Caleb and Margaret.
- ix **Matthew**, born 26th 2 mo. 1730; married (4th 4 mo. 1765) Sophia Folger, daughter of Eleazer and Mary.
- x **Jedidah**, born 1731; died 1731.
- xi **Edmund**, born 1733; died 1733.

JOSEPH [3] (John [2] William [1])

born probably in 1696; married (September 8, 1720) Lydia Gorham. He died 14th 7 mo. 1790; she died 1st 3 mo. 1763. Their children were:—

- i **Anna**,* born 23d 5 mo. 1721; married first (8th 4 mo. 1738) Abraham Macy, son of Richard and Deborah. Second (16th 10 mo. 1755) Tristram Swain, son of John and Mary.
- ii **Abigail**,* born 23d 5 mo. 1721; died 24th 4 mo. 1788; married first (1st 4 mo. 1738) George Bunker, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth; second (9th, 12 mo. 1743-4) Benjamin Bunker, son of Jabez and Hannah.
- iii **Nathaniel**, born 4th 7 mo. 1723; died 20th 6 mo. 1806; married (20th 9 mo. 1759) Abigail Swain, widow of Seth Swain daughter of Richard and Ruth Coffin.
- iv **Reuben**, born 13th 7 mo. 1725; removed from the Island 3d 12 mo. 1795; married (30th 9 mo. 1749) Mary Allen, daughter of Silvanus and Jemima.

*Twins.

- v **Silvanus**, born 27th 6 mo. 1727; married (16th 9 mo. 1749) Rachel Allen daughter of Silvanus and Jemima.
- vi **Joseph**, born 29th 9 mo. 1729; removed from the Island 29th 9 mo. 1774; married (6th 12 mo. 1753) Judith Starbuck, daughter of William and Anna.
- vii **Lydia**, born 12th, 12 mo. 1731; died 17th, 7 mo. 1776; married (8th, 12 mo. 1749) Peleg Bunker, son of Jabez and Hannah.
- viii **Miriam**, born 22d 4 mo. 1734; died 15th, 11 mo. 1763; married (5th 10 mo. 1751) Jonathan Gardner, son of Barnabas and Mary.
- ix **Thomas**, born 1st 11 mo. 1736; removed from the Island 30th 10 mo. 1775; married first (3d 3 mo. 1757) Deborah Swain, daughter of Francis and Mary; second (9th 7 mo. 1772) Judith Barnard, widow of daughter of Caleb Swain and Margaret.
- x **Daniel**, born 10th 12 mo. 1739; removed from the Island 25th 4 mo. 1771; married (9th 2 mo. 1764) Eunice Hussey, daughter of Daniel and Sarah.*
- xi **William**, born 4th 1 mo. 1741; married (1763) intention published to Ruth Folger.
- xii **Shubael**, born 6th 5 mo. 1745; marriage intention with Bethiah Jenkins published January 14, 1769.

JOHN [4] (Jonathan [3] John [2] William [1])
 born 15th 2 mo. 1713; married (6th 12 mo. 1734-5) Mary Gardner. Their children were:—

- i **Stephen**, born 8th 8 mo. 1735; died in infancy.
- ii **Seth**, born 9th 8 mo. 1738; probably married (December 1763) Huldah Coleman.
- iii **Anna**, 5th 6 mo. 1741; married (7th 2 mo. 1760) Thomas Gardner, son of Thomas and Hannah.
- iv **Abigail**, born 13th 8 mo. 1743; married (3d 1 mo. 1765) Christopher Bunker, son of John and Mary.
- v **Jonathan**, born 25th 7 mo. 1745.
- vi **Mary**, born 4th 10 mo. 1747; removed from the Island 1780; married (28th 10 mo. 1768) Reuben Morton.
- vii **John**, born 6th 4 mo. 1750; married (probably) (September 5, 1773) Jemima Swain.
- viii **Eunice**, born 9th 7 mo. 1752.
- ix **Paul**, born 24th 11 mo. 1754; married (9th 9 mo. 1790) Phebe Barnard, daughter of Nathaniel and Abigail Macy.

*Chief Executive Officer Worth Bagley of the U. S. Torpedo Boat Winslow, who was the first U. S. naval officer to be killed in the Spanish War, was a descendant of Daniel Worth and Eunice Hussey, daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Gorham) Hussey, the family removing to North Carolina about the time of the Revolution.

x **Miriam**, born 19th, 3 mo. 1757.

xi **Asenath**, born 19th 5 mo. 1760; married (November 2, 1784) Owen Coleman.

CHRISTOPHER [4] (**Jonathan** [3] **John** [2] **William** [1])
born 24th. 9 mo. 1717; married (25th 10 mo. 1738) Dinah Paddock, daughter of Nathaniel and Anna. Their children were—

- i **Judith**, born 25th 7 mo. 1739; removed from the Island 27th 2 mo. 1775; married (2d 2 mo. 1758) Daniel Folger, son of Daniel and Abigail.
- ii **Andrew**, born 29th 6 mo. 1741; married (9th 2 mo. 1763) Judith Coleman, daughter of Barnabas and Rachel.
- iii **Phebe**, born 18th 10 mo. 1743; removed from the Island 31st 5 mo. 1785; married (3d 12 mo. 1761) Benjamin Folger, son of Timothy and Anna.
- iv **Elizabeth**, born 1st 2 mo. 1746; removed from the Island 29th 11 mo. 1779; married (10th 2 mo. 1763) Nathan Folger, son of Barzillai and Phebe.
- v **Dinah**, born 17th 5 mo. 1748; died 7th 6 mo. 1775.
- vi **Christopher**, born 30th 6 mo. 1750.
- vii **Uriah**, born 5th 4 mo. 1755;

RICHARD [4] (**Richard** [3] **John** [2] **William** [1])
born 11th 2 mo. 1730; married (1st 2 mo. 1753) Anna Macy, daughter of Thomas and Deborah. The Friends Records state that the family went "into the country" in 1799 where the father died. The widow returned to Nantucket. The children were—

- i **Richard**, born 17th 6 mo. 1755; married (3d 4 mo. 1777) Elizabeth Folger, daughter of Walter and Elizabeth.
- ii **Elizabeth**, born 3d. 11 mo. 1765.

FRANCIS [4] (**Richard** [3] **John** [2] **William** [1])
born 21st 1 mo. 1735; married (5th 2 mo. 1756) Mary Gardner, daughter of Barnabas and Mary. Their children were:—

i **Francis**, born 9th 12 mo. 1756.

ii **Phebe**, born 26th 1 mo. 1760.

The entire family removed from the Island in 1771.

REUBEN [4] (Joseph [3] John [2] William [1])

born 13th 7 mo. 1725; married (30th 9 mo. 1749) Mary Allen, daughter of Silvanus and Jemima. His wife died 4th 6 mo. 1785 and he removed from the Island in 1795. Their children were:—

i **Reuben**, born 3d 7 mo. 1750; died 3d 6 mo. 1784; married (7th 12 mo. 1772) Lydia Gardner daughter of Simeon and Sarah.

ii **Charles**, born 29th 12 mo. 1752; died 29th 12 mo. 1753.

iii **George**, born 12th 3 mo. 1755; died 27th 9 mo. 1756.

iv **Mary**, born 19th, 8 mo. 1757; died 30th 8 mo. 1759.

v **Job**, born 10th 9 mo. 1759; died 13th 11 mo. 1760.

vi **Elizabeth**, born 29th 12 mo. 1761; married (1st 4 mo. 1784) Libni Gardner, son of Paul and Rachel.

vii **Mary**, born 31st 5 mo. 1764; died 14th 6 mo. 1785.

viii **Lydia**, born 13th 9 mo. 1766; removed from the Island in 1795.

ix **Adino**, born 11th 9 mo. 1768; died 5th 8 mo. 1772.

SILVANUS [4] (Joseph [3] John [2] William [1])

born 27th 6 mo. 1727; married (16th 9 mo. 1749) Rachel Allen daughter of Silvanus and Jemima. Their children were:—

i **Miriam**, born 19th 4 mo. 1752; died 8 mo. 1769.

ii **Puella**, born 5th 12 mo. 1754.

iii **Gideon**, born 9th 1 mo. 1757.

iv **Solon**, born 25th 2 mo. 1760.

v **Drusilla**, born 4th 12 mo. 1761.

vi **Rachel**, born 29th 10 mo. 1764.

vii **Christina or Christian**, born 19th 10 mo. 1766; married Samuel Stubbs 1785.

JOSEPH [4] (Joseph [3] John [2] William [1])

born 29th 9 mo. 1729; married (6th 12 mo. 1753) Judith Star-

buck, daughter of William and Anna; the entire family removed from the Island in 1774. Their children were:—

- i **Jethro**, born 3d 9 mo. 1754.
- ii **Eunice**, born 30th 8 mo. 1756.
- iii **Matilda**, born 14th 10 mo. 1758.
- iv **Charles**, born 17th 6 mo. 1761.

THOMAS [4] (**Joseph** [3] **John** [2] **William** [1])
born 1st 11 mo. 1736; married (3d 3 mo. 1757) Deborah Swain, daughter of Francis and Mary. All the family excepting the wife, who died 16th 7 mo. 1771, and eldest son removed from the Island in 1775. Thomas married a second time (9th 7 mo. 1772) his second wife being Judith Barnard, widow of Christopher and daughter of Caleb and Margaret Swain. The children were:—

By Deborah

- i **David**, who removed from the Island in 1777.
- ii **Lydia**
- iii **Barzillai**

By Judith

- iv **Deborah**, born 26th 4 mo. 1773.
- v **Sylvia**, born 12th 7 mo. 1776.

DANIEL [4] (**Joseph** [3] **John** [2] **William** [1])
born 10th 12 mo. 1739; married Eunice Hussey. Their children were [i] **Job**, [ii] **Stephen**, [iii] **Elihu** [iv] **Zenas**. The family removed from the Island in 1771.

RICHARD who came from New Jersey*
born ; married (October 18, 1722) Lydia Swain.
Their children were:—

- i **Benjamin**, born August 28, 1723; married (7th 9 mo. 1745) Mary Folger, daughter of Shubael and Jerusha.

*Doubtless grandson of the original New Jersey Worth.

- ii **Priscilla**, born February 23, 1726; married (November 20, 1746) David Upham.
 - iii **Eunice**, born February 22, 1729; married first (16th 9 mo. 1749) Joseph Gardner son of Ebenezer and Judith; second (28th 7 mo. 1767) Benjamin Taber son of Benjamin and Susanna.
 - iv **Mary**, born July 9, 1731;
-

BENJAMIN [4] (**Richard** [3] **John** [2] **William** [1])
born August 28, 1723; married (7th 9 mo. 1745) Mary Folger.
Their children were:*

- i **Francis**, born 18th 12 mo. 1746.
 - ii **Benjamin**, born 11th 10 mo. 1748; married (30th 11 mo 1769) Phebe Coffin, daughter of John and Anna.
-

*Benjamin probably died prior to 1750 for his widow married (12th, 10 mo. 1751) Peleg Coleman, son of Solomon and Deliverance.

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Betsey, sloop	410*
Betsey, schooner,	411*, 412, 419
Betsey, brig,	425, 428, 429
Bluebell, schooner,	410*
Bohio, bark	483*
Boniff, brig	426*
Boston, ship,	411, 413, 416, 419, 423, 425, 429, 434, 438*
Boston Packet, ship	406
Britannia, brig,	403, 405
Brothers, ship,	408, 411, 416, 417, 417, 419, 421, 423* 428, 434, 440*

†It occasionally happens that a name is continued which it is quite evident is not the one started. Vessels were lost and replaced by another of the same name or were temporarily withdrawn and afterwards re-entered the service.

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Catawba, ship,	455*, 460, 464, 471, 475*, 480*
Catherine, ship,	449*, 455, 459*
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Charles, ship,	421, 423*, 429, 434*
Charles, brig,	426*, 428*
Charles, schooner,	423, 427
Charles Carroll, ship,	450*, 456, 460*, 465, 471*
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Christopher Mitchell, ship,	453, 458, 462*, 467*, 471*
Citizen, ship,	465*, 473, 475*
Clarkson, ship,	443*, 448, 453†, 458, 463*
Columbia, ship,	403, 405
Columbia, 2d ship,	461*, 469, 472*, 477, 481
Columbus, ship	434*, 448‡, 449, 450, 455, 459*
Comet, schooner,	459*
Commerce, ship,	406, 408*, 411, 414*, 415*
Congress, ship,	443, 447*, 448*, 450, 455, 459*
Constitution, ship,	436*, 441, 443, 444, 449, 450, 451, 455, 459 463*, 470*, 475, 480*
Cordelia, sloop,	429*
Criterion, ship, ..	411, 414, 416, 417, 417, 420*, 423, 428, 434, 441*, 445*, 447*
Crown Prince, schooner	434*
Cyrus, ship,	436, 442, 445*, 450, 456, 460, 467*
Daniel Webster, ship,	458*, 465, 471*, 475*
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Enterprise, ship,	438*, 443, 447*, 450*, 456, 460, 467, 472*, 477*
Equator, ship,	430*, 436, 440*
Essex, ship,	414, 415, 418, 420, 423, 428, 432*

†The marginal note on the Clarkson on page 453 is an error as she had already sailed two voyages.

‡Evidently was restored to the service.

††Was probably converted into a brig.

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Factor, schooner,	450*
Falcon, ship,	434*, 440*
Fame, ship, 410, 411, 414, 415*, 418*, 420*, 446*, 449*, 450,	452*
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Fame, sloop,	452*
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General Lincoln, ship,	428, 430*
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†Probably rebuilt from the brig of the same name.

‡This was the third of the name. The first one was sunk July 29, 1813 by a gale in the South Seas.

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Ruby, ship,	406, 409, 409, 410*, 413, 416*, 418, 424, 427, 431, 435*
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Sally, brig,	405, 427*

†The Phenix appears to have been bark rigged on her last voyage.

‡There appears to have been two Rangers as the records report one built in 1792.

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†The Swift must have been built prior to 1826 as she had already made one voyage.

‡The catch should read 90. bbls whale oil.

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There is clearly an error in pages 759 and 764 of the Gardner genealogy. It will be noted that James Senior and James Junior each had four wives and that two are duplicated in each case. The record is as given by an authority but no data is at hand to rectify it.

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Lydia	543, 570, 826, 827, 828, 830+, 831+	Seth	449, 450, 828
Lyonel	826	Shubael	222, 342, 393, 828
Margaret	618	Silvanus	617, 828, 830
Mary ..	661, 825+, 826+, 827+, 828+, 829, 830+, 831, 832+	Solon	573, 830
Matilda	831	Sophia	827
Matthew	610, 827	Stephen	828, 831
Miriam	825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830	Sylvia	831
Nathaniel	825+, 827	Thomas ..	438, 498+, 504, 828, 831+
Obed	393	Thomas J.	629
Paul ..	257, 389, 400+, 404, 405, 407, 410, 828	Uriah	829
Phebe	574, 828, 829, 830	William	27, 33, 43, 50, 52, 54, 61, 64, 70+, 71, 82, 89, 97, 98, 128, 131, 171, 172+, 174, 258, 260, 316, 610, 825+, 826, 827, 828
Priscilla	832	William 2d	439, 443, 447, 450, 455, 458
Puella	830	Walter	826
Rachel	828, 830+	Zenas	831

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